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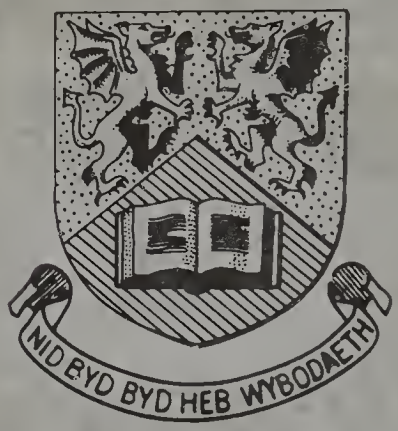

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The Fihrist of al-Nadīm

IN TWO VOLUMES

NUMBER LXXXIII OF THE
Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies

The Fihrist of al-Nadīm

A TENTH-CENTURY SURVEY OF MUSLIM CULTURE

Bayard Dodge EDITOR AND TRANSLATOR

VOLUME I

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Bayard Dodge is President Emeritus of the American University of Beirut.

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Foreword

by W. T. H. JACKSON

When Bayard Dodge told me that some years ago the Records of Civilization had asked him to translate *Al-Fihrist* of al-Nadīm I was immediately enthusiastic. Here, surely, was a work which fitted the purpose of the series as few others could do, for it provided a link of a unique kind between several civilizations. In this tenth-century work is a compendium of the knowledge possessed by a learned Arab of Baghdād, knowledge in great part derived from earlier cultures, particularly Hellenic and Roman. Not only is the work extremely valuable for a knowledge of the culture of medieval Islam and of the literary personalities of the period but it gives important information about the classical material available for transmission through Muslim culture to the Western world. *Al-Fihrist* is thus a true "record of civilization."

To provide a translation of a work such as this requires not only a scholar but an enthusiast. Bayard Dodge is both. He has provided us with an excellent translation, but before doing so he had to set up a text to be translated, since earlier editions had taken no account of manuscripts which are now available. In this work, which has occupied many years of his life, Professor Dodge has earned the gratitude of scholars in many fields of endeavor, for he has made available to them knowledge which has heretofore been confined to the very few who could read Arabic and had access to a rare work.

Preface

In 1871 Gustav Flügel accomplished a masterly piece of work by publishing the Arabic text of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, but unfortunately he lacked reliable copies of the principal manuscripts. I am, therefore, very grateful to the authorities of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, as well as to friends at Robert College, Istanbūl, and to Muḥammad Rashād ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib of the League of Arab States for helping me to examine and to obtain photostat copies of the most important manuscripts of the book.

Because *Al-Fihrist* deals with almost every phase of medieval culture, it would require a staff of experts to do justice to the translation. However, with the help of generous friends I have done my best to make the work as accurate as possible.

I am grateful to Constantine K. Zurayk, Jibrail M. Jabbur, Anis K. Frayha, and other members of the faculty of the American University of Beirut for their aid. I also wish to thank Philip K. Hitti, Farhat J. Ziadeh, and Samuel D. Atkins of Princeton University for helping me to understand some difficult passages. Elias Shoufani corrected the translation of a number of poems, as well as the transliteration in some of the especially difficult sections of the book.

Johann W. Fück very kindly sent me publications and notes, and Edward S. Kennedy and David Pingree helped me with the passages on mathematics and astronomy. Harald Ingholt of Yale University joined me in studying the Ṣābians. Mustafa Ziade of Cairo University and Mojtaba Minovi of Tihran have also been generous in giving me their help. I am also grateful to Reza Tajaded of Tihran and Mahdi Nakosteen of the University of Colorado for sending me their books, which provide valuable material for an understanding

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of the Arabic text of *Al-Fihrist*. Thanks are due, furthermore, to A. F. P. Hulsewé of Leiden, Louis Hambis of the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoise de l'Université de Paris, Herbert Franke of Munich, and E. H. Schafer of the University of California for suggestions about the passage on China.

This difficult and complicated book has been copyedited by Linnae Coss. She not only prepared every detail for the typesetter but she also discovered numerous errors, simplified the footnotes, corrected the Bibliography, and helped to give consistency to the translation of the book titles. I am most grateful for her perseverence, skill, and encouragement.

Because *Al-Fihrist* is a reference book, I have made the translation a literal one, seeking accuracy rather than literary style. I have also provided a number of aids for study, which are explained in the Introduction that follows this Preface.

The book is a unique specimen of literature, coming to us from medieval Baghdād. We know very little about the author and the sources from which he derived his vast amount of information. But all honor is due al-Nadīm, who compiled this encyclopedic volume, for as the Prophet Muḥammad said, "The ink of the learned is as precious as the blood of the martyrs."

Princeton, New Jersey
July 1969

BAYARD DODGE

Introduction

THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION FROM ARABIC INTO ENGLISH

The system used is the one described in Bulletin 49, November 1958, issued by the Cataloging Service of the Library of Congress.

alif (see note below)		
bā' — b	*zā'* — z	*fā'* — f
tā' — t	*sīn* — s	*qāf* — q
thā' — th	*shīn* — sh	*kāf* — k
jīm — j	*ṣād* — ṣ	*lām* — l
ḥā' — ḥ	*ḍād* — ḍ	*mīm* — m
khā' — kh	*ṭā'* — ṭ	*nūn* — n
dāl — d	*ẓā'* — ẓ	*hā'* — h
dhāl — dh	*'ayn* — '	*wāw* — w
rā' — r	*ghayn* — gh	*yā'* — y

As a rule *alif* is transliterated according to the vowel which governs it. But *alif* with a *maddah* or a *maqṣūrah* is a form transliterated as ā.

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

	short	long
fatḥah	a	ā
kasrah	i	ī
ḍammah	u	ū

Shaddah is indicated by a doubling of the consonant, but a double *yā'* after *kasrah* is written as in *kullīyah*. The definite article is not written with a capital, except at the beginning of a sentence. The *nisbah* is written ī. Final *hā'* is written with h, rather than t, except when it is in construct state or in a few words like *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, and *Ghulāt*.

In the Arabic text the titles of an author's books are listed after the account of his life. In the translation each list is as a rule preceded by the phrase "among his books there were." Moreover, before each book title the Arabic version has *kitāb* (book). This word is usually omitted in the English translation.

Words in brackets are explanatory material, added to clarify the meaning of the original text. Parentheses are used for equivalents of Arabic and English words, as well as for alternative translations and interpretations. There are few paragraph divisions and no quotation marks in the Arabic text.

There are two devices to indicate gaps in the text. When a word or a phrase has been purposely omitted by al-Nadīm, who hoped to be able to fill the space at a later time, a long dash is used. When a word or a phrase is omitted because the original copy is garbled or missing, an ellipsis is inserted to indicate missing material.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography follows the main text of the book. It is strictly limited in size, with only a selected number of books mentioned. The authors are listed alphabetically, with the titles of their books placed after their names. All references in the footnotes, Glossary, and Biographical Index are to the names of these authors. When the titles of more than one book are given after the name of an author, the reference indicates which one of these books is involved. The size of the Bibliography has been limited by omitting most of the recently published editions of the medieval books mentioned in the text of *Al-Fihrist*.

THE GLOSSARY

Coming immediately after the Bibliography is the Glossary. It should be studied in connection with the religious sects and for an understanding of numerous technical terms. It also explains the significance of many of the book titles.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

The names of men and women mentioned in *Al-Fihrist* are included in the Biographical Index, which comes directly after the

Glossary. It is in the form of a Who's Who. In the main text of the book the part of the man's name by which he is listed in the Biographical Index is printed in italics, unless the name is repeated in the same passage. Names which are garbled in the manuscripts or belong to unimportant characters of fiction are omitted.

It may seem strange to list Greek and Latin scholars with the Arab ones, but they belonged to the Muslim culture of medieval times, just as truly as they do to the scholarship of our modern world.

References will be found in the Biographical Index to throw light on the names of the persons included. The Encyclopaedia of Islam and standard works on history, literature, and biography give further information about the men and women mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*.

THE GENERAL INDEX

The General Index is placed at the end of the book, after the Biographical Index. It includes numerous topics and technical terms, as well as the names of tribes and geographical localities.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

The author of *Al-Fihrist* was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, but as a rule he is called al-Nadīm because he had the distinction of being a *nadīm* or court companion. As the surname of his father was Abū Ya'qūb, he evidently had an elder brother named Ya'qūb and probably had other brothers and sisters as well.

The year of his birth is unknown, but it cannot have been much after A.D. 935 and more likely was somewhat earlier. In Chapter VI, section 8, the author tells about meeting a scholar named *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bardha'ī,[1] who explained the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah and gave him a list of his legal books. If al-Nadīm, the author of *Al-Fihrist*, was mature enough to be interested in the doctrine of an unorthodox sect and books about the law, he must have been at least sixteen years of age, or probably a number of years older. Because this meeting occurred during the year 340 (A.D.

[1] The men's names mentioned in the Introduction can be found in the Biographical Index, where they are listed according to the part of the name given in italics. For information about al-Nadīm, see Goldziher, *ZDMG*, XXXVI (1882), 278–84; Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser. IX, No. 2 (1930), 111–24; Ritter, *Der Islam*, XVII, No. 1 (February 1928), 15–28.

951/952), it is evident that al-Nadīm's birth was about 935. He was, therefore, almost certainly born during the reign of al-*Muqtadir*, 908–932, or of al-*Qāhir*, 932–934, or, less likely, of al-*Rādī*, 934–940.

The author's father was called a *warrāq*, which in his case evidently meant that he was a book dealer. As he seems to have been prosperous, it is likely that he presided over a large bookstore, which was almost certainly at Baghdād. It is easy to imagine how he commissioned his sons to buy manuscripts from other dealers and had his own scribes make copies of manuscripts for his customers.

A medieval manuscript was about the size of a modern book, but it was written by hand instead of being printed. The leaves were made of a paper of good quality, with writing on both sides. As a rule these pages were bound in a leather cover. The bookshop, like the old shops in al-Najaf, was probably on an upper story, where it formed a meeting place for scholars who came to examine the books, enjoy refreshments, and discuss academic problems.

Most authorities have taken it for granted that the father, as well as the son, was a *nadīm*, or court companion. Ibn Ḥajar[2] refers to the author as Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Nadīm. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah mentions the author thirteen times.[3] On pages 57, 175, 207, 208, 209, 220, 244, and 309 he calls him Ibn al-Nadīm, but on other pages he refers to him as al-Nadīm. Yāqūt calls him Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm.[4]

The main title of the authoritative Beatty manuscript is *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-al-Nadīm*. In the heading of Chapter II of this manuscript there is a curious clause, which also appears in the headings of the last three chapters of MS 1934. Following the words "The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm" there is this clause, "Isḥāq being known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq."

One wonders if the author of *Al-Fihrist* added this ungrammatical phrase in order to make it clear that whereas he himself was a *nadīm*, or court companion, his father was merely a *warrāq*, or book dealer. What seems to be certain is that both the father and the son were men of considerable importance and social standing.

[2] See Bibliography, Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Part 5, p. 72, 1.15.
[3] See Uṣaybi'ah, '*Uyūn al-Anbā*'.
[4] See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), p. 408.

When he was about six years old the author undoubtedly attended an elementary class attached to a mosque. One can visualize the little boy sitting on the ground in a group of other children, swaying back and forth as he repeated the verses of the Qur'ān, which his teacher recited to be memorized. The child also must have learned how to write the verses on his board, erasing each verse when he learned how to copy it, in order to make the board clean for a new quotation. By the time he was ten years old he had probably memorized the entire Qur'ān, so as to be prepared for study of a more mature nature.

It is reasonable to believe that al-Nadīm joined a study circle in some important mosque to learn the intricacies of Arabic grammar and rhetoric as well as something about Qur'ānic commentary, the Ḥadīth or traditions of the Prophet, and rules for reciting the Qur'ān in an authorized way. Before long he undoubtedly worked as an apprentice in his father's book shop, copying manuscripts, entertaining scholars, and helping to sell what they wanted to buy. Yāqūt endorsed this idea when he wrote: "It is not unreasonable that he was a *warrāq* who sold books."[5]

Al-Nadīm, however, was so much interested in his studies that he did not spend all of his time in the book store. An inscription on the title page of the Beatty MS records that he quoted, or was a pupil of, Abū Sa'īd al-*Sīrāfī* the jurist, Abū al-*Faraj* al-Iṣbahānī the famous compiler of poetry and literary anecdotes, and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Marzubānī*, who was interested in history. Ibn Ḥajar[6] says that al-Nadīm had permission to quote Isma'il al-*Ṣaffār*, who was an authority for the Ḥadīth ,and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī points out that he also studied with al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sawwār, a logician who translated scientific books;[7] Abū Aḥmad, who was perhaps al-Ḥusayn ibn Isḥāq ibn *Karnīb* the theologian and natural scientist; *Yūnus* al-Qass, who translated classic works on mathematics, and Abū al-*Ḥasan* Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Nāqiṭ, a scholar interested in Greek science.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah remarks that al-Nadīm was a *kātib*,[8] which may mean that he was simply a writer. On the other hand it may

[5] See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 408.
[6] See Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Part 5, p. 72.
[7] See Abyārī, *Turāth al-Insānīyah*, III (March 5, 1965), 196.
[8] Uṣaybi'ah, Part 1, p. 57.

imply that he was a government secretary, perhaps in the library or in the bureau for correspondence. Because al-Nadīm was surnamed Abū al-Faraj he must have been married, with at least one son and a home of his own in Baghdād.

Ibn Ḥajar says that al-Nadīm was a Shī'ite,[9] which statement is confirmed by the text of *Al-Fihrist*. In Chapter VI the author speaks of the Shī'ah as *al-khaṣṣī* or elite, while he refers to persons who were not Shī'ites as *al-'āmmī* or ignorant. In *Al-Fihrist*, moreover, the Sunnites are referred to as *al-ḥashwīyah*, which is a contemptuous term for persons who blindly accept anthropomorphic ideas.[10]

When speaking about the father of al-*Zubayrī* Mus'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh, al-Nadīm says that he was one of the most wicked of men, because he maligned the descendants of *'Alī*.[11]

In the same passage in which Ibn Ḥajar calls al-Nadīm a Shī'ite he also states that he was a Mu'tazilī. Even if he was not an official member of this heretical sect, al-Nadīm must have been very much interested in it, because such a large part of the fifth chapter of *Al-Fihrist* is devoted to it.

Because he met an Ismā'īlī leader and attended an Ismā'īlī meeting,[12] some people have claimed that al-Nadīm was one of the Ismā'īlīyah, but this idea does not seem to be a true one.

Al-Nadīm mentions that he wrote one other book in addition to *Al-Fihrist*. In speaking about the excellencies of books he says, "I have dealt with this subject and similar ones in the chapter on writing and its instruments in a book which I have composed about descriptions and comparisons (*al-awsāf wa-al-tashbīhāt*)."[13] Evidently al-Nadīm was so much interested in books and government work that he did not attempt to become a teacher. The inscription on the title page of the Beatty MS says that no one quoted him, which implies that he did not have students.

It is probable that while he was still a young man al-Nadīm began to make a catalogue of authors and the names of their compositions for use in his father's bookstore. At the beginning of Chapter IV,

[9] Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Part 5, p. 72.
[10] Chap. VI, section 6, n. 47 and n. 66 of the translation.
[11] Chap. III, section 1, near n. 208.
[12] Chap. V, section 4, near n. 93 and n. 96.
[13] Chap. I, section 1, following n. 35.

section 2, he explains that, as other scholars have given details about the poets, what he himself aims to do is "to present the names of the poets and the amount of verses written by each poet among them . . . so that whoever desires to collect books and poems can have this information."

It is reasonable to believe that al-Nadīm wrote notes about each author on a piece of paper. When dealing with a man who was a scholar rather than a poet he tried to give some biographical material, as well as the titles of the author's books. When speaking about the books of the Zaydīyah[14] he says, "If some observer sees one of them while we are writing, I will add it in its proper place." In the course of time the notes must have been arranged according to subjects and in chronological sequence. Then, when enough of them had been collected, the author undertook to compile them in the form of chapters for his book.

As he grew older, al-Nadīm evidently became interested in so many subjects about which he read in books, or which he learned about from friends and chance acquaintances, that he included a great deal of additional material with his notes about the poets and scholars. Thus, instead of being merely the catalogue for a bookshop, *Al-Fihrist* became an encyclopaedia of medieval Islāmic culture.

We do not know to what extent al-Nadīm searched for information in places other than Baghdād. He very likely visited al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, as scholarship flourished in those cities during the eighth century. He may have gone to Aleppo, where *Sayf* al-Dawlah, during the middle of the tenth century, created a center of literature and culture. It is not very likely that he visited Damascus or the famous cities of Persia and Khurāsān. What is certain, however, is that he spent some time at al-Mawṣil, probably when *Nāṣir* al-Dawlah was ruler of the region, between A.D. 929 and 968.

Al-Fihrist mentions that he met a book collector there. He also saw the tutor of the sons of Nāṣir al-Dawlah[15] and a man named Muḥammad ibn Hāshim, who was brought up in the environs of al-Mawṣil.[16] He evidently visited the libraries of al-Mawṣil, as he

[14] Chap. V, setion 4, near n. 140.
[15] Chap. II, section 1, near n. 9, and section 3, near n. 79.
[16] Chap. IV, section 2, near n. 95.

found a fragment of one of Euclid's books in a private collection.[17] Apparently in addition to searching for books, he learned what he could about religious sects. He associated with an Ismā'īlī leader and attended an Ismā'īlī meeting, which may have inspired him to include his long passage about the Ismā'īlīyah in *Al-Fihrist*.[18] It is obvious that al-Nadīm was at al-Mawṣil before he completed his chapter about the poets, because he says that he saw a certain amount of poetry there.[19] Sarton states that al-Nadīm went to Istanbūl, taking it for granted that Dār al-Rūm referred to the Byzantine city of Constantinople. But this is an error, as Dār al-Rūm really refers to the Greek Orthodox section of Baghdād.[20]

Nāṣir al-Dawlah, the ruler of al-Mawṣil, was a Shī'ite who was anxious to make his city a center of culture and learning. As al-Nadīm was also a Shī'ite, it is possible that his service as a court companion was at al-Mawṣil. It is much more likely, however, that he went to al-Mawṣil to obtain books and that his life as a court companion was spent at Baghdād. What seems probable is that al-Nadīm became attached to the court at the time of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah, who, with the title of *Amīr al-Umarā'*, overshadowed the puppet caliph and ruled at Baghdād from A.D. 945 to 967. He was a member of the Buwayh family and a sympathizer with the Shī'ites, so that it would have been natural for him to make a Shī'ite like al-Nadīm a member of his court, perhaps connected with the royal library. If al-Nadīm was a court companion in the palace of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, it is likely that he also served 'Izz al-Dawlah, the weak son and successor of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, until this son died in A.D. 977. Unfortunately we can only guess about these events in the life of al-Nadīm, as we do not have accurate information about his biography.

It cannot have been very long after the death of 'Izz al-Dawlah that al-Nadīm undertook the laborious task of arranging his mass of notes and compiling them in the form of a book. Near the end of Chapter I[21] of *Al-Fihrist*, the author records: "This is the end of

[17] Chap. VII, section 2, near n. 5.
[18] Chap. V, section 4, near n. 93 and n. 96; also Chap. V, section 5.
[19] Chap. IV, section 2, near n. 5.
[20] Chap. IX, section 2, n. 40; Sarton I, 662.
[21] Chap. I, section 3, near n. 133.

what we have composed of the first chapter of the book *Al-Fihrist*, until the time of the appearance of the new moon on Saturday of Sha'bān during the year three hundred and seventy-seven." This was probably December, 987.

Yāqūt cites this same year for the writing of *Al-Fihrist*.[22] Near the end of Chapter II[23] al-Nadīm gives this date also for completion of the account of the scholars of grammar and language. Two other statements can be mentioned to confirm the accuracy of this date. In speaking about Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn *Naṣr*, the author of *Al-Fihrist* says, "who died a few months ago." Ibn Taghrī-Birdī gives the year three hundred and seventy-six (A.D. 986/987) as the time of this man's death.[24] Then at the end of Chapter VI there is the statement in *Al-Fihrist*, "until our time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven."[25]

It is possible that al-Nadīm did not complete the last chapters of his book until a year or two later. In Chapter IX he tells the story of a Christian monk who returned from China. As this monk did not reach Baghdād before the year three hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 987/988), it is possible that Chapter IX was not written in its final form before A.D. 988 or 989.[26] It seems to be certain that *Al-Fihrist* was completed by the year A.D. 990 at the latest, probably twelve or eighteen months before that time. This was just at the time when higher education was being established at the al-Jāmi' al-Azhar in Cairo and a little less than a century before the First Crusade. Hugh Capet was King of France, and Aethelred the Second was ruling in England.

Ibn Ḥajar says that a certain Abū Ṭāhir al-Karkhī gave the date for al-Nadīm's death as the year four hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 1047), but he said of this statement, "he was not reliable about this." Ibn Ḥajar also quotes other assertions which seem to be equally unreliable.[27]

[22] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 63; VI (3), 54.

[23] Chap. II, section 3, near n. 87.

[24] Chap. III, section 2; Taghrī-Birdī, Part 4, p. 149, l. 5. Shujā', VI (H), 438 (408), gives a later date, which must be an error.

[25] Chap. VI, section 5.

[26] Chap. IX, section 2, n. 39.

[27] Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Part 5, p. 72. Although the date A.D. 1047 seems to be inaccurate, numerous authorities have given it as the year of al-Nadīm's death. The

It seems inevitable that if al-Nadīm had lived until A.D. 1047 he would have added to *Al-Fihrist* some of the great names of the eleventh century, such as Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī, as well as something about the famous Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. Furthermore, al-Nadīm left blank spaces in his manuscript, to be filled in as he could obtain further information. Evidently he died before he was able to include new data in these blank spaces.

Accordingly, the note on the title page of the Beatty manuscript is probably correct. It says of al-Nadīm that "he died on Wednesday, the tenth [day] from the end of Sha'bān in the year three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990/991)."[28] As this note was almost certainly written by the great historian al-Maqrīzī, it has real importance and seems to be reliable.[29]

It is reasonable to believe that when al-Nadīm died the original copy of his manuscript was placed in the royal library at Baghdād, while other copies made by scribes about the time of his death were assigned to his family bookstore, where some of them were probably sold to customers who came to purchase interesting books. Farmer says: "Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) averred that he used a copy of the *Fihrist* in the handwriting of al-Nadīm himself. The lexicographer al-Ṣaghānī (650/1252) made a similar claim. Either of these autograph copies may have been in the Caliph's library, which was destroyed utterly at the sacking of Baghdād in 656/1258)."[30]

Beatty MS has been made available so recently that these authorities have obviously never had a chance to study it. As many of the persons mentioned in this paragraph and those which follow lived after *Al-Fihrist* was written, their names are not included in the Biographical Index, although some of them are mentioned in the Bibliography.

[28] This passage probably means that al-Nadīm died on the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the lunar year, which began March 31, 990. The first seven lunar months have 207 days, which added to the nineteenth day of the eighth month makes a total of 226 days. The solar calendar date for 226 days after March 31 is November 12, 990. This seems to have been the true date for al-Nadīm's death.

[29] Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī was born at Ba'albek in 1365. He was an official at Damascus but later lived in Egypt, where he died in 1441. He was one of the greatest of the medieval Egyptian historians. See Ziriklī, I, 172; "al-Maḳrīzī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 175.

[30] Farmer, *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, II (1959–1961), 47.

Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah depended upon *Al-Fihrist* for information. Khalīl ibn *Aybak* and other authorities also alluded to al-Nadīm, who in medieval times seems to have been highly regarded.

In order to sum up what has been said, it is reasonable to assume that al-Nadīm was born about A.D. 935, very likely a few years earlier. He profited by an unusually comprehensive education, as he not only mastered the conventional Islāmic studies but also learned something about history, geography, comparative religion, and the Greek sciences. He undoubtedly served as an apprentice in his father's book business, at the same time that he attended the lectures and classes of some of the leading scholars of the tenth century.

When grown, al-Nadīm married and had at least one son. About the time that he married it is likely that he started to help his father by collecting data about books and their authors. Evidently he wished to assemble a catalogue to show customers and to help with the procuring and copying of manuscripts to be sold to scholars and book collectors.

Although he visited al-Mawṣil and perhaps other cities, most of his research was almost certainly done at Baghdād, where he may have been one of the directors of the great government library. His position of court companion was probably, but not certainly, during the reigns of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah and his son.

Perhaps because his work at the library and the court came to an end, or else because of some illness which threatened him, al-Nadīm decided that it was time to collect his notes, so as to compile them in book form. Accordingly, during the years 987 and 988 he completed his difficult task so as to form the book *Al-Fihrist*. He evidently hoped to live for a number of years longer in order to fill in blank spaces in his manuscript, but this hope was not realized. During the autumn of 990 his life came to an end.

THE MANUSCRIPTS: SOURCES FOR THE TRANSLATION

When Gustav Flügel published his Arabic edition of *Al-Fihrist* in 1871 he included a *vorwort* in German, in which he described the

manuscripts available for his use.[31] The principal manuscripts upon which Flügel based his text were: (i) the old Paris manuscript, containing four chapters; (ii) the copy of a manuscript in Istanbūl, which de Slane had transcribed, by a scribe named Aḥmad al-Miṣrī for use in Paris; (iii) two copies in Vienna; (iv) several fragments in Leyden. Flügel realized that his manuscripts were incomplete, and it is true that he lacked part of the material about the Mu'tazilah sects, given in Chapter V, section 1, of the translation, as well as source material for other less important passages. As Flügel has described the manuscripts which he used in detail, it does not seem to be worth while to repeat what he wrote in his *vorwort*.

The principal manuscripts available for use at the present time are the following.

The Beatty Manuscript. This manuscript is No. 3315 in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. It comprises the first half of the book, ending with an account of al-Nāshī al-Kabīr in Chapter V, section 1. There are 119 folios, with writing on both front and back of each leaf. As several pages are left blank, there are 234 pages of text, each measuring 22 by 16.5 cm and averaging twenty-five lines to the page. The handwriting is in the form of an old *naskh* script, clear, well marked, and transcribed with a good quality of black ink. The titles are also written in black, in a similar script but in large letters. The paper is fairly thick, smooth, and of a dark cream color. As the Chester Beatty Library has had the pages bound in leather and carefully repaired by a skilful technician, the manuscript does not appear to be as old as it really is. It contains the material about the Mu'tazilah omitted by Flügel, but even in this excellent manuscript certain pages are lacking.[32]

The main heading of the Beatty Manuscript is *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-al-Nadīm*. It is in an oblong design with white letters and a gold background somewhat decorated. Alongside this oblong space there are two lines of notes, written in a small script. The upper line is not clear enough to be read accurately. The lower line has, "Aḥmad ibn

[31] See also Flügel, *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 559–650; Fück, *Ambix*, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 81–144.

[32] Some of the missing segments are Chap. I, section 1, see n. 59; Chap. I, section 3, see also n. 59; Chap. IV, section 2, see n. 103; Chap. V, section 1, see n. 1.

TITLE PAGE OF THE BEATTY MS

'Alī al-Maqrīzī 824.'[33] This evidently means that the manuscript became the possession of the famous historian Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al Maqrīzī.[34]

Somewhat below the main heading there are two other notes in small script. One of them reads "from the books of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī"; the other, "at Damascus 825." It is known that al-Maqrīzī went to Damascus about 810 (A.D. 1407/1408) to serve in government posts and returned to Cairo some ten years later. He may have written these notes at Cairo or perhaps on some occasion when he returned to Damascus for a visit.

There is also written on the title page, going from the bottom to the top and in the right-hand margin, a longer inscription, which was probably written by al-Maqrīzī. This inscription has been translated as follows:

The author of this book was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Abī Ya'qūb Isḥāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Warrāq known as al-Nadīm. He quoted Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī, Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī and others, but nobody quoted him. He died on Wednesday, the tenth (day) from the end of Sha'bān, in the year three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990). He was suspected of being a Shī'ī, may Allah forgive him.[35]

There are certain other notes on the title page, but they are evidently not in the handwriting of al-Maqrīzī and are illegible.

Below the main heading on the title page and in large handwriting, written over a small inscription of al-Maqrīzī, there is the following statement, which designates the manuscript as a mortmain, established by Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār, who died in A.D. 1804.

A Waqf of Allāh Almighty

Al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār has made this book a waqf, pious foundation and trust in the Mosque of al-Mubārak at 'Akkā, the praiseworthy,

[33] For al-Maqrīzī, see n. 29.

[34] The signature should be compared with the copy given in Part I, section 3, p. 961, of al-Maqrīzī's history. *Kitāb al-Sulūk* li-Ma'rifat Duwāl al-Mulūk, edited by Muṣṭafā Ziāde, Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'līf, 1956.

[35] For the significance of this passage, see the preceding statement about the life of al-Nadīm.

the Aḥmadīyah, for the seeking of learning . . . . He establishes it as a true and legal waqf, so that it will not be removed, sold or exchanged . . . upon Allāh, for Allāh is the hearing and knowing.

This inscription was deciphered with the help of a scholar from 'Akkā, but even he could not translate accurately the two places which have been left blank.

On the title page of each chapter other than the first there is written under the heading and close to the left hand margin, *ḥikāyat khaṭṭ al-muṣannif*, which means "an imitation of the handwriting of the author." Under this inscription there is a copy of the signature of the author, "His (God's) servant, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq."[36]

Beginning with the back of folio 9 and at the end of every tenth folio which follows, there is written on the lower margin, *'ūriḍ* (compared). This means that the copy was compared with the original manuscript at the end of each lot of paper. For some reason the same word appears at the end of folio 8 and also at the termination of Chapter IX. At the bottom of folio 69 the inscription is extended to read: "Compared with the original of the author, transcribed from it and confirmed, thanks be to Allāh, Lord of the Knowing." At the end of folio 99, there is a similar inscription with the following variation: "Compared with the original, which is in the handwriting of the author, transcribed from it and confirmed."

Arabic scholars have explained that when a medieval scribe copied a manuscript he reproduced not only the words but also the handwriting of the author and the arrangement of the page. These inscriptions in the Beatty Manuscript were evidently made by a scribe who transcribed the book from the original copy, which was written by al-Nadīm himself in his own handwriting. It is not certain, but not unlikely, that the Beatty Manuscript was transcribed before al-Nadīm died, under his personal supervision. As he was a court companion, probably connected with the royal library, he very naturally may have deposited the original copy of *Al-Fihrist* in that institution. At the same time, he almost certainly would have had

[36] See Arberry, *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I (1948), 20, where he states: "The author signed his copy in this manner at the beginning of each separate part. The transcription has moreover been collated with the author's autograph."

copies made for the family bookstore, so that they could be used as catalogues and sold to customers. Thus it is reasonable to guess that the Beatty Manuscript was transcribed during the final months of the life of al-Nadīm or soon afterwards. The manuscript, for instance, lacks the statement that al-Ṣābī "died before the year three hundred and eighty (A.D. 990)," although this item of information is in the Flügel edition.[37]

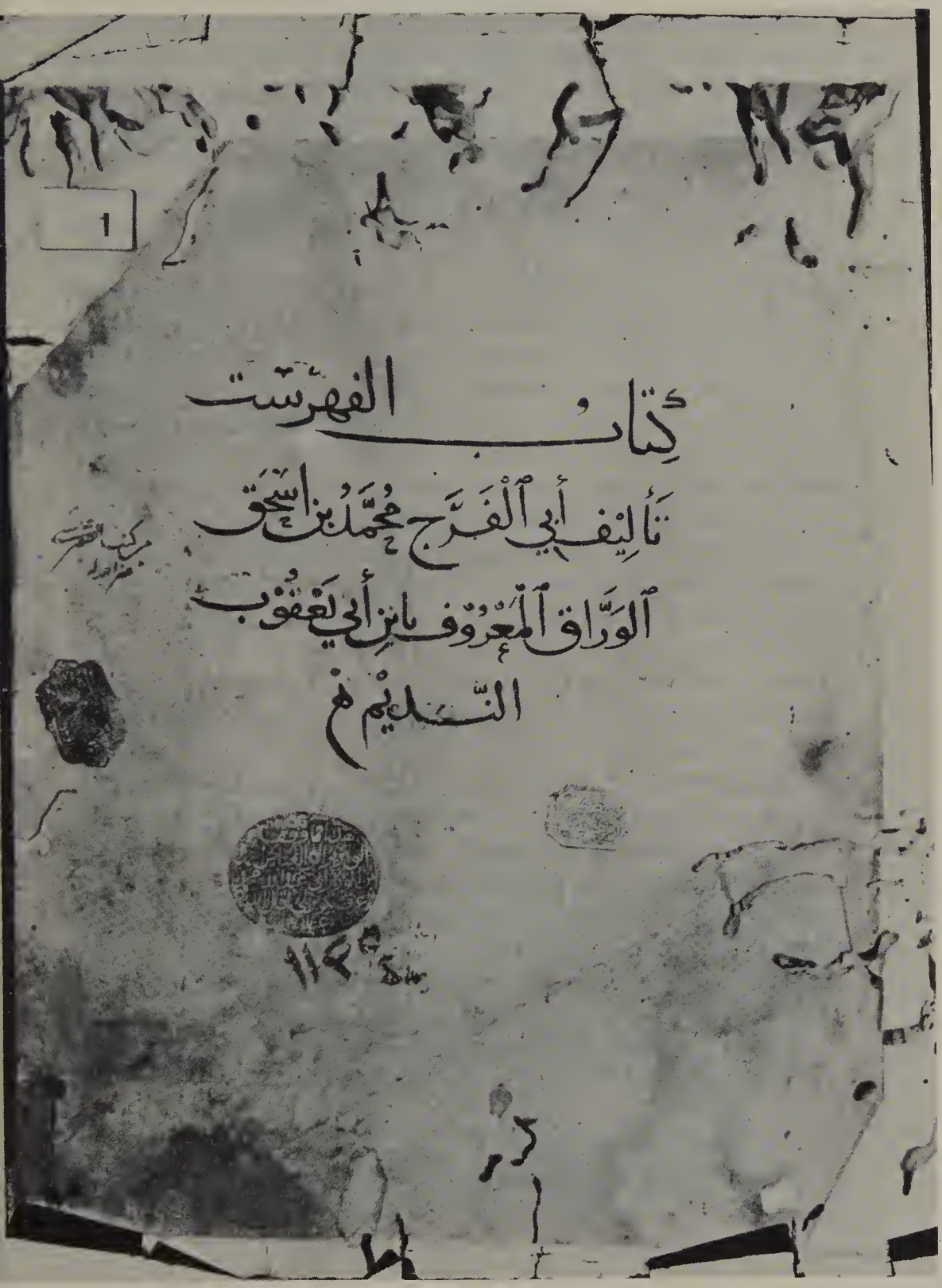
If the original manuscript, written in al-Nadīm's own handwriting, was placed in the royal library at Baghdād, it undoubtedly was destroyed when the Mongols sacked the city in A.D. 1258. The Beatty Manuscript, on the other hand, was evidently a copy, which was probably sold to some customer and taken to Damascus, where it escaped the destruction of Baghdād and during the year A.D. 825 became the possession of the historian al-Maqrīzī.

We know nothing about the history of the manuscript until it was placed in the library of the great mosque at 'Akkā, when the notorious Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār was ruling there at the time of Napoleon Bonaparte. After the fall of Aḥmad Pasha, the manuscript was evidently stolen from the mosque. It was probably at this time that it became divided, as the Beatty Manuscript includes only the first half of *Al-Fihrist*. In the course of time the dealer Yahudah sold this first half to Sir Chester Beatty, who placed it in his library at Dublin.[38]

Manuscript 1934. This manuscript comprises the last half of *Al-Fihrist*. It begins with an account of al-*Wāsiṭī* in Chapter V, section 2, and continues to the inscription, which indicates the completion of the book. An Arabic number is on top of each page, and a modern number has also been stamped for each of the one hundred and eighty-eight folios. As there are some empty pages, only three hundred and sixty-two of them contain writing. There is no proper title page. The first page contains only an Ottoman seal, a recent rendering of the name of the book and its author, with some notes which are too indistinct to be deciphered accurately.

[37] See Chap. III, section 2, n. 207.

[38] See the catalogue of the Beatty Library, in the section entitled "A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts," Vol. II, p. 31 (Dublin, Walker, 1955 ff.).



TITLE PAGE OF MS 1934

This manuscript is identical with the Beatty Manuscript in almost every detail. The handwriting is the same, the pages are the same size, and similar inscriptions are introduced to show that the copy has been checked with the original. The same ungrammatical form appears in Chapter II of the Beatty Manuscript and Chapters VIII, IX, and X of Manuscript 1934. This is the phrase already mentioned, "Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm, Isḥāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq."

Many scholars think that this manuscript is the other half of the Beatty Manuscript, but Professor Mojtaba Minovi of Tihran, who saw the Beatty Manuscript before it was repaired, considers that copy to be much older than Manuscript 1934.

Manuscript 1934 forms part of the Shadīd 'Alī Pasha collection, which is now cared for in the library adjacent to the Sulaymānīyah Mosque at Istanbūl. In the library catalogue it is described as "Suleymaniye G. Kütüphanesi kismi Shetit Ali Pasha 1934."

The Beatty Manuscript, which comprises the first half of *Al-Fihrist*, and Manuscript 1934, which contains the last half, are the two most authoritative and important sources for a knowledge of the book.

Manuscript 1135. This manuscript contains Chapter I, section 1, of *Al-Fihrist*, as well as the last four chapters of the book. Both the table of contents and the numbering of the chapters are incorrect. Chapter I, section 1, and Chapter VII are grouped together as the first part of the book, and the last three chapters are designated II, III, and IV, instead of eight, nine, and ten.

There are a hundred and eighteen folios, written on the front and back, with modern numbers stamped on them. There are no empty spaces to be filled in, as is the case with the other manuscripts. Each page is 25.5 by 18.5 cm in size. The handwriting is well formed, similar to the *naskh* script of the manuscripts already mentioned. As this copy is incomplete, it was evidently transcribed from parts of some older version. It contains some book titles omitted in the earlier sources.

This manuscript is located in the Köprülü Library at Istanbūl, where it is catalogued as No. 1135. A date is ascribed to it, which is given as "*Rabī' al-Thānī* 600." This is equivalent to the fourth

month of A.D. 1203/1204. Stamped on the manuscript are numerous seals of the Ottoman period, the principal one containing the name *Kubrili*. The title page bears the heading given at the beginning of Chapter I in the translation. It is written in black ink, whereas the subtitles and names of authors are in red.

Manuscript 1134. This manuscript is in the Köprülü Library at Istanbūl, catalogued as No. 1134. It is written on good paper, each page measuring 20.3 by 15 cm, and is divided into two separate parts. The first might easily be a copy of Chapter I, section 1, as given in Manuscript 1135. The second part contains what is probably most of Manuscript 1934. This version does not seem to be as old and authentic as the other copies.

The Tonk Manuscript. This transcription of a portion of *Al-Fihrist* is in the Sa'īdīyah Library at Tonk, where it originally belonged to the Nabob of the region. Tonk is a city of Rajastān, a hundred and twenty-five miles southwest of Agra. The manuscript contains forty-four folios, with writing on the front and back of each page. At the beginning there is a page which is empty except for some blurred seals and a title, written in small letters: "*Fihrist* of Accounts of the Scholars and the Names of Their Compositions," followed by the name of al-Nadīm partially blotted out.

After a pious phrase this copy starts with a poem in Chapter III. It ends with a short passage about an unimportant author named Plutarch in Chapter VII.[39] There is a postscript which reads:

The second section of the *Book Al-Fihrist* has ended, with the help of Allāh Almighty and his kindness. If Allāh Almighty so wills, there will follow it in the third section an account of *Yaḥyā* al-Naḥwī. It has been transcribed by Ḥunayn ibn 'Abd Allāh, the nephew of Yaḥyā al-Jawharī, thanks be to the Lord of the Knowing.

The numbering of the sections does not correspond with that of the other manuscripts, but in all of the versions an account of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī comes directly after the point where the Tonk manuscript ends. The name mentioned at the end of the postscript is evidently

[39] Chap III, section 3, near n. 52, and Chapter VII, section 1, near n. 168.

that of the copyist. This manuscript is so well described in an article written by Johann Fück[40] that it is necessary to mention only a few facts in this introduction.

The manuscript lacks a segment of material from Chapter IV and Chapter V.[41] The point in Chapter V, section 1, where the manuscript recommences corresponds to folio 10, at the top of the reverse side. Between that point and the beginning of manuscript 1934[42] the Tonk Manuscript contains material lacking in the other versions. It is because of this additional material that this transcription is valuable.

The Tonk Manuscript, moreover, gives the list of book titles of Ibn al-*Mu'allim*.[43] This list is lacking in the Flügel edition at the bottom of page 197, as well as in the other manuscripts and in the compilation of al-Ṭūsī.[44] For other material which is unique in the Tonk Manuscript, see Chapter V, section 5, notes 145, 188, and 189. Note 198 indicates that al-Ṭūsī drew upon sources similar to those used by the scribe of the Tonk Manuscript. Ibn Ḥajar[45] also quotes items which he evidently found in the part of *Al-Fihrist* unique to the Tonk Manuscript. Except for this additional material, this manuscript is not as valuable as the others, as the handwriting is not always clear and there are many clerical errors.

Manuscript 4457. This is in La Bibliothéque nationale in Paris, Fonds Arabe, 1953 catalogue, page 342 (cf. 5889, fol. 128, vo. 130), No. 4457. This transcription contains the first part of *Al-Fihrist* and is dated six hundred and twenty-seven (A.D. 1229/1230). It has 237 folios, each page measuring 20 by 13.5 cm, with sixteen lines to the page. It ends with a statement of intention to continue with the fifth chapter and a prayer for Muḥammad and his family. This is probably the copy referred to by Flügel in his *vorwort* as the "Old Paris Manuscript," comprising Chapters I to IV. Flügel must have depended to a large extent on this manuscript for the part of his

[40] See Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser. XV, No. 2 (1936), 298–321.
[41] Chap. IV, section 2, n. 100, and Chap. V, section 1, n. 237.
[42] Chap. V, section 1, near n. 266.
[43] Chap. V, section 5, n. 210.
[44] Ṭūsī, *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī*, p. 315.
[45] *Ḥajar, Lisān al-Mīzān.*

text between his pages one and a hundred and seventy-two. In fact the pious ending is exactly like that given in the Flügel edition on the top of page 172.

Manuscript 4458. This is also in La Bibliothéque nationale, Fonds Arabe, 1953, catalogue page 342 (cf. 5889, fol. 128, vo. 130), No. 4458. This copy starts with Chapter V, section 5. The title is identical with that given by Flügel. There are 246 folios, each measuring 24 by 16 cm. It continues to the end of the book and closes with a note stating that it was confirmed as correct by the copyist Aḥmad al-Miṣrī. The manuscript is marked as being copied in 1846 under the supervision of de Slane, from a manuscript in the *Library* Kieuprulu in Istanbūl. The handwriting is clear, but the headings are not separated as distinctly as they are in the Flügel text and there seem to be numerous clerical errors. In the headings for the last three chapters the name of al-Nadīm is given in the same specialized and ungrammatical way that it is given in Manuscript 1934. De Slane evidently had this copy made by a scribe at Istanbūl from Manuscript 1134 or perhaps from the more accurate Manuscript 1934, which originally was in the Köprülü Library before it was moved to the library by the Sulaymānīyah Mosque.

Vienna Manuscript No. 33. This manuscript comprises part of Chapter V, but omits part of the material about the Mu'tazilah. It continues to the end of the book. This manuscript and the two which follow are described in greater detail by Flügel in his *vorwort.*

Vienna Manuscript No. 34. This copy contains part of Chapter I, part of Chapter VII, and the last three chapters.

The Leyden Manuscript. Flügel gives this as No. 20 and explains that it contains Chapters VII to X. He also found at Leyden some unimportant and unsatisfactory fragments.

The Ṭanjah Manuscript. This is a recent and unimportant copy, which is described in *Majallat Ma'had al-Khuṭūṭ al-'Arabīyah*, published by the League of Arab States at Cairo, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 179.

Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha Appendix. This consists of some extra pages purchased by Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha after his attention had been directed to them by a publication issued in Germany in 1889. These pages were published as an appendix to the Egyptian edition of *Al-Fihrist* at Cairo, by the Raḥmānīyah Press, in 1929.

Because of the wars and revolutions in medieval times and the insects which thrive in warm climates, great numbers of valuable manuscripts have been lost. It is unfortunate that no complete manuscript exists of a book as important as *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of al-Nadīm.

The Fihrist of al-Nadīm

Kitāb al-Fihrist

The Composition of
Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Warrāq,
known as Ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-*Nadīm*[1]

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate; I rely upon Allāh, the Unique, the Victorious; may Allāh lengthen the life of the excellent master. Lord by Thy mercy make it easy for[2] persons accepting conclusions without premises and resting upon the intended purpose without a lengthening of explanations, for we are abridging our statements at the beginning of this book of ours, so as to form a guide to show how we plan to compose it, if Allāh so wills. It is said, "Upon Allāh we rely," and from Him also do we invoke a benediction for all of His prophets and worshippers who are sincere in obeying Him, for there is no strength and no power except with Allāh, the Exalted, the Almighty.[3]

This is a catalogue of the books of all peoples, Arab and foreign, existing in the language of the Arabs, as well as of their scripts, dealing with various sciences, with accounts of those who composed

[1] The title is taken from MS 1135. *Kitāb* means "book" and *al-fihrist* means "the catalogue" or "the index." A *warrāq* is a man who sells paper and manuscripts, which are often transcribed by his own hand. A *nadīm* is a court companion of some high official. These terms and many others are explained in the Glossary. The author of *Al-Fihrist* was known by the nickname "al-Nadīm," and is listed by this name in the Biog. Index.

[2] In the Beatty MS these words, "Lord . . . for," are omitted and the word for "persons" is garbled. In the Flügel edition also, some words are omitted. The translation, therefore, follows MS 1135.

[3] For the title page of the Beatty MS see the Introduction. Compare this passage with Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 170.

them and the categories of their authors, together with their relationships and records of their times of birth, length of life, and times of death, and also of the localities of their cities, their virtues and faults, from the beginning of the formation of each science to this our own time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven after the Hijrah [A.D. 987/88].

Summary of What the Book Contains in Ten Chapters[4]

The First Chapter, in three sections.

The First Section, describing the languages of the peoples, Arab and foreign, the characteristics of their methods of writing,[5] their types of script and forms of calligraphy.

The Second Section, about titles of the books of the laws revealed to the sects of the Muslims and the sects of [other] peoples.[6]

The Third Section, describing the Book which has nothing false in front of it or behind it, a revelation from the All Wise and All Praised, with the names of the books composed about its sciences and accounts of the readers [of the Qur'ān], with the names of those who quoted them and the digressions from their forms of reading.

The Second Chapter, with three sections, about the grammarians and language scholars.

The First Section, about the beginning of grammar,[7] with accounts of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah and the Arabians who were masters of literary style, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah and the titles of their books.

The Third Section, mentioning a group of grammarians connected with both schools[8] and the titles of their books.

[4] In the Beatty MS this table of contents is written on horizontal lines without any special arrangements for the headings. The Arabic word translated as "chapter" is *al-maqālah*.

[5] Several extra words are in the Beatty MS, but they are not clear enough to read.

[6] The Beatty MS varies slightly from the Flügel, but neither of them make the meaning entirely clear.

[7] Here the word *al-naḥw* seems to mean "grammar" rather than "syntax," the usual translation.

[8] The two schools of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

The Third Chapter, in three sections, about historical traditions, literary pursuits, biographies, and genealogies.

The First Section, with accounts of the historians, narrators of traditions, genealogists, and authors of biographies and anecdotes, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the kings, secretaries, writers of correspondence, administrators of the revenue, and keepers of registers,[9] with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of the court companions, associates, singers, literary men, buffoons, persons who take slaps good-naturedly, and jesters, with the names of their books.[10]

The Fourth Chapter, in two sections, about poetry and the poets.

The First Section, about the groups of poets who were Pre-Islāmic, or else Islāmic surviving the Pre-Islāmic period, with the composers of their anthologies and the names of those quoting them.

The Second Section, about groups of the Islāmic poets and the recent poets coming down to this our own time.

The Fifth Chapter, with five sections, about theology and the theologians.

The First Section, about the beginning of the theological movement and the theologians of the Mu'tazilah and the Murji'ah, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Shī'ah, the Imāmīyah, and the Zaydīyah, as well as of others among the Ghulāt (Ghulāh) and the Ismā'īlīyah, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Mujbirah and the Ḥashawīyah, and the titles of their books.

The Fourth Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Khawārij, their types, and the titles of their books.

The Fifth Section, with accounts of the pilgrims, the ascetics, the devotees, those adopting the Ṣūfī practices, and students of a

[9] The Beatty MS omits the word "kings." For the word translated as "registers," the Beatty MS gives *dafātir* and the others give *dawāwīn*. Both words have the same meaning.

[10] Only the Beatty MS includes the word *udabā'* ("literary men"). For these three kinds of court clowns, see "jesters" in Glossary. Consult Glossary also for the names of the sects which follow.

theology based on hallucinations and aberrations, with the titles of their books.

The Sixth Chapter, with eight sections, about the law and the legal authorities, including the recent ones.

The First Section, with accounts of *Mālik* [ibn Anas] and his adherents (*aṣḥāb*), with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of Abū *Ḥanīfah* and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of al-*Shāfi'ī* and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Fourth Section, with accounts of *Dā'ūd* [ibn 'Alī] and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Fifth Section, with accounts of the legal authorities of the Shī'ah, with the titles of their books.

The Sixth Section, with accounts of the legal authorities who are scholars of the Ḥadīth, including the recent ones, with the titles of their books.

The Seventh Section, with accounts of Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī* and his adherents, with the titles of their books.

The Eighth Section, with accounts of the legal authorities of the Shurāt (Shurāh) and the titles of their books.

The Seventh Chapter, three sections, about philosophy and the ancient sciences.

The First Section, with accounts of philosophers of natural science and logic,[11] with the titles of their books, the translations, and the commentaries on them; which ones are extant, which are recorded but no longer extant, and which ones used to exist but later disappeared.

The Second Section, with accounts of the possessors of learning; the geometricians, arithmeticians, musicians, calculators, astronomers, makers of instruments, and those acquainted with mechanics and dynamics.[12]

The Third Section, about the beginning of medicine, with accounts of ancient and recent physicians, with the titles of their books and the translations and commentaries.

[11] This could also be translated as "the natural and logical sciences."

[12] Flügel gives a somewhat different interpretation, as he inserts the word "and" before "the geometricians."

The Eighth Chapter, with three sections, about evening recountals, fables, exorcisms, magic, and juggling.

The First Section, with accounts of those who tell stories at night, tellers of fables, and contrivers of illustrations, with the titles of the books of stories and fables which have been composed.

The Second Section, with accounts of the exorcists, jugglers, and magicians, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, about books composed on various subjects, the compilers and authors being unknown.

The Ninth Chapter, with two sections, about schools of thought [sects] and doctrines.

The First Section, describing the schools of thought of the Chaldaeans of Ḥarrān, known in our time as the Ṣābians, and of the dualist sects of the Manichaeans, the Dayṣānīyah, the Khurramīyah, Marcionites, Mazdakites, and others, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with a description of the foreign and rare schools of thought, such as the sects of India, China, and other countries.

The Tenth Chapter, including accounts of the alchemists and the workers of the Art [alchemy], among the ancient and recent philosophers.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, who is sufficient for us, upon whom we depend and whose aid we invoke

The First Section of the First Chapter

with a description of the languages of the Arabs and foreign peoples, the characteristics of their ways of writing, their types of script and forms of calligraphy.[1]

Remarks on Arabic Writing

Men have differed concerning who first originated the Arabic script. Hishām al-*Kalbī* said that the first to form it was a group of Bedouin Arabs encamped with ʿAdnān ibn Udd. Their names were Abū Jād, Hawwāz, Ḥuṭṭī, Kalamūn, Ṣaʿfaḍ, and Qurusaʾāt.[2]

There is this from [what is written in] the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī* in the following way:

The Arabs originated writing for their names and then discovered other letters not in their names: *tāʾ*, *khāʾ*, *dhāl*, *zāʾ*, *shīn*, *ghayn*, which they called *al-rawādif*.[3] It is said that these men were kings of Midian, whose destruction was on the Day of the Cloud, at the time of *Shuʿayb* the Prophet, for whom may there be peace.[4]

[1] Cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), II, 381 ff.; III, 282. See Flügel's article in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 559.

[2] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 203, spells these names differently but gives them as legendary giant kings.

[3] This word means "palm sprouts," the "back parts," or the layers of fat on the rear of a camel's hump. Another form of the plural means one who rides behind on a camel.

[4] See Qurʾān 7:85–93; 9:84–95; 15:80–84; 26:176–89; 29:36–37.

Kalamūn's elegy was composed by his sister:

> Kalamūn my support has been stricken down,
> The central post of the encampment has been destroyed.
> To him chief of the people
> Has death come in the midst of a cloud.
> Over them has a fire been kindled,
> As nought has become their place of dwelling.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī *Sa'd* in the following form and construction: Abjād, Hāwar, Ḥāṭā, Kalammān, Ṣā', Faḍ, Qarasat. They say that they were foreign peoples who, while camping with 'Adnān ibn Iyād and the like, became Arabized and formed the Arabic writing, but it is Allāh who knows.[5]

Ka'b said, and before Allāh I am not responsible for his statement, that the first to originate the Arabic and Persian scripts and other forms of writing was *Adam*, for whom be peace. Three hundred years before his death he wrote on clay which he baked so that it kept safe even when the Flood overflowed the earth. Then each people found its script and wrote with it.

Ibn '*Abbās* said:

The first persons to write Arabic were three men of Bawlān, a tribe inhabiting al-Anbār,[6] who came together and originated letters, both separated and joined. They were *Murāmir* ibn Murwah, *Aslam* ibn Sidrah, and '*Āmir* ibn Ḥidrah; [the first and the third were] also called Murrah and Ḥidlah. Murāmir originated the forms, Aslam the separations and connections, and 'Āmir the diacritical points.

When the people of al-Ḥīrah[7] were asked, "From whom did you derive Arabic?" they replied, "From the inhabitants of al-Anbār." It is also said that Allāh, Blessed and Almighty, caused *Ismā'īl* (Ishmael) to speak clear Arabic when he was twenty-four years old.

[5] The tribal names in this list and the one in the preceding paragraph evidently belong to foreign tribes which came from the north as protégés of 'Irāqī Bedouin peoples, whom they taught how to write. These names do not appear in Durayd, *Geneal.*, and Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*. 'Adnān ibn Iyād was a subtribe of Ma'add in 'Irāq, rather than the original '*Adnān*. See "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565.

[6] For the tribe of Banū Bawlān, see Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, p. 397; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 237. Al-Anbār is a city on the Euphrates northwest of Baghdād.

[7] Al-Ḥīrah was near Babylon, the center of Christian tribes attached to the Sāsānid dynasty.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: What is near to the truth, acceptable to the mind, and recorded by a reliable authority is that the Arabic speech was the language of Ḥimyar, Ṭasm, Jadīs, Aram, and Ḥawayl, of Arab Bedouin stock.[8] Then when Ismā'īl arrived at the Ḥaram [shrine of Makkah], grew up, and matured, he married into the Jurham clan[9] of *Mu'āwiyah* ibn Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī, and his children learned their speech from these uncles. As time passed on, the descendants of Ismā'īl derived one word after another, forming names for many objects as phenomena turned up and appeared.

After speech had been developed, good literary poetry appeared among the people of 'Adnān, increasing in quantity after the time of *Ma'add* ibn 'Adnān. Thus, though each one of the Arab tribes had a dialect by which it was distinguished and which it made use of, at the beginning they shared in common. It is said that the Arabs were prevented from [further] amplifying their language because of the mission of the Prophet, for whom may there be peace, in revealing the Qur'ān.

One thing which confirms all of this is the quotation of *Makḥūl* from his men that the earliest innovators of Arabic writing were the Nafīs, the Naḍr, the Taymā', and the Dūmah,[10] descendants of Ismā'īl, who developed it in detail, and then it was made distinctive by *Qādūr* and *Nabt* ibn Hamaysa' ibn Qādūr.[11]

It has been said that in ancient times a group of the people of al-Anbār formed the letters *alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*,[12] which the Arabs borrowed. Moreover, I have read in a book of Makkah, written by *'Umar* ibn Shabbah in his own handwriting, that "A group of the scholars of Muḍar informed me that the person who wrote this

[8] Aram refers to the Aramaeans and Ḥimyar to the ancient kingdom of southern Arabia. For the other names see Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 362, 524, 526.

[9] Jurham was a well-known tribe which settled at Makkah; see "Djurhum," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1066.

[10] The Nafīs, the Taymā', and the Dūmah were ancient tribes called in Gen. 25:14–15 the Naphish, the Tema, and the Dūmah. The Naḍr ibn Kinānah was a well-known tribe which employed the Quraysh as guides. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 1094, 1103, 1104, 1739.

[11] The Beatty MS corrects Flügel's imperfect text in connection with Nabt ibn Hamaysa'.

[12] This is equivalent to saying in English, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

Arabic was al-*Jazm*, a man of the tribe of Mukhallad ibn al-Naḍr ibn Kinānah, after which the Arabs themselves wrote."

From another source: "The person who brought writing to the Quraysh at Makkah was Abū *Qays* ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhrah." It is also said that it was *Ḥarb* ibn Umayyah. It is related that when the Quraysh demolished the Ka'bah, they found in one of its supports a stone on which was inscribed, "Al-*Siluf* ibn 'Abuqar conveys to his lord a salutation." It was three thousand years old.

There was in the library of al-*Ma'mūn* something written on hide in the handwriting of '*Abd* al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim mentioning the claim of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim of Makkah against so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, the Ḥimyarite of the Warl Tribe[13] of Ṣan'ā' for a thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*) measured by iron. When he called upon him for this, he proffered the witness of Allāh and the two angels. It is said that the handwriting was like that of women.

One of the Arab writers was *Usayd* ibn Abī al-'Īṣ. When a flood stream drained off from the ground at the Masjid al-Sūr (Mosque of the Wall) by the tomb of al-Murratūn, there was found a stone upon which there was inscribed, "I, Usayd ibn Abī al-'Īṣ, may Allāh show mercy to the sons of '*Abd* Manaf." [But] was an Arab called by this name?

From what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī *Sa'd*:

They record that when *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham), for whom may there be peace, saw the children of *Ismā'īl* (Ishmael) with their maternal Jurhum uncles he said, "Oh, Ismā'īl, who are these?" He replied, "My children with their Jurhum uncles." Then Ibrāhīm said to him in the tongue with which he used to speak, which was the ancient Syriac, "'*Urub*." Thus he said to him, "Mingle them together."

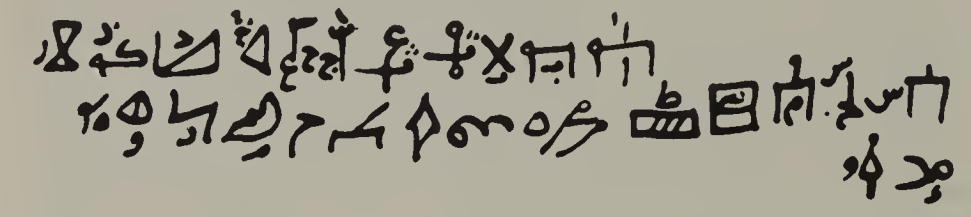
But it is Allāh who knows [the truth].

Remarks about the Ḥimyarite Script

A reliable authority asserts that he heard some Yamanite chiefs say that Ḥimyar used to write with the Musnad script, with varied forms of *alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*. I myself have seen a passage in the library of

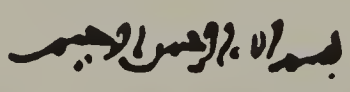
[13] In the Beatty MS the word seems to be *warl*. It could be *wazl*. It may be an ancient Ḥimyarite tribe or a misprint. Perhaps, however, it is a variation of the old name of the city Azāl; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 421.

al-*Ma'mūn* which I have translated, "What the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd Allāh al-*Ma'mūn*, may Allāh honor him, ordered the translators to transcribe."[14] It contained Ḥimyarite script and I give you an exact reproduction of what was in the transcription [Example 1]



Example 1

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: The first of the Arab scripts was the script of Makkah, the next of al-Madīnah, then of al-Baṣrah, and then of al-Kūfah. For the *alifs* of the scripts of Makkah and al-Madīnah there is a turning of the hand to the right and lengthening of the strokes, one form having a slight slant.[15] This is an example of it [Example 2]



Example 2

Scripts of Copies of the Qur'ān

Those of Makkah, the people of al-Madīnah, the Nīm,[16] the Muthallath, and the Mudawwar. Also those of al-Kūfah and

[14] Evidently al-*Nadīm* translated only the title of the passage, not the whole of it.

[15] The Arabic phrase translated as "lengthening of the strokes" is literally "raising of the fingers." See Abbott in *Ars Islamica*, VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1941), 71. The article deals with other scripts, too. See also Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script;* Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1707 ff.; Jeffery in *Muslim World*, XXX, No. 2 (April 1940), 191–98.

Professor Arberry in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I (1948), 24, thinks that a contribution of Professor Minovi in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1710, is correct. It explains that the Beatty MS is more nearly correct than the Flügel edition and that the words of the script illustrated in the text, "in the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate," are an example of the Makkah-Madīnah scripts.

[16] Flügel has al-Ta'im.

al-Baṣrah, and the Mashq, the Tajāwīd, the Siṭawaṭī, the Masnū', the Munābadh, the Murāṣaf,[17] the Iṣbahānī, the Sijillī, and the Firāmūz,[18] which is derived and read by the Persians. It is a recent development in two forms, the Nāṣarī and the Mudawwar.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: The man who at the beginning [of Islām] first wrote copies of the Qur'ān, being honored for the beauty of his penmanship, was *Khālid* ibn Abī al-Hayyāj; I have seen a copy transcribed in his handwriting. Sa'd[19] singled him out to write copies of the Qur'ān, poems, and reports for al-*Walīd* [I] ibn 'Abd al-Mālik, and it was he who wrote in gold the inscription in the prayer niche (*al-qiblah*) of the Mosque of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, from "And the sun and its brightness" to the end of the Qur'ān.[20]

It is reported that '*Umar* [II] ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "I want you to transcribe a Qur'ān for me like this model." So he [Khālid ibn Abī al-Hayyāj] made a copy of the Qur'ān for him, exercising great care. 'Umar started to look it over and admire it, but when he found the price to be excessive, he returned it to him.

Mālik ibn Dīnār, a protégé of *Sāmah* ibn Luwa'ī ibn Ghālib, who was called Abū Yaḥyā, used to transcribe copies of the Qur'ān for pay. He died in the year one hundred and thirty [A.D. 747/48]. It is said that he was *Mālik* ibn Dīnār ibn Dād Bahār ibn Ḥashīsh ibn Rāzī.[21]

Some of the Transcribers of the Copies of the Qur'ān

Khashnām of al-Baṣrah and al-*Mahdī* of al-Kūfah lived during the days of al-*Rashīd*. We have not seen their equals even as late as our own time. Khashnām used to write long *alifs*, striking with the pen.

[17] Some of these names are taken from the Beatty MS, which does not make the spelling clear.

[18] See Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1717.

[19] It has not been possible to identify this man, although he must have been someone of importance at Damascus during the early eighth century.

[20] In other words, the inscription which Khālid ibn Abī al-Hayyāj wrote was a quotation from the Qur'ān which began with the phrase "And the sun and its brightness" and continued until the end of the Qur'ān. The quotation is from the Qur'ān 91:1. The Mosque of the Prophet is at al-Madīnah.

[21] This sentence appears in the Beatty MS. The names are not written clearly enough for one to be sure of their spelling.

Among them [the transcribers] there was Abū *Juday*, who used to write the elegant copies of the Qur'ān at the time of al-*Mu'taṣim* and was one of the great, skillful Cūfic writers. Following these there were in the group of writers of the Cūfic [script]: Ibn Umm *Shaybān*, al-*Masḥūr*, Abū *Khamīrah*, Ibn *Ḥumayrah*, and in our own time Abū al-*Faraj*.

Then among the transcribers who wrote copies of the Qur'ān with the Muḥaqqaq, Mashq, and similar scripts, there were Ibn Abī *Ḥassān*, Ibn al-*Ḥaḍramī*, Ibn *Zayd*, al-*Quryānī*, Ibn Abī *Fāṭimah*, Ibn *Mujālid*, *Sharāshīr* the Egyptian, Ibn *Sayr*, Ibn al-Ḥasan al-*Malīḥ*, al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Ni'ālī,[22] Ibn *Ḥadīdah*, Abū *'Aqīl*, Abū Muḥammad al-*Iṣbahānī*, Abū *Bakr* Aḥmad ibn Naṣr, and his son Abū al-*Ḥusayn*, both of whom I have seen.

A Copy Transcribed from What Was Written in the Handwriting of Abū al-'Abbās ibn *Thawābah*

Quṭbah was the first transcriber during the period of the Banū Umayyah. He developed the four forms of writing, deriving one from the other, for Quṭbah was the best Arabic penman on earth.

Al-*Ḍaḥḥāk* ibn 'Ajlān, the scribe, followed him at the beginning of the caliphate of the Banū al-'Abbās. He added to what Quṭbah did, and next to him was the best calligrapher in the world. After him, during the caliphates of al-*Manṣūr* and al-*Mahdī*, there was *Isḥāq* ibn Ḥammād, the scribe, who augmented what was accomplished by al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

Then there were a number of pupils of Isḥāq ibn Ḥammād, among whom was *Yūsuf*, the scribe, nicknamed Laqwah the Poet, who was the best penman among the people. Among them there were also *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mujashshir, who improved on Yūsuf, as well as *Shuqayr* the Servant, a slave of Ibn *Qayyūmā*, who was the tutor of al-*Qāsim* ibn al-Manṣūr. One of them was *Thanā'*, the woman scribe, who was a slave girl of Ibn Qayyūmā, and among them was 'Abd al-Jabbār al-*Rūmī*. Among them there were also al-*Sha'rānī*; al-*Abrash*; *Sulaym* the servant-scribe, a servant of *Ja'far* ibn Yaḥyā; *'Amr* ibn Mas'adah; *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Khālid; Aḥmad al-*Kalbī*, a

[22] Al-Quryānī and Sharāshīr are not clearly written in the Beatty MS, and al-Ni'ālī is also a guess.

scribe of al-*Ma'mūn*; *'Abd* Allāh ibn Shaddād; *'Uthmān* ibn Ziyād al-'Ābid; *Muḥammad* ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, nicknamed al-Madanī; and Abū al-Faḍl Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-*Tamīmī* of al-Khurāsān. It was these who wrote the original measured scripts, never since equaled.

Naming of the Measured Scripts and a Description of What Is Written with Each of These Scripts Which None Can Equal[23]

Among them is the Jalīl script, which is the father of all scripts and which no one can emulate except with rigorous training. *Yūsuf*

[23] The pages were measured with animal hairs (*sha'r al-birdhawn*), probably the hairs of donkeys. The full-size page produced in a paper factory was the *ṭūmār*, 24 hairs in width. The next size was the *thuluthayn*, 16 hairs, then the *niṣf*, 12 hairs, and finally the *thuluth*, 8 hairs. The scripts were measured to fit these different-size pages and named accordingly. For a different theory, see Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, p. 32. Qalqashāndī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, III, 52, presents several theories about how the scripts were named. He does not make it clear whether by *qalam* he means "pen" or "style of writing," so that his descriptions are not conclusive. For a description of the measured scripts and their names, see *ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.; Abbott in *Ars Islamica*, VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1941), 90, and Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp. 17–30; Durustūyah, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, pp. 65–74; and Ṭībī, *Jāmi' Maḥāsin Katābat al-Kuttāb*.

Ibn *Thawābah* gives two lists of twelve scripts each. It seems reasonable to suppose that the lists should be arranged as follows:

First List	*Second List*
Al-Jalīl	Al-Sumay'ī
Al-Sijillāt	Al-Ashrīyah
Al-Dībāj	Al-Khirfāj al-Thaqīl (Khafīf al-Ṭūmār al-Kābīr)
Al-Ṭūmār al-Kabīr	Al-Khirfāj al-Khafīf
Al-Thuluthayn al-Ṣaghīr (al-Khirfāj)	Al-Mufattaḥ
Al-Zanbūr	Al-Mumsak
Al-Ḥaram	Al-Mudawwar al-Kabīr (al-Ri'āsī)
Al-Mu'āmarāt	Al-Mudawwar al-Ṣaghīr
Al-'Uhūd	Khafīf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr
Amthāl al-Niṣf (light and open)	Al-Riqa'
Al-Qiṣaṣ	Mufattaḥ al-Niṣf
Al-Awjibah	Al-Narjis

Two other scripts are mentioned in the summary and evidently taken for granted as being offshoots from the Jalīl. They are the Thuluth al-Kabīr al-Thaqīl (big, heavy, third-size) and Niṣf al-Thaqīl (heavy, half-size). A number of the scripts in the list are developments from these two.

Laqwah says that "the Jalīl script vexes the loins of the scribe." There are written with it the genuine documents sent by the caliphs to the kings of the earth, and derived from it there are two scripts, the Sijillāt and the Dībāj. From the medium Sijillāt script [al-Awsiṭ] are derived two scripts, the Sumay'ī and the Ashrīyah scripts.

With the Dībāj script are written the official documents and from it is derived the Ṭūmār al-Kabīr script, also used for documents, and an outgrowth of the Dībāj. From it is derived the Khirfāj or the Thuluthayn al-Ṣaghīr al-Thaqīl script, which is derived from the Ṭūmār and with which are written communications from the caliphs to the agents and emirs in the outlying regions. From it are derived three scripts: the Zanbūr script, which grows out of the Thuluthayn and is used for writing on the half-size sheets of paper (*inṣāf*) and from which nothing is derived—the Mufattaḥ script is derived from it;[24] the Ḥaram script, which is written on the half-sheets sent to the kings, derived from the Thaqīl; the Mu'āmarāt script, derived from the Thuluthayn—with it are written the half-sheets [exchanged] between the kings.

Four other scripts spring from these two scripts, that is, from the Ḥaram script and the Mu'āmarāt script: the 'Uhūd script, an outgrowth from the Ḥaram, used for writing on the two-thirds-size sheets, from which nothing is derived; the Amthāl al-Niṣf script, from which are developed two scripts, light (*khafīf*) and open (*mufattaḥ*); the Qiṣaṣ script growing out of the Ḥaram and the Mu'āmarāt script, written on the half-size sheet and from which nothing was derived; and the Ajwibah script, derived from the Ḥaram and the Mu'āmarāt script, used for writing on the third-size sheets of paper (*al-ithlāth*), nothing being derived from it. These are twelve scripts from which twelve other scripts are derived.

Among them is the Khirfāj al-Thaqīl script, which is the light form of the Ṭūmār al-Kabīr and developed from it. With it are written official documents and from it is derived the Khirfāj al-Khafīf script. There is also the Sumay'ī script, which resembles the Sijillāt handwriting and springs from the Sijillāt al-Awsaṭ. With it are written official documents and other communications.

[24] Probably the Mufattaḥ was derived from the Zanbūr.

Among them there is also a script called the Ashrīyah script, derived from the Sijillāt al-Awsaṭ handwriting. With it are written emancipations of slaves and sales of land and houses and other things. Among them is a script called the Mufattaḥ, sprung from the Thaqīl al-Niṣf. The Mumsak script, with which they write on the half-size sheets, is derived from it. Three scripts grow out of it: a script called the Mudawwar al-Kabīr, which the scribes of this period call the Ri'āsī and which is written on the half-size sheets; also derived from it is a script called the Mudawwar al-Ṣaghīr, a general-utility script with which are written records, traditions, and poems; and a script called Khafīf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr. It is written on the half-size sheets, being derived from Khafīf al-Niṣf al-Thaqīl. From it there springs a script called the Riqā', which is derived from Khafīf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr and with which are written signed edicts and similar things.

Among them is a script called the Mufattaḥ al-Niṣf, derived from al-Niṣf al-Thaqīl, and among them also is the Narjis script, written on the third-size sheets and derived from Khafīf al-Niṣf.

These are twenty-four scripts, all of which are derived from four scripts: the Jalīl script, the Ṭūmār al-Kabīr script, the Niṣf al-Thaqīl script, and the Thuluth al-Kabīr al-Thaqīl script. The derivation of these four scripts is from the Jalīl, which is the father of the scripts.

From [Sources] Other than the Handwriting of Ibn *Thawābah*

People continued to write according to the forms of the ancient script which we have mentioned until the beginning of the 'Abbāsid rule, and at the time when the Hāshimites[25] appeared, the copies of the Qur'ān were written specifically with these forms [scripts].

Then there developed a handwriting called the 'Irāqī, which was the Muḥaqqaq known as Warrāqī. Elaboration and improvement continued until it culminated for al-*Ma'mūn*, whose companions and scribes undertook to beautify their calligraphy, concerning which the people vied with one another.

[25] The Banū al-'Abbās, or caliphs of the 'Abbāsid dynasty.

Then there appeared a man known as al-*Aḥwal* al-Muḥarrir, a craftsman of the Barmakids,[26] who was acquainted with the significations and forms of writing. He spoke about its forms and rules, dividing it into categories. This man used to write the communications dispatched by the sultan to the kings of the distant regions in the official documents. He was in the depths of misfortune and filth, as well as coarse, not fit for anything.[27] When he classified the scripts, he gave precedence to the heavy scripts. The finest among these is the Ṭūmār script, which is written on the full-size page (*al-ṭūmār*), either with a piece of palm or perhaps it is written with a pen. With it they transmit letters to the kings.

Among the scripts there are the Thuluthayn script, the Sijillāt script, the ʿUhūd script, the Muʾāmarāt script, the Amānāt script, the Dībāj script, the Mudabbaj script, the Muraṣṣaʿ script, and the Tashājī script.

When Dhū al-Riʾāsatayn al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl arose, he invented a script which was the best of the scripts and known as the Riʾāsī. It branched into a number of scripts, among which there are: the Riʾāsī al-Kabīr script, the Niṣf script from the Riʾāsī, the Thuluth script, the Ṣaghīr al-Niṣf script, the Khafīf al-Thuluth script, the Muḥaqqaq script, the Manthūr script, the Washī script, the Riqāʿ script, the Mukātabāt script, the Ghubār al-Ḥilyah script, the Narjis script, and the Biyāḍ script.

Account of al-Barbarī al-Muḥarrar and His Son

This point of the book requires that we mention him. He was *Isḥāq* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṣubbāḥ ibn Bishr ibn Suwayd al-Aswad al-Tamīmī and subsequently al-Saʿdī.[28] Ibrāhīm was squint-eyed, but Isḥāq taught al-*Muqtadir* and his children. He was nicknamed Abū al-Ḥusayn, and this Abū al-Ḥusayn wrote an

[26] See Glossary, Barmak family.

[27] Although the Beatty MS is quite clear, this sentence does not seem to suit the rest of the passage. It is possible that al-Aḥwal was a Ṣūfī and therefore poor and dirty; or the passage may be garbled, and al-Aḥwal may have been Abū Khālid al-Aḥwal, vizier of al-Maʾmūn.

[28] This means "fortunate" and may have been given as a nickname after Isḥāq had become tutor to the caliph.

epistle about penmanship and writing entitled *The Precious Object of the Lover.*

No one else appeared during his time who was a more skillful penman or better acquainted with writing. His brother, Abū al-*Ḥasan*, was like him, walking in his footsteps. His son was Abū al-Qāsim *Ismāʿīl* ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, whose son, Abū Muḥammad, was al-*Qāsim* ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq. Among his children there was also Abū al-ʿAbbās *ʿAbd* Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq. These men were preeminent for their beauty of penmanship and knowledge of writing.

Before the time of Isḥāq there was a man known as Ibn *Maʿdān*, whom Isḥāq drew upon for information. Among the young men of Ibn Maʿdān there was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-*Nims*. Among the writers there were also the sons of Wajh al-*Naʿjah*, in addition to Ibn *Munīr*, al-*Zanfalaṭī*, and al-*Zawāʾidī*.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Among the viziers and secretaries who wrote with ink[29] there were Abū Aḥmad al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn al-Ḥasan and Abū al-Ḥasan ʿ*Alī* ibn ʿĪsā [ibn Dāʾūd] and Abū ʿAlī *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī ibn Muqlah, whose birth was after the afternoon prayer on Thursday, nine nights before the end of Shawwāl, in the year two hundred and seventy-two [A.D. 885/86], and who died on Sunday when ten nights of Shawwāl had gone by during the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939/40].[30] His brother, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAlī [ibn Muqlah], also wrote with ink. He was born at daybreak on Wednesday at the end of the month of Ramaḍān during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92] and died in the month of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. The like of these two men has not been known in the past, or even as late as our own time. They wrote according to the calligraphy of their [grand] father Muqlah. The real name of Muqlah was ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Muqlah being a nickname.

[29] The Beatty MS has "and secretaries," evidently referring to members of the government secretariat who were not viziers. Two words are used for "ink": *al-midād* is used here, and *al-ḥibr* in the sentence following. See Flügel, p. 9 n.

[30] The system of dividing the lunar month into halves and counting the days and nights of the first half forward and the last half backwards is explained in Durustūyah, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, p. 80. Roughly, 30 sun years are similar to 31 moon years.

Some of their kinsmen and children wrote during their lifetime and afterward, but they did not maintain their standards. One of these [kinsmen] might excel in connection with one letter following another or one word after another, but it was Abū ʿAlī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh who achieved perfection as a whole.

Those of their children who were penmen were Abū Muḥammad *ʿAbd* Allāh, Abū al-*Ḥasan* ibn Abī ʿAlī, Abū Aḥmad *Sulaymān* ibn Abī al-Ḥasan, and Abū al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Abī ʿAlī. I have read a copy of the Qur'ān written in the handwriting of their grandfather Muqlah.

The Names of Persons Who Wrote Copies of the Qur'ān in Gold and Who Are Remembered

Al-*Yaqṭīnī*, Ibrāhīm al-*Ṣaghīr*, Abū *Mūsā* ibn ʿAmmār, Ibn al-*Saqaṭī*, *Muḥammad* [al-Khuzaymī], and Ibn *Muḥammad* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzaymī and his son of our own time.[31]

Names of the Bookbinders Who Are Remembered

Ibn Abī al-*Ḥarīsh*, who used to bind books in the Treasury of Knowledge of al-*Ma'mūn*,[32] Shafah al-*Miqrāḍ*, al-*ʿUjayfī*, Abū *ʿĪsā* ibn Shayrān, Dimyānah al-*Aʿsar* ibn al-Ḥajjām, *Ibrāhīm* and his son *Muḥammad*, and al-*Ḥusayn* ibn al-Ṣaffār.

Remarks about the Excellence of the Pen

Al-*ʿAttābī* said, "Pens are the beasts of burden of understanding." Ibn Abī *Duwād* said, "The pen is the ambassador of the mind, its apostle, its furthest reaching tongue, and its best interpreter." Ṭurayḥ ibn Ismāʿīl al-*Thaqafī* said, "Men's minds are under the nibs of their pens." *Aristotle* (Arisṭāṭālīs) said, "The pen is the active cause, the ink the material one, script is the principle of form, and style is the cause of perfection."

Al-ʿAttābī said, "Books smile as pens shed tears." Al-Kindī said, "The pen (*al-qlm*) has the same value as 'usefulness' (*nfʿ*), for

[31] As only a few vowel signs are given in the Arabic text, the names in this and the following list may not be entirely correct.

[32] Khizānat al-Ḥikmah; the library attached to the Bayt al-Ḥikmah or research center established by al-Ma'mūn, A.D. 830, at Baghdād.

f = 80, *n* = 50, *ā* = 1, and ʿ = 70, which totals 201. *A* = 1, *l* = 30, *q* = 100, *l* = 30, *m* = 40, which totals 201. *ʿAbd* al-Ḥamīd said, "The pen is a tree, the fruits of which are words, and contemplation is a sea, whose pearl is wisdom, wherein is quenching of mental thirst."

Remarks on the Excellencies of Penmanship and Praise of Arabic Speech

Sahl ibn Hārūn, who was the director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah[33] and known as Ibn Rahyūn al-Kātib (the Secretary), said, "The number of Arabic letters is twenty-eight, like the number of the stations of the moon. The greatest number of them which a word with its extra letters can contain is seven, corresponding to the seven heavenly bodies."

He also said, "The letters which are added are twelve, like the twelve signs of the zodiac." Then he said, "The letters which are elided with the *lām* (*l*) of the article are fourteen, like the hidden stations of the moon under the earth, while the fourteen manifest letters which do not elide are like the visible stations remaining. Three movements form the declensions; *al-rafʿ* [nominative], *al-naṣb* [accusative], and *al-khafad* [dative], for the movements of nature are three: motion from the center like that of fire, motion to the center like that of the earth, and motion on a center like that of the heavens." Beautiful is this coincidence and beautiful the interpretation![34]

Al-*Kindī* said, "I do not know of any other form of writing in which the letters undergo so much beautifying and refining as they do in Arabic writing. It also makes possible greater speed than can be attained in other forms of writing."

Plato (Aflāṭūn) said, "Handwriting is the shackle of the mind." *Euclid* (Aqlīdus) said, "Handwriting is a spiritual designing, even though it appears by means of a material instrument." Abū *Dulaf* said, "Handwriting is the garden of the sciences." Al-*Naẓẓām*

[33] MS 1135 says he was director of the books at Bayt al-Ḥikmah.

[34] For an explanation of the stations of the moon, see "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496. In the last sentence in this paragraph, one or both adjectives may be "novel" instead of "beautiful"; the Beatty MS is not clear. It is not clear whether this sentence is part of the quotation or was inserted by the author.

said, "Handwriting is rooted in the spirit, even though it appears by means of bodily senses."

Remarks about Ugliness of Handwriting

It is said that bad penmanship is one of the two chronic diseases. It is also said that bad handwriting is, in connection with culture, a disease. It is further said that ugly penmanship is sterility of culture.

Remarks about the Excellencies of Books

Someone said to *Socrates* (Suqrāṭ), "Are you not afraid that you will injure your eyes by continually looking into books?" He replied, "If I save my insight, I don't attend to weakness of eyesight." *Mahbūd*[35] said, "If books had not bound together the experiences of former generations, the shackles of later generations in their forgetfulness would not have been loosed."

Buzurjmihr said, "Books are the shells of wisdom, which are split open for the pearls of character." Another has said, "These sciences are camel stallions—use books to line them up; these couplets are runaways—use books for them as halters."

By Kulthūm ibn ʿAmr al-*ʿAttābī*

> We have comrades of whose conversation we never weary;
> Confiding and trustworthy whether absent or present,
> They give us the benefit of their knowledge, a knowledge
> of what has passed,
> With wise opinion, discipline, and instruction well-guided,
> Without cause to be dreaded or fear of suspicion.
> Neither their fingers nor their hands shall we fear;
> If you say they are living it is no lie,
> Or if you say they are dead you will not be held in error.

Naṭṭāḥah has said, and his name is Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl, surnamed Abū ʿAlī, a more complete account of whom will follow when telling about the secretaries, "The book, he is a companion who does not bother you at the time of your work, nor call you away when you are preoccupied, nor demand that you treat him with courtesy. The book, he is the comrade who does not flatter you too much,

[35] The third consonant in this word is uncertain and the name cannot be clearly identified.

the friend who does not tempt you, the companion who does not weary you, the counselor who does not mislead you."

Al-*Sarī* ibn Aḥmad al-Kindī recited one of his own compositions to me, saying, "I wrote on the back of a piece of a composition, which I gave to a friend of mine and which I bound with black leather:

A black object unveils its opposite,
As night the uncovering of the dawn.
I have sent you this, and though dumb
It holds conversation with the eyes about that with which it is entrusted.
Silent it is if its veil be clasped;
Sparkling when it is opened for enjoyment.
A cover encompassing its light
Goes back and forth (opens and shuts) containing it.
By means of it souls find enjoyment
While worries are cast down abased.
Rank nothing with it for enjoyment,
For all that you desire it contains."

Abū Bakr al-*Zuhayrī* recited to me [some verses] of Ibn *Ṭabāṭabā* about the volumes (*dafātir*):

By the favor of Allāh have these brethren attained their glory,
And by their association and fidelity I am exalted (made greater).
They speak without visible tongues,
Searching are they for hidden secrets.
If I seek knowledge of some past happening from Arab or Persian,
About it the books give me information,
As though I were an eyewitness living in their time,
Even though generations have come and gone.
If oratory I seek, orators arise,
My hand sufficing as a pulpit for the volumes.
How often have I tested men with them!
For the mind of a youth is tested by a book of knowledge.
How often have I defeated a companion by means of them,
When even an army could not have put him to flight!

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have dealt with this subject and similar ones in the chapter on writing and its instruments in a book which I have composed about descriptions and comparisons (*al-awṣāf wa-al-tashbīhāt*).

Remarks about the Syriac Script

Theodore (Tiyādūrus) the Commentator recorded in his commentary on the first book of the Torah that "God, Blessed and Exalted, addressed *Adam* in the Nabataean dialect, which was purer than the Syriac one. The people of Bābil also used to speak it. Then when God made a babel of tongues, the nations being scattered to their districts and localities, the language of the people of Bābil was unchanged, but the Nabataean spoken by the villagers became a broken Syriac incorrectly pronounced."

Another person said, "The language used for books and reading, that is the literary form (*al-faṣīḥ*), is the dialect of the people of Syria and Ḥarrān. From it the scholars derived the Syriac script, coming to an agreement about it. So it was with the other written forms."

Another said, "In one of the Gospels or some other Christian book, an angel called Saymūrus[36] taught Adam the Syriac writing as it exists in the hands of the Christians of our own day."

The Syrians (al-Surīyāniyūn) have three scripts: al-Maftūḥ, which is called the Estrangelo (al-Asṭrangālā) and is the finest and best—it is spoken of as the Thaqīl script, resembling the Masāḥif [Qur'ānic] script and the Taḥrīr; al-Muḥaqqaq, called Scholastic (Askulthīyā) and spoken of as the Mudawwar (round) form, similar to the script of *al-warraqūn*; al-Serto (al-Sarṭā), with which they write missives and which resembles the Arabic Riqā' script.

Here are designs of the Syriac script.[37]

Remarks about the Persian Script

It is said that the first person to speak Persian was *Gayumarth* (Gayo Mareta), whom the Persians call al-Gil Shāh, which means King of Clay. He was their Adam, father of mankind. It is said, the first person to write Persian was *Bīwarasp* (Bīwārasb), the son of Wandāsab known as al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the master of al-Ajdahāq.[38]

[36] Saymūrus may be confused with the symbol of heaven, portrayed by the *samayyā* or *semeion*. Refer to Ingholt in *Memoirs, Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences*, XII (July 1954), 17–22, 25, 43–46.

[37] The designs do not appear in either Flügel or the Beatty MS. For the Syrian scripts, see Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, pp. 17–21.

[38] For the Persian scripts, see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 76; and Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, II, 1707. Al-Ajdahāq was Azhi Dahāka, a legendary dragon.

It is said that *Ferīdūn*, son (descendant) of al-Kayān, when he divided the earth among his sons *Salm*, *Tūr*, and *Īraj*, gave as a share to each one of them a third of the inhabited land and wrote a deed for them. *Amād* the Priest told me that the deed is with the King of China, carried away with the Persian treasures at the time of *Yazdigird*; it is Allāh who knows.

It is said that the first person to write was *Jamshīd*, the son of Hūshang,[39] who lived in the royal courts of the regions of Tustar. The Persians supposed that when he ruled the world and the jinn and men submitted to him, there yielded to him also the Devil (Iblīs), whom he commanded to make manifest what was in his consciousness, whereupon he [the Devil] taught him [Jamshīd] writing.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-*Jahshiyārī* in the *Book of Viziers*, which he wrote, that "There were few books and epistles before the regime of *Gushtāsp* the son of Luhrāsp,[40] the people lacking the ability to speak plainly and to bring forth their inner intentions by clearness of expression."

One of the things preserved and recorded from the sayings of Jamshīd: "From Jamshīd son of Hushāng to Adarbādhānī,[41] I have commanded thee to administer the seven regions; accomplish this and establish the regime which I have ordered for you."

From those [the sayings] of *Ferīdūn*, son of Nazakā and Anqayān: "From Ferīdūn, son of Anqayān, to ———: I have presented you with a land in which is Damāwand.[42] Receive this and accept a throne of silver gilded with gold."

Among [the records] there was from *Kai Kāūs*: "From Kai Kāūs son of Kai Kubād to *Rustam*: Verily I have set thee free from

[39] Flügel gives Hūshang, the Beatty MS gives Awījhān, but the word in Arabic is usually written as Ushhanj.

[40] In Arabic, Kustāsb ibn Luhrāsb.

[41] This is a form for the Persian name Athravan, a legendary form of Magi. The word later became contaminated and connected with the provincial name of Ādharbayjān. See Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, I, 56. For Hūshang, see n. 39.

[42] Ferīdūn's mother was Faranūk and his ancestor al-Kayān. The names given in the text may be the Persian forms of these two names. Demavend, which is Damāwand in Arabic, is the great mountain north of Tihrān where Ḍaḥḥāk was chained so that Ferīdūn could rule.

the bondage of slavery and made thee to rule over Sijistān. Yoke no one to servitude and rule Sijistān as I have commanded thee."

When Gushtāsp became king, writing was used more extensively. Then there appeared *Zoroaster*, son of Spitama, lord of the law of the Magi. With the divulging of his wonderful book in all languages, the people themselves began to learn penmanship and writing with more general use and greater skill.

'Abd Allāh ibn al-*Muqaffa'* said, "The languages of the Persians are the Pahlāwī, the Dērī, the Parsī, the Khuzistānī, and the Syriac.[43] The Pahlāwī (al-Fahlawīyah) is related to Pahlav (Fahlah), a region which includes five cities: Iṣbahān, Rayy, Hamadhān, Mah Nahāwand,[44] and Ādharbayjān. The Dērī (al-Durīyah) was the language of the cities of al-Madā'in, spoken at the king's court. It was derived from presence at the court (*al-bāb*), coming chiefly from the language of the people of Khurāsān and the East, the speech of the people of Balkh. Priests, scholars, and their like speak Parsī (al-Farsīyah), the speech of the people of Fars. The kings and nobles used to speak the Khuzistānī (al-Khūzīyah) in privacy, in places of play and amusement, and with their retinues. The people of al-Sawād[45] used to speak Syriac (al-Suriyānīyah), writing in one form of Persian Syriac.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' said, "There are seven types of handwriting in Persia." One of them is the form of writing for religion called Dīn Dafīrīyah[46] with which the religious devotees[47] write, and of which the following is an example.

Another form of writing is called Watsh Dabīrīyah,[48] which has three hundred and sixty-five letters. They use it to write about physiognomy, divination, gurgling of water, ringing of the ears,

[43] The Arabic names are given in parentheses in the sentences which follow.

[44] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 846.

[45] See Glossary.

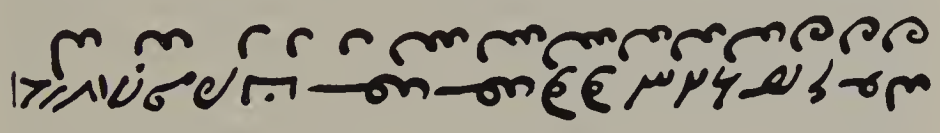
[46] The correct form is Dabīrīyah.

[47] "Religious devotees" is a translation of *al-wastā*, a term used for those among the Zoroastrians who called upon God. In the Beatty MS the word is clearly written as *al-wastāq*, but as no such word seems to exist, it may be meant to be either *al-wastā*, as above, or Ahl al-Rustāq (People of al-Rustāq). See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 778. The example referred to in the text is missing.

[48] *Watsh* means "small." In the Beatty MS the word is not clear, but Dabīrīyah is written with a *b* in a clear way.

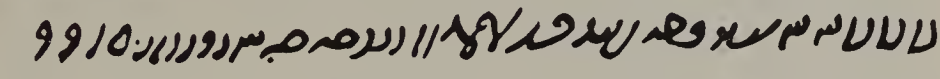
beckonings of the eyes, nodding, winking, and the like. This script has not been handed down to anyone, so that none of the sons of Persia write with it today. When I asked *Amād* the Priest about it, he said, "It is going the way of translation, being translated into Arabic writing."

Another form of writing is called the Kushtaḥ,[49] which has twenty-eight letters. With it they write contracts, inheritance assignments,[50] and land transactions. The rings in Persia are inscribed with this script, and also decorations for garments and rugs, as well as dies for silver coins (s., *dirham*); this is an example of it [Example 3].[51]



Example 3

Another form of writing is called Nīm Kushtaḥ,[52] which has twenty-eight letters and is used for medicine and philosophy. This is an example of it [Example 4].



Example 4

Another form of writing is called the Shāh Dabīrīyah, with which the Persian kings used to carry on their own correspondence, apart from the populace. The other people of the kingdom were prevented from using it, as a precaution, lest somebody related to the king might discover the king's secrets. It has not been preserved for us.

[49] The letters for Kushtaḥ are clear in the Beatty MS, but as the consonant marks are often omitted, it might also be interpreted as "Kushtaj."

[50] The word translated as "inheritance assignments" is not correct in the Flügel edition or clear in the Beatty MS. It may be a form meaning "weighings."

[51] Flügel gives ". . . dies for gold coins (s., *dīnār*) and silver coins (s., *dirham*) . . . ." Flügel adds extra lines to this example, and to the two examples which follow, which are not found in either the Beatty MS or MS 1135.

[52] *Nīm* means "half."

The Rasā'il form of writing is just as the tongue speaks, without dots. Some of it is written in the first Syriac dialect spoken by the people of Bābil, being read as Persian. The number of letters is thirty-three, and it is called both Nāmah Dabīrīyah and Hām Dabīrīyah.[53] It is used by all classes of the kingdom, with the one exception of the kings. This is an example of it [Example 5].

Example 5

Another form of writing is called Zār Saharayah,[54] with which the kings correspond about confidential matters with whatsoever nations they wish. It has forty letters and vocal sounds, with a definite character for each letter and sound. It does not contain anything of the Nabataean tongue; here are examples of it.[55]

They have another form of writing, called Rās Saharayah, used for logic and philosophy, with twenty-four letters and also dots. It has not been preserved for us.

They have a form of spelling called Rawārashn, with which they write both the connected and unconnected letters. There are about a thousand words with which to determine things that are similar. An example of this is that anyone who wishes to write *kusht*, which is "meat" in Arabic, writes it *basarā*, but reads it *kusht*,[56] according to this example [Example 6].

Example 6

Or if he wishes to write *nān*, which is "bread" in Arabic, it is read as nān but written *lahumā*, according to this example [Example 7].[57]

[53] *Rasā'il* means "missives"; dots refer to the diacritics to mark consonants. *Nāmah* means "book" and *hām*, "chiefs."

[54] This could be Dār Shahrayah; the texts are not clear.

[55] The example is missing.

[56] The Beatty MS gives the consonants *r w a r sh n*, but instead of *r*, the letter might be *z* or *d*. The word *kusht* is equivalent to the Persian *gosht*. *Basarā* is like the Hebrew *bāsār* ("flesh"). See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 76.

[57] *Nān* is a Persian word for "bread." *Lahumā* is similar to the Hebrew *lechem*, which also means bread.

Example 7

So it is for whatever they wish to write, except for such things as need no substitution, being written as pronounced.

Remarks about the Hebrew Script

I have read in some of the ancient books that the first person to write Hebrew was *'Ābar* ibn Shālikh (Eber son of Shelah), who instituted it among his people, so that they wrote with it. *Theodorus* (Theodore) mentions that Hebrew was derived from Syriac, but so called because *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham) crossed the Euphrates seeking Damascus, when fleeing from *Nīmrūd* (Nimrod), the son of *Kūs* (Cush), the son of *Kan'ān* (Canaan).[58]

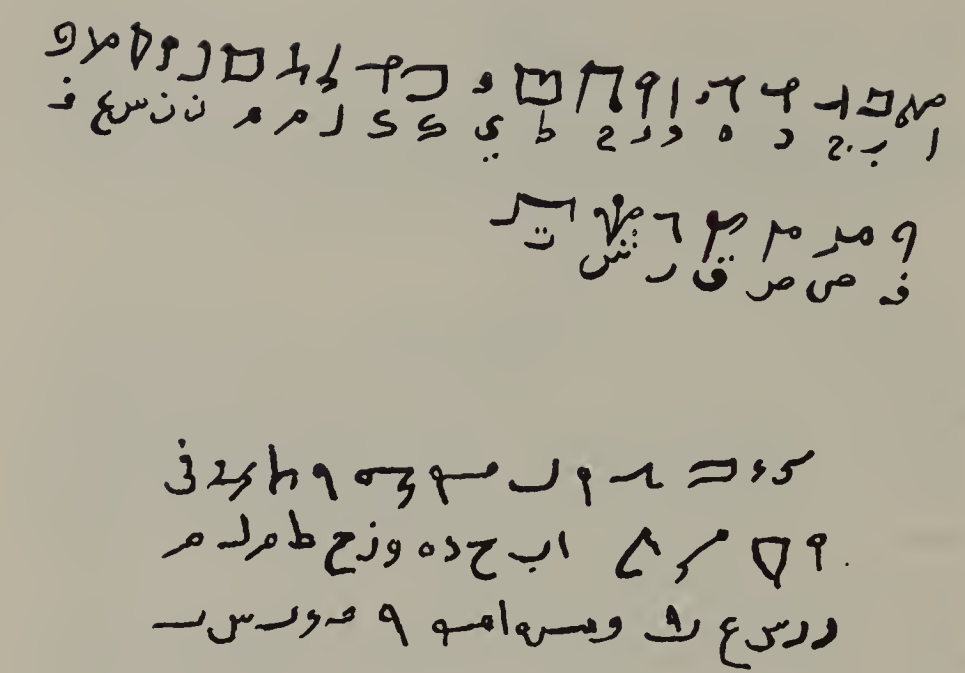
In connection with writing, the Jews and Christians suppose,[59] without any dispute between them, that the Hebrew writing was on two tables of stone and that Allāh, may His name be glorified, handed them over to him [Moses], who when he descended from the mountain and found that they [the Israelites] had been worshipping the idol, became angry with them, in fact so much wrought up that he broke the two tables. He [Theodorus] said, "After that, he [Moses] repented, and Allāh, may His name be glorified, ordered him to write on two other tables, so as to inscribe them with the original writing."

One of the more excellent of the Jews recorded that Hebrew writing was not like the present form, which has been corrupted and altered. Some reliable Jews have said that *Yūsuf* [Joseph], upon whom be peace, when he was the vizier of the ruler of Egypt, used figures and signs for the affairs of the kingdom which he recorded.[60] Here is a design of the Hebrew letters [Example 8].

[58] In other words, the ancient text claims that the word "Hebrew" (*'Ibrānī* in Arabic) comes from the verb "to cross" (*'abar*), referring to Abraham crossing the Euphrates.

[59] The Beatty MS lacks the material in the text from here until Chap. I, sect. 3, near n. 59. MS 1135 is intact with regards to this passage, but it is not as authentic as the Beatty MS.

[60] MS 1135 is followed in this paragraph instead of Flügel.



Example 8

Remarks about the Greek Script

I have read in some of the old histories that in early times the Greeks did not know how to write until two men, one of whom was called *Cadmus* (Qatmus) and the other *Aghanūn*,[61] came from Egypt bringing sixteen letters with which the Greeks wrote. Then one of these two men derived four other letters, also used for writing. Later, another man named *Simonides* (Simūnidus) derived four additional ones, making twenty-four. It was in those days that *Socrates* (Suqrātīs) appeared, according to what *Isḥāq* al-Rāhib (Isaac the Monk) records in his history.

I questioned one of the Greeks who had opinions about his language and noted that he had advanced as far as what is called "etymology," which is Greek syntax. He said:

There are three scripts generally known and used by the Greeks in the City of Peace [Baghdād]. The first of these scripts is called Lepton. The Arabic script which it resembles is the script of *al-warrāqūn*, with which

[61] Probably Agenor, the father of Cadmus.

they write Qur'ānic manuscripts. They [the Greeks], too, write their scriptures with it. It is known as Īriyā, for the Greek [word meaning] "sacred."

This is an example of it.

"They also have a script called Boustrophedon, the equivalent of which among the Arabic scripts is the Thuluth script, with a share of both the Muḥaqqaq and the Mushil." This is an example of it.

"They have a script called Surīṭūn, which is the Mukhaffaf (light) script of the scribes. Its equivalent with us is the Tarasal al-Dīwānī (official correspondence) script with the letters contracted." This is an example of it.[62]

They have a script known as the Sāmīyā,[63] which does not resemble anything of ours, for a single one of its letters combines many ideas and abbreviates a number of words. *Galen* (Jālīnūs) has mentioned it in his book *Phoenix*. The meaning of the name is "fixing of writings." Galen said:

In a public session I gave a comprehensive account of anatomy. When a friend met me some days later, he said to me, "A certain man has recorded that you said thus and thus in your public session." Then he repeated my exact words. I said to him, "From where did you get this?" He replied, "I met a scribe skilled in the Sāmīyā, who kept abreast of you in writing down your words."

This script is learned by the kings and most eminent scribes. The rest of the people are prevented from using it because of its great significance. In the year forty-eight [A.D. 959] a man practicing medicine came to us from Baalbek.[64] As he asserted that he could write the Sāmīyā, we tested what he said. We found that if we spoke ten words, he would pay attention to them and then write down

[62] The quotation probably ends here, after the three scripts used in Baghdād have been mentioned. The examples are lacking. The scripts were very likely the following: (1) Lepton, *λεπτός* (delicate). It was called "sacred," *ἱερά*. (2) Boustrophedon, badly written in MS 1135; it must be *βου-στροφηδόν*. This was an early Greek style of writing used for Solon's laws. (3) 'Surīṭūn; it has very likely been garbled, but is possibly from the Greek word *σωρηδόν*.

[63] Sāmīyā must come from the Greek word for "fix," *σημεῖον*. The Greek shorthand writer was the *σημεῖο-γράφος*, and the shorthand notes falsely ascribed to Xenophon were the *ὑποσημειωσάμενος*. See Greek dictionaries and "Shorthand," *Enc. Brit.*, XXIV, 1007–8.

[64] The original form is "Ba'labakk."

one. When we asked him to repeat [the words], he did repeat them as we had rendered them.

Ja'far ibn al-Muktafī said:

The reason the Greeks write from left to right is that they believe that it is fitting for a person seated to meet the sunrise in all of its phases. So if he faces the sunrise, the north will be on his left, in which case the left gives way to the right. Thus, the method for a scribe is to go from the north toward the south.

He also said:

The Greeks have rules for handwriting, with forms among which are the designated[65] letters among the twenty-four letters. These are *gamma*, *delta*, *kappa*, *sigma*, *tau*, and *chi*. They also have letters called "sonants," which are *alpha*, *ayi* (*epsilon*), *eta*, *iota*, *ūa* (*upsilon*), smaller *wāw* (*omicron*), and the larger *wāw* (*omega*).[66] The feminine letters are four, *alpha*, the smaller *wāw* (*omicron*), and the great *wāw* (*omega*). The masculine letters are *ayi* (*epsilon*), *eta*, *iota*, and *hū* (*upsilon*).

Declension does not affect any of the Greek letters, except the seven sonant letters, which are known as *lagayn* and *tlagayn*.[67] The Greek tongue dispenses with six of the letters of the Arabic language: *ḥā*, *dhāl*, *ḍāḍ*, *'ayn*, *hā*, and *lām-alif*.

Script of the Langobardi and Saxons

These are a people between the Greeks and the Franks, close to the ruler of al-Andalus.[68] Their writing has twenty-two letters and their script is called the Apostolic.[69] They start writing from the left toward the right, but their reason for doing so is different from that of the Greeks. They say it is so that the dipping of the ink will be away from the beating of the heart and not toward it, for writing

[65] For the word which has been translated here as "designated," MS 1135 suggests *muta 'āfīyah*, ("restored from illness"). Flügel gives *muta 'āqibah* ("successive," "coupled").

[66] MS 1135 omits the smaller *wāw* and after the larger *wāw* has "and it is *al-awṭūmayghā*," probably garbled for "omega." Evidently one of the feminine letters has been omitted, or else there were only three. Perhaps the fourth was a diphthong.

[67] These two words might be *λεγειν* ("to say") and *τι λεγειν*, probably meaning "how to say."

[68] The Langobardi were Lombards. When *Al-Fihrist* was written, the Saxons had become a Christian group on the German frontier. Andalus was southern Spain, under Muslim rule.

[69] Flügel gives "Afīsṭolīqī" and MS 1135 a garbled form.

from the right is from the liver towards the heart. This is an example of it.[70]

The Script of China

As Chinese writing resembles inscription, even a clever and skillful scribe becomes weary over it. It is said that even a person with a light touch cannot write more than two or three leaves a day. They write their religious and scientific books with it on fans, a number of which I have seen. Most of them [the Chinese] are dualists and sun worshippers,[71] about whom I will speak in detail later on.

In China there is a form of writing called Collective Writing. That is, for every word written with three or more letters, there is a single character, and each word with an augmented design of characters signifies a great deal. If they wish, they can write the contents of one hundred leaves with this script on only one page.

Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' al-*Rāzī* said:

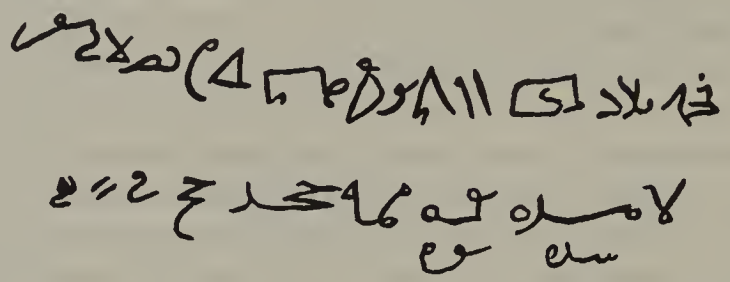
A man from China came to seek me and dwelt with me for about a year. In five months of this time he learned Arabic, both spoken and written, becoming proficient in style, as well as expert and rapid in writing. When he desired to return to his country, he said to me a month in advance, "I am about to set forth and wish that you would dictate to me the sixteen books of *Galen*, so that I can write them down." I said, "Your time is short and the length of your stay will be sufficient for you to copy only a small part of it." Then the young man said, "I ask you to devote yourself to me for the length of my stay and to dictate to me as fast as you can. I will keep up with you in writing." I proposed to some of my students that they join in this project with us, but we did not have faith in the man, until there was a chance for comparison and he showed us everything he had written.

I questioned him about the matter and he said, "We have a form of writing known as Collective, which is what you see. If we wish to write a great deal in a short time, we write it with this script. Then later on, if we wish, we transcribe it with a script which is familiar and not abbreviated." He thought that a man who was quick in learning and understanding could not learn it in less than twenty years.

[70] The example is missing.

[71] MS 1135 has Shamsīyah, whereas Flügel is uncertain about the name. This sect is dealt with at the end of Chap. IX of *Al-Fihrist*.

The Chinese have an ink which they compound from a mixture and which resembles Chinese paint. I have seen some of it in the form of tablets, on which was stamped the image of the king. A piece of it suffices for a long period of constant writing. This is an example of their script [Example 9].



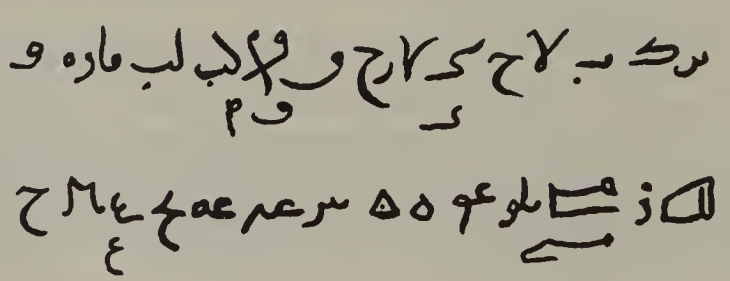
Example 9

Remarks about the Manichaean Script

The Manichaean script is derived from Persian and Syriac. Mānī derived it. The cult is a combination of the Magi system and Christianity. Its letters are more numerous than the Arabic ones. With this script they write their gospels and books of their laws. The inhabitants of Mā Warā' al-Nahr (the Region beyond the River, Transoxiana) and Samarqand write religious books with this script, so that it is called the Script of Religion.

The Marcionites also have a script by which they are distinguished. A reliable person has told me that he has seen it. He said, "It resembles the Manichaean, but is different."[72]

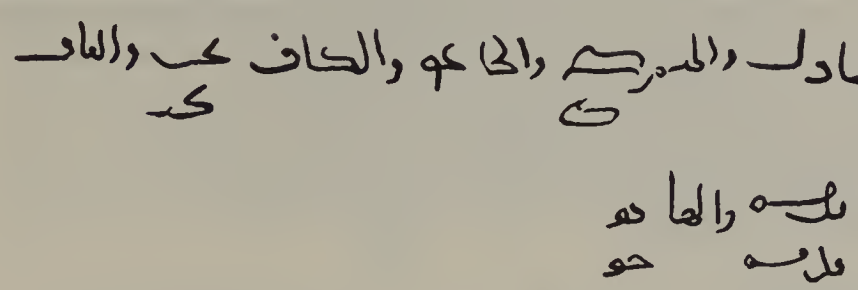
These are the Manichaean letters [Example 10].



Example 10

[72] For the Manichaeans and Marcionites, see Chap. IX, sect. 1.

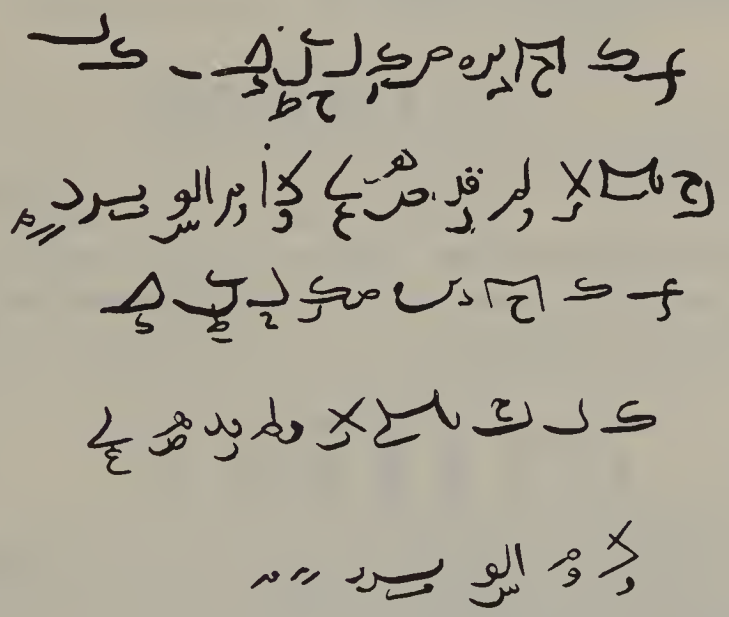
They also have a form with different letters, for they write [Example 11]:



Example 11

Remarks about the Script of al-Ṣughd

A reliable person has said, "I entered the land of al-Ṣughd, which is the territory beyond the river.[73] Ṣughd is called Upper Irān and is an abode of the Turks. Its principal city is Tūnkath.[74] He also said, "Its people are dualists and Christians. In their language they call the dualists Aḥārkaf."[75] This is an example of their writing [Example 12].



Example 12

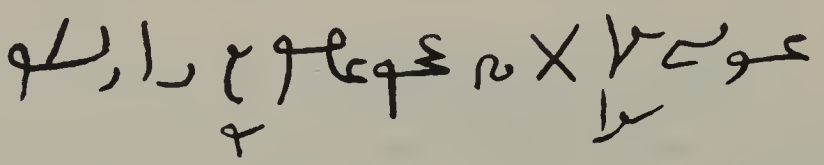
[73] Sogdiana in Transoxiana; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 394.

[74] Probably the capital of the Īlāq region southeast of Tāshkand; *ibid*, I, 900.

[75] This name does not appear in books written by Ṭabarī, Yāqūt, Marco Polo, or the Arab travelers.

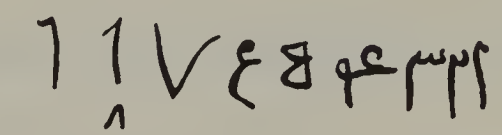
Remarks about al-Sind[76]

The people there have different languages and religions as well as numerous scripts. Some of the people who travel in their country said to me, "They have about two hundred scripts." I once saw at the court of the sultan a yellow idol, said to be an image of the Buddha (*al-Budd*).[77] It is a figure on a seat, grasping three fingers with his hand. On the seat there is an inscription of which this is a likeness [Example 13].



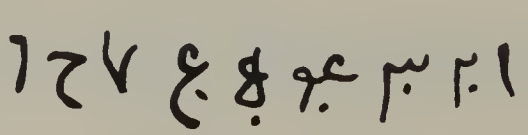
Example 13

This man mentioned above stated that they usually write with nine letters in this form [Example 14].



Example 14

The start is with *alif*, *bā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *hā'*, *wāw*, *zāy*, *ḥā'*, and *ṭā'*. Then after reaching *ṭā'* they repeat each of the original letters with dots as in this example [Example 15].

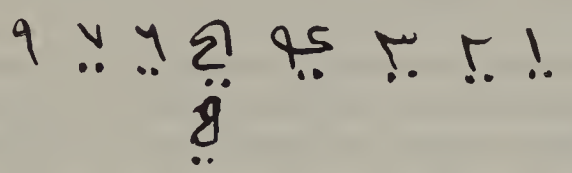


Example 15

[76] The lower valley and delta of the Indus in what is today part of West Pakistan. It was conquered by the Muslims, A.D. 712.

[77] This was probably a typical image, with a Buddha seated on a lotus leaf, holding with one hand three fingers of the other hand. The Arabic text has "thirty," but this must be an error. See Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 130, 134, 173, 202.

Thus they become *yā'*, *kāf*, *lām*, *mīm*, *nūn*, *sīn*, *'ayn*, *fā'*, and *ṣād*, making eighteen.[78] If they reach *ṣād* they write as in the following example, placing two dots under each letter in this way [Example 16].



Example 16

Thus they become *qāf*, *rā'*, *shīn*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *khā'*, *dhāl*, and *ẓā'*. When they reach *ẓā'* they write the original letter *alif* with three dots under it [Example 17].[79] Thus they account for all of the

Example 17

letters of the alphabet and write whatever they please.

Remarks about the Negroes

The races of Negroes are the Nubians, the Bijah (Beja), the Zaghāwah, the Murāwah (Meroe), the Istān,[80] the Barbar (Berbers), and the types of blacks like the Indians.[81] They write like the Indians because of their proximity, but have no known script or writing of their own.

Al-*Jāḥiẓ* mentioned in his book *Al-Bayān* that the Negroes have an oratory and eloquence belonging to their own cult and language. A person who saw and witnessed this [custom] said to me, "If

[78] The texts have *'asharah 'asharah* ("twenty") but *thamānī 'asharah* ("eighteen") must be the words meant, as there are two groups of nine letters each.

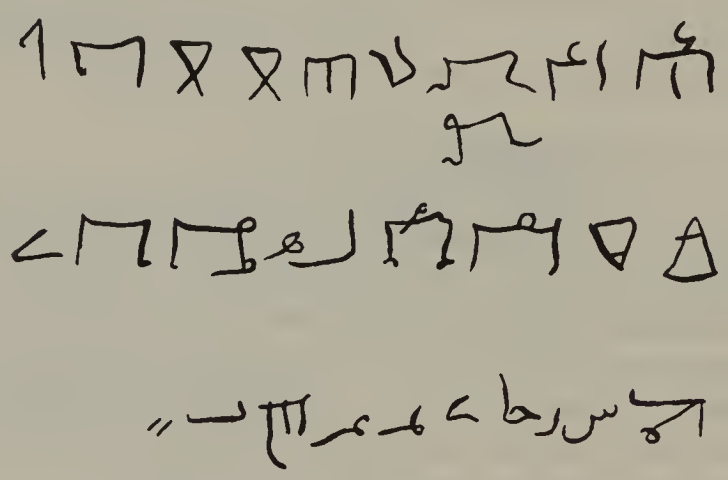
[79] MS 1135 differs; it has "they write the original letter like this" and then shows the design of an *alif* with the *maddah* or "long" sign over it and three dots under it.

[80] See Mas'ūdī, III, 1 ff.; cf. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 120, and also, I 110, with map, for the geographical regions. Istān may refer to the Negroes of southern 'Irāq, famous for the Zanj Rebellion of A.D. 869.

[81] "Al-Sind" is translated as "the Indians," as it seems to refer to the people instead of the area. "Blacks like the Indians" probably signifies other people in southeast Asia.

affairs perplex them and difficulties hard press them, their speaker sits raised above the ground and, looking down, speaks in a way that resembles growling and muttering, but which the rest of them understand." He also said, "When there appears in the speech the counsel they are seeking, they act upon it." It is Allāh who knows.

Some travelers have told me that the Bijah have a script and form of writing, but it has not reached us. Those who go about mention that for religious purposes the Nubians write in Syriac, Greek, and Coptic. The Abyssinians have a script like the Ḥimyarite letters, going from left to right. They separate each of the words by means of three dots, dotted like a triangle between the letters of the two words. This is an example of the letters, which I copied from the library of al-*Ma'mūn*, but not with the same handwriting [Example 18].



Example 18

The letters *tā'* and *thā'* are one; the letters *ḥā'* and *khā'* are one; the letters *'ayn* and *ghayn* are one; and the letters *ṭā'* and *ẓā'* are one.

Remarks about the Turks and Those Related to Them

The Turks, the Bulgar, the Blaghā', the Burghaz, the Khazar, the Llān, and the types with small eyes and extreme blondness have

no script, except that the Bulgarians and the Tibetans write with Chinese and Manichaean, whereas the Khazar write Hebrew.[82]

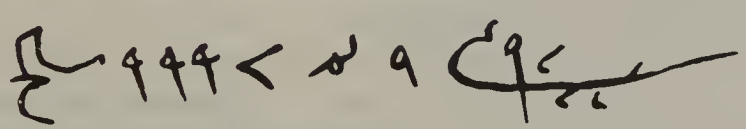
My information about the Turks is what Abū al-*Ḥasan* Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ashnās related to me. He said:

Ḥamūd Ḥarār, the Turk, al-Maklī from al-Tūrūnīyah,[83] who was one of those who left his country because of haughtiness and rage, told me that the great Turkish king, if he desired to write to a lesser king, summoned his vizier and ordered the splitting of an arrow. Then the vizier traced on it characters understood by the Turkish nobility and indicating the meaning intended by the king and comprehended by the person to whom it was sent.

He supposed that this scant design represented many ideas and that it was used for truces and peace treaties, as well as at the times of their wars. He mentioned that they carefully guard an arrow inscribed in this way and fulfill their engagements for its sake. It is Allāh who knows.

Russia

A man whose word I trust told me that one of the kings of Mount al-Qabq (the Caucasus) sent him to the king of Russia. He believes that they have writing inscribed on wood, and he showed me a piece of white wood with an inscription on it. The following is an example, but I do not know whether these are words or single letters [Example 19].



Example 19

[82] The Bulgar are Bulgarians. The Blaghā' were the Vlachs or Blakia, the Walachia of Rumania. Burghaz is a part of Bulgaria, and probably an old tribal name. The Khazar were on both sides of the Itil, or Volga. The Llān or 'Allān were situated next to Armenia, near the Khazar. See "Vlachs," *Enc. Brit.*, XXVIII, 166–68; "Bulgaria" (Burghaz), IV, 768; "Khazars," XV, 774. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 436, for Khazar; IV, 343, for Llān; I, 817, for Tibet. See also Mas'ūdī, Vol. II, Chap. 17, beginning p. 1.

[83] This may mean from Turunt, the lower Dvina region of Russia, or from Tawwaz. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 894.

The Franks

Their writing resembles the Greek script, but is more even; we may have seen it on the Frankish swords. The queen of the Franks wrote to al-*Muktafī* a letter on white silk, dispatched by a servant who happened into her country from the direction of North Africa. It courted the friendship of al-Muktafī and asked him to marry her. The servant's name was *'Albā*. He was one of the employees of Ibn al-Aghlab. This is an example of their writing.[84]

The Armenians and Others

The Armenians as a rule write in Greek and Arabic, because of proximity to those cultures. Thus their gospels were written in Greek and their script resembles Greek writing, though it is not Greek.[85]

The kings of the Caucasus and its slopes, which are Llakz, Shirwān, and Zawzan, have no script.[86] Although there is a common language in the region, each group has its own dialect and expressions differ. We shall speak in detail about them in the proper place in the book.

Remarks about Sharpening Pens

Nations use different ways of sharpening their pens. The Hebrew way of sharpening is with an extreme angle. The Syriac trim is with an angle to the left, or maybe to the right, or perhaps they turn the pen on its back, or split the reed in two, sharpening one half which they call *ṣulb* and use for writing.

The Greek trim is a very oblique deviation to the right, because they write from the left to the right. The Persian trim is with the nib of the pen fringed. The scribe separates it either against the floor or with his teeth, so as to embellish the penmanship. Sometimes they write with the lower end of an unsharpened reed, calling

[84] The example is lacking. Al-*Muktafī* was the caliph A.D. 902–908. Ibn al-Aghlab must have been Ziyādat Allāh, the last ruler of the Aghlab dynasty in what is today Tunisia. He reigned A.D. 903–909.

[85] This last phrase occurs in MS 1135, but not in Flügel.

[86] The Caucasus region is called Mount al-Qabd. For Llakz, Shirwān, and Zawzan, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 220; II, 957. The consonants of the last name are clearly written in the MS 1135 as *z r z q*, but this must be an error and meant to indicate Zawzan, which lies between Armenia and Ādharbayjān.

this reed *khām*. With it they write *ilhamāh dīnāt*, which are books of religious inspirations, dowries, and other things.[87]

The Chinese write with hairs which they fit into the heads of reeds as painters do. The Arabs write with various kinds of pens and [have various] ways of trimming them. The custom is to have a slant to the right, but the scribes trim pens without an angle.

Remarks about Types of Paper

It is said that first of all *Adam* wrote on clay. Then for a period after that the peoples wrote on copper and stone for the sake of durability. This was before the Flood. To meet the needs of the moment they also wrote on wood and the leaves of trees, as well as on the *tūz*,[88] bark with which their bows were mounted to make them last long. We have discussed this matter in detail in the chapter on philosophy.

Later on they tanned hides upon which people wrote. The Egyptians wrote on Egyptian paper made from the papyrus reed. It is said that the first person to do this was the prophet *Yūsuf* (Joseph), for whom be peace.

The Greeks write on white silk, parchment, and other things, as well as on Egyptian scrolls and *al-fulḥān*,[89] which is the skin of wild asses. The Persians used to write on the skins of water buffaloes, cows, and sheep. The Arabs write on the shoulder blades of the camel and [on] *likhāf*, which are thin white stones, and on *'usb* or palm stems; the Chinese on Chinese paper made of *ḥashīsh*,[90] which is the most important product of the land; the Indians on brass and stone, also on white silk.

Then there is the Khurāsānī paper made of flax, which some say appeared in the days of the Banū Umayyah, while others say it was during the 'Abbāsid regime. Some say that it was an ancient product and others say that it is recent. It is stated that craftsmen from China

[87] The *khām* was a white reed pen used by the Persians. *Ilhām* means "inspirations" and *dīnāt* is from the word for "religion." "Dowries" is *siyāq*.

[88] *Tūz*, or *toz*, was the inner bark of a tree used by the Persians to wrap their bows and also as a writing material. See Fück in *Ambix*, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 113 n. 16.

[89] This word seems to be a form derived from *pulḥānā*. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[90] This may mean "herbs," but more likely refers to "hemp."

made it in Khurāsān like the form of Chinese paper. Its types are the Sulaymānī, the Ṭalḥī, the Nūḥī, the Fir'awnī, the Ja'farī, and the Ṭāhirī.

For a number of years the people of Baghdād wrote on erased sheets. The registers spoiled at the time of *Muḥammad* ibn Zubaydah[91] were parchments, which after being erased were once more written upon.

It is said that books used to be made of parchment tanned with *nawrah*[92] and exceedingly dry. Later the Cūfic tanning was with dates, giving flexibility.

The end of the First Section of the First Chapter of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the learned men. To Allāh alone is the praise.*

[91] He is better known as al-*Amīn*, the elder son of Hārūn al-*Rashīd*, who engaged in a civil war with his brother during the early years of the ninth century.

[92] Lime mixed with arsenic, used to remove hair from the body before prayer and also by women in the baths. For further information about paper see Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 467–69; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), II, 391, 392.

The Second Section of the First Chapter

with the titles of the books of the laws revealed to the community of Muslims and the sects of the peoples [through revealed books].

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al *Nadīm*]: I once read a book which fell into my hands, and which was an ancient transcription, apparently from the library of al-*Ma'mūn*. In it the copyist mentions the names and numbers of the scriptures and revealed books, with their scope and with the things which most of the common people and the populace feel sure of and believe. I have recorded from it what is related to this book of mine. This statement in the wording of the [ancient] book is [the passage] from it which is needed by me. *Aḥmad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, a protégé of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn, whom I esteem as al-*Rashīd*, said:

I have translated this book from a book of the *ḥunafā'*[1] of al-Ṣābiyūn al-Ibrāhīmīyah, who believed in *Ibrāhīm* [Abraham], for whom may there be peace, and who received from him the scripture revealed to him by Allāh.[2]

It is a long book, but I have deleted such material as is unnecessary for an understanding of the reasons which are mentioned for their disagreements and differences. I have introduced into it what is needed for proof

[1] *Ḥunafā'* is the plural of *ḥanīf*, a word which was used for a reformed worshipper of Pre-Islāmic times. Abraham was regarded as a *ḥanīf;* see Qur'ān 3:67, and cf. Qur'ān 6:74 ff.

[2] For al-Ṣābiyūn al-Ibrāhīmīyah, see Mas'ūdī, IV, 63, and the account in Chap. IX, sect. 1, of this work, about the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān. This term may refer to the spiritual sect of the Ṣābians, opposed to idolatry; see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part II, p. 4. It is also possible that it refers to the Ṣābians of the marshlands of southern 'Irāq, or simply to pagans who honored Abraham.

of these things from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth coming from the Apostle, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, and from his Companions, as well as from the People of the Book who became Muslims, among whom were *'Abd Allāh* ibn Salām, *Yāmīn* ibn Yāmīn, *Wahb* ibn Munabbih, *Ka'b* al-Aḥbār, Ibn al-*Tīhān*, and *Baḥīr* al-Rāhib (the Monk).

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām [also] said:

I have translated the beginning of this book, and the Torah, the Gospels, and the books of the prophets and disciples from Hebrew, Greek, and Ṣābian, which are the languages of the people of each book, into Arabic, letter for letter. In so doing I did not wish to beautify or embellish the style for fear of inaccuracy. I added nothing to what I found in the book which I was translating and I subtracted nothing, unless there were words presented by the language of the people of that book with meanings which could not be clearly translated into Arabic except by transposing. Thus something coming last may not be clear unless it is placed first, so as to be understood in Arabic. For example, the words of one who says *āt māym tān* I have translated into Arabic as *mā' hāt*, only I have placed *mā'* (water) last and *hāt* (bring) first. So in translating these languages correctly into Arabic I seek the protection of Allāh lest I add or subtract, except in the manner which I have recorded and explained in this book.

In another place in the book he said:

The total number of prophets was one hundred and twenty-four thousand, three hundred and fifteen, among whom were those sent forth with revelation on their lips.[3] The total number of books which Allāh Almighty revealed was one hundred and four. Among these Allāh Almighty revealed one hundred of the sacred scriptures[4] between the times of *Adam* and *Mūsā* (Moses).

The first of these books revealed by Him [Allāh], honor to His name, were the sacred writings of Adam, for whom be peace, twenty-one in number. Allāh revealed to *Shīth* (Seth) for whom be peace, the second book, twenty-nine sacred writings. Allāh, may He be exalted, revealed the third book, thirty sacred writings, to *Ikhnūkh* (Enoch) who is Idrīs, may peace rest with him. The fourth book of ten sacred writings He, honor to His name, revealed to *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham), for whom be peace,

[3] Perhaps the meaning of this sentence is that 315 from among the 124,000 were sent forth with revelation on their lips.

[4] The word translated here as "scriptures" is *ṣaḥīfah*, which may refer to a whole scripture, or to the leaf of a manuscript.

and the fifth book of ten sacred writings to *Mūsā* (Moses). These are five books of one hundred sacred writings. Some time subsequent to these scriptures He, may He be blessed and exalted, revealed the Torah on ten tables to Mūsā (Moses), for whom be peace.

Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh recorded that the tables were green with the writing on them red like the rays of the sun, but *Aḥmad* ibn Isḥāq said that the Jews do not know about this characteristic. Aḥmad [ibn ʿAbd Allāh] also said:

When *Mūsā* (Moses) descended from the mountain and learned that his companions had been worshipping a calf, he threw down [the tables of stone] so that they were broken. Then he repented and asked Allāh, may He be glorified and honored, to give them to him again. So Allāh, honor to His name, revealed, "I will do it again with two tables." This Allāh did for him, one of the tablets being the "Table of the Covenant" and the other the "Table of Witnessing."[5]

Then Allāh, may He be glorified and honored, revealed to *Dā'ūd* (David) the Psalms, that is *al-zabūr*, which are one hundred and fifty in number and in the hands of the Jews and Christians.[6]

A Statement about the Torah, Which Is in the Hands of the Jews, with the Names of Their Books and Information about Their Scholars and Authors

When I asked one of their notable men about these matters, he said, "God, honor to His name, revealed to Moses the Torah in five fifths, each fifth divided into two parts and each part into a number of *farāsāt*, which means sūrahs, with every *farāsah* divided into a number of *absūqāt*, meaning verses."[7]

He said that there is a book of Moses called the *Mishna*, from which the Jews derive the science of the law, with the religious ordinances and judgments. It is a large book, its languages being Kasdānī and

[5] See Exod. 24:12, 31:18, and 32:15. See also Qur'ān 7:148–54.

[6] *Al-zibr* (pl. *al-zabūr*) is used for the Psalms. The number 150 corresponds to the number of psalms in the Bible. See also Qur'ān 3:184(181); 4:163(161); and "Zabūr, *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1184.

[7] A note in Flügel, p. 12, suggests that the forms *farāsāt* (plural of *farāsah*) and *absūqāt* came from the Semitic words *paraschen* and *psuketh*. *Sūrah* is the word used for a chapter of the Qur'ān.

Hebrew.[8] In addition to that there were among the books of the prophets:[9]

Joshua; Judges;[10] Samuel; the scripture of Isaiah; the scripture of Jeremiah; the scripture of Ezekiel; Kings,[11] which is the scripture of David and his associates, known as "Malkhā al-Mulūk"; the Prophets, comprising twelve minor scriptures. There are also books called Haftārōth[12] derived from the books of the twelve prophets.

Among their books there are also:

Ezra; Daniel; Job; Song of Songs; Lamentations;[13] Ruth; Ecclesiastes;[14] Psalms of David; Proverbs of Solomon; Record of the Days [Chronicles], containing the history of the kings and accounts about them; Ahasuerus, called the Megillah [Esther].[15]

Al-*Fayyūmī* was one of the most eminent of the Jews and of their scholars who were versed in the Hebrew language. In fact the Jews consider that there was nobody else like al-Fayyūmī.[16] His name was Sa'īd, also said to be Sa'dīyā, and he lived so recently that some of our contemporaries were alive before he died. Among his books there were:[17]

[8] *Kaśdu* was an old Babylonian form for the people of Chaldea. This probably means that the languages were a Chaldean dialect and Hebrew.

[9] In *Al-Fihrist*, when lists of books are given, the word *kitāb* ("book") is placed before each title. In this translation, this word will be omitted.

[10] The Arabic word is *safṭā*, derived, like the Hebrew verb *shāfete*, from an old Semitic word for "judges."

[11] This is a transliteration of the old Hebrew form *malkhā*.

[12] This was a translation into Aramaean of selections from the Prophets. In the Flügel edition it is said the book is called *Lha-bṭārāth*, but the text is evidently not in its original form. See "Targums," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 202.

[13] Song of Songs is in Arabic *Sīr Sirīn*, from the Hebrew *Shir Hashīrīm*. Lamentations is in Arabic *Akhā*, which is a transliteration of the Hebrew word with which the book began and by which it was often known. See Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 720.

[14] The Arabic word is a transliteration of the Hebrew word *Qoheleth*. *Ibid.*, p. 724.

[15] This book was evidently Esther, which was known in Hebrew as *Megilloth*. Sometimes, however, this term was used for Esther and four other books. See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 773.

[16] He was the famous tenth-century Jewish scholar from Egypt, known as Saadia Ben Joseph, Gaon of the Academy of Sura.

[17] In *Al-Fihrist* the phrase usually found before a list of books is, literally, "And to him from the books," which in translation is rendered as "Among his books there were."

Origins; Sacred Laws; Commentary on Isaiah; Commentary on the Torah, arranged without explanation;[18] Proverbs, in ten chapters; Commentary on the Decrees of David; Commentary on "Al-Nikut,"[19] which is an exposition of the Psalms of David, for whom be peace; Commentary on the Third Sacred Book of the Last Half of the Torah, with explanation; Commentary on the Book of Job; Establishment of Prayers and Sacred Laws; Events, which is a history.

Remarks about the Gospel of the Christians, the Names of Their Books, Their Scholars, and Their Authors

I asked *Yūnus* the priest, who was an excellent man, about the books translated into the Arabic language which they expound and according to which they act. He replied, "Among them is the book *Al-Ṣūrah* (The Form) which is divided into two parts, the 'Old Form' and the 'New Form.'" He stated that the "Old [Form]" was the ancient basis for the Jewish sect and the "New [Form]" for the sect of the Christians. He also said that the "Old [Form]" depends upon a number of books, the first of which is the Torah, which is five sacred writings. [Then follows] a compilation comprising a number of books, among which are:

Joshua, the Son of Nūn; The Tribes, which is the book of Judges; Samuel and the Judgment of David; Traditions of the Children of Israel; The Story of Ruth; Solomon, the Son of David, about wise sayings; Ecclesiastes [Qoheleth]; The Song of Songs; The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach [Ecclesiasticus].[20] The Prophets, composed of four books: Isaiah the Prophet, for whom be peace; Jeremiah the Prophet, for whom be peace; The Twelve Prophets, for whom be peace; Ezekiel. The New Form, which is composed of four gospels: The Gospel of Matthew; The Gospel of Mark; The Gospel of Luke; The Gospel of John. Book of the Disciples, known as Frāksīs [Acts]; Paul the Apostle, twenty-four epistles.[21]

[18] The Flügel text has *bilā sharḥ* ("without explanation"), which may be an error, as it would make more sense to have *bi-al-sharḥ* ("with explanation").

[19] *Al-Nikut* is evidently a transliteration of the Hebrew word *nekoth* ("treasure house").

[20] The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, is the title used in the Catholic edition of the Apocrypha for the book usually called Ecclesiasticus.

[21] *Frāksīs* is the Arabic transliteration of the Greek πράξεις. There are 21 epistles in the Bible.

They also have books about the religious law and the judgments of their community, among which are the books of the synods, western and eastern, each of which contains a number of chapters of legal decisions.[22]

One of their authorities on the religious law and judicial interpretations was Ibn *Bahrīz*, whose name was 'Abd Yasū'. He was at first the metropolitan of Ḥarrān and subsequently became the metropolitan of al-Mawṣil and Ḥarrah. He wrote epistles and books.

There was also the book of *Marqus* the Jacobite, who was known as al-Bādawī. It was a reply to two books which refuted his doctrine and denying the oneness of the Trinity professed by the Jacobites and Melchites.[23]

Ibn Bahrīz was learned, his scholarship approaching that of Islām. He translated a great deal of material from books about logic and philosophy. There was also *Pethiōn*, who was the most accurate of the translators from the point of view of translation, also the best of them for style and diction. There were *Theodorus* and *Yūsha'* Yaḥb, *Hazqīl* (Ezekiel), *Timotheus*, and *Yūsha'* ibn Nūn, who were translators and commentators.[24] We shall give accounts about them in the chapter on the ancient sciences [Chapter VII].

Among their learned men there was *Tawmā* al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Ruhā' *or* Edessa), who wrote an epistle to his sister about what took place between him and the opposition at Alexandria. There was also *Ilyās* (Elias), the metropolitan of Damascus, who wrote a book, *The Call*, as well as Abū *'Izzah*, the Melchite bishop of Ḥarrān, among whose works there was a book in which he defamed *Nestorius*[25] the leader. A group has denounced him.

[22] Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, is a good example of a Nestorian or Eastern collection of church records.

[23] Marqus was Jacob Burdeānā, a metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church, called the Jacobite Church after him. He evidently replied to Nestorian books which endorsed the doctrine that Christ had two natures. The Melchites, supported by the emperor, decreed at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, that the two natures were not separate, but one and composite. Later the Syrian Orthodox Church, or Jacobites, emphasized still further the oneness of Christ's nature as expressed in the Monophysite dogma.

[24] These men were all translators and not Biblical characters.

[25] The Flügel text has Asṭūrus, but it is evidently an error and intended for Nestorius.

The Third Section of the First Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist *with accounts of the scholars and the names of their books. This section includes a description of the Book which has nothing false in front of it or behind it; a revelation from the Wise and Praised, with the names of the books composed about it and accounts of the Seven Readers and others, too, with their writings.*

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Abū al-*Ḥasan* Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Nāqiṭ[1] said:

Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Qāsim related to us saying, Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd al-*Hāshimī* said, *Ibrāhīm* ibn Sa'd [learned] from al-*Zuhrī* from '*Ubayd* ibn al-Silf that *Zayd* ibn Thābit told him saying, "I was sent to Abū *Bakr* and when I came to him, behold, '*Umar* ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was with him. Then Abū Bakr said, ' 'Umar has come to me and said to me, "As the slaughter of reciters[2] [of the Qur'ān] was excessive on the day of Yamāmah,[3] I fear that the slaughter of reciters in the lands as a whole may be so great that much of the Qur'ān will be lost. I believe, therefore, that the Qur'ān should immediately be compiled." Then I said to 'Umar, "How can I do something which the Apostle of Allāh himself did not accomplish, may Allāh bless him and give him peace?" 'Umar said, "But, by Allāh, it is a good idea!" Then 'Umar continued to remind me about this matter until Allāh opened my heart for him and I viewed the affair as 'Umar saw it.'"

[1] This may have been a personal friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist* who passed on to him the tradition about compilation of the Qur'ān.

[2] Here the Arabic is translated as "reciters," as the literal meaning, "readers," cannot apply to persons who recited from memory.

[3] The battle in A.D. 633, when the Muslim general Khālid ibn al-Walīd defeated the rebellious Banū Ḥanīfah tribesmen and killed the false prophet Musaylimah. It is likely that in the second sentence which follows in the text the wording should be, "I believe, therefore, that you should immediately compile the Qur'ān."

Zayd ibn Thābit also related: "Abū *Bakr* said, 'You are a young man, intelligent, and not headstrong. You used to write down what was revealed to the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh bless him and give him peace. So now follow up the problem of the Qur'ān and make a compilation of it.'"

Zayd then said: "By Allāh, to move a peak from the mountains would not have been a harder job for me than the one which he commanded me to do, which is the compilation of the entire Qur'ān from scraps, thin white stones, palm stems, and the breasts [memory] of men. I found 'Sūrah al-Tawbah'[4] [recorded] by Abū *Khazaymah* al-Ansārī and did not discover [recorded] by anybody else the passage, 'An apostle has come to you from your own number; costly for him are your sufferings,' to the end of the sūrah."

This scripture[5] was with Abū Bakr during his lifetime, until Allāh took him. Then it was with 'Umar until Allāh brought his life to a completion, and after that with 'Umar's daughter *Ḥafṣah*.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq: A reliable person has quoted that *Ḥudhayfah* ibn al-Yamān came to *'Uthmān* ibn 'Affān when he was in 'Irāq, saying to him, 'Uthmān, "Get ahead of this people before they disagree about the Book, as the Jews and Christians have disagreed [about their scriptures]." So 'Uthmān sent the message to Ḥafṣah, "Send us the scriptures that we may transcribe them as manuscripts and then return them to you." Ḥafṣah sent them to 'Uthmān and 'Uthmān gave orders so that *Zayd* ibn Thābit, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-*Zubayr*, *Sa'īd* ibn al-'Āṣ, and *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām transcribed them as manuscripts. Moreover, he ['Uthmān] said to the group of the Quraysh,[6] "If you and Zayd ibn Thābit differ about any passage of the Qur'ān, write it in the colloquial speech of the Quraysh, as it was revealed in their vernacular." So they accomplished this work and when the scriptures had been transcribed, 'Uthmān returned them to Ḥafṣah. Then he sent a manuscript copy to each district, ordering that every

[4] This was Sūrah 9. The passage quoted represents the last three verses of the sūrah. *Zayd* ibn Thābit was chosen to compile the Qur'ān in written form because he had been the Prophet's secretary.

[5] This was evidently Zayd's original collection of Qur'ānic verses, later issued as an authorized canon in corrected form.

[6] This was the tribe at Makkah to which the Prophet belonged. *Zayd* did not belong to it, but the men chosen to work with him were related to the tribe.

page and manuscript with a different version of the Qur'ān should be burned.

Subdivision concerning the Revealing of the Qur'ān at Makkah and al-Madīnah, with the Sequence of Its Revelation

Abū al-*Ḥasan* Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf related to us saying:

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ghālib said to us, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-*Madīnī*, who came from al-Madīnah in the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 911], said that *Bakr* ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb of al-Madīnah stated, al-*Wāqidī* Muḥammad ibn 'Umar related to us saying, *Ma'mar* ibn-Rāshid quoted what he received from al-*Zuhrī* and he from *Muḥammad* ibn Nu'mān ibn Bashīr, who said that the first section of the Qur'ān to be revealed to the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, was:[7]

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Recite in the name of your Lord who created—as far as its clause—He taught men what he did not know	96
Nūn (N) and the Pen	68
Oh, thou who art wrapped up—the last verse, however, being revealed on the Makkah road	73
The Cloaked	74
Quoting from *Mujāhid*, he said that then there were revealed:	
Perish the hands of Abū *Lahab*	111
When the sun is covered	81
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High	87
Have we not expanded your breast for you?	94
Al-'Aṣr (The Afternoon)	103
Al-Fajr (The Daybreak)	89
Al-Ḍuḥā (The Early Morning)	93
Al-Layl (The Night)	92
The runners breathing hard	100

[7] The quotation continues. The headings in brackets do not appear in the Arabic text, but after the opening words of each sūrah the text adds "then." The numbers of the sūrahs in the authorized version of the Qur'ān have been inserted in a second column, and are not in the Arabic text. For a detailed study, see the Flügel text, p. 25. n. 1.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
We have given you abundance	108
Rivalry for wealth distracts you	102
Have you considered him who?	107
Say: Oh, unbelievers	109
Have you not seen how your Lord dealt with the owners of the elephant?	105
Say: He Allāh is one	112
Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn	113
Say: I take refuge in the Lord of mankind—said to have been revealed at al-Madīnah,	114
And the star	53
He frowned and turned away	80
Verily We revealed it	97
And the sun and its morning light	91
And the heaven with the stars	85
And the fig and the olive	95
For uniting of the Quraysh	106
The calamity	101
Verily, I swear by the Day of Resurrection	75
Woe to every slanderer	104
And those who are sent forth	77
Qāf(Q) and the Qur'ān[8]	50
Verily, I swear by this city	90
The Compassionate	55
Say: It has been revealed	72
Yā'(Y) Sīn(S)	36
Alif(A) Lām(L) Mīm(M) Ṣād(Ṣ)	7
Blessed is He Who has sent down the test of truth	25
Sūrah of the Angels, Praise to Allāh the Creator[9]	35
Sūrah of Maryam (Mary)	19
Sūrah Ṭā'(Ṭ) Hā'(H)	20
When the event occurs	56
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S) Mīm(M): The Poets	26

[8] This sūrah and some of the others which follow begin with letters. The scholars are not sure what these letters mean.

[9] The first clause is the title and the second the opening words of Sūrah 35. Flügel is evidently wrong in giving them as two different titles. Fifteen of the titles which follow give the names of the sūrahs rather than the opening words.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S)	27
Ṭa'(Ṭ) Sīn(S) Mīm(M), to its end	28
Sūrah of the Banū Isrā'īl (Children of Israel)	17
Sūrah of Hūd	11
Sūrah of Yūsuf (Joseph)	12
Sūrah of Yūnus (Jonah)	10
Sūrah of al-Ḥijr (the Rocky Tract)	15
Sūrah, Wa-al-Ṣāffāt (Those Who Rank Themselves)	37
Sūrah of *Luqmān*—the last of which is from al-Madīnah	31
The believers have prospered	23
Sabā	34
Sūrah, Al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets)	21
Sūrah, Al-Zumar (The Troops)	39
Sūrah, Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Mu'min (The Believer)	40
Sūrah, Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship)[10]	41
Sūrah, Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M) 'Ayn(') Sīn(S) Qāf(Q)	42
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)	43
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Dukhān (The Smoke)	44
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Jāthīyah (The Kneeling)[11]	45
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Aḥqāf (The Sandhills)—in which there is a verse from al-Madīnah	46
And those scattering	51
Has there not come to you an account of the overshadowing?	88
Sūrah of al-Kahf (the Cave)—the last of which is from al-Madīnah	18
Al-An'ām (The Cattle)—in which there is a verse from al-Madīnah	6
Sūrah of al-Naḥl (the Bee)—the last of which is from al-Madīnah	16
Sūrah of Nūḥ (Noah)	71
Sūrah of Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	14
Sūrah of al-Sajdah (Worship)	32
Wa-al-Ṭūr (And the Mountain)	52
Blessed is he in whose hand is the sovereignty	67

[10] This sūrah is usually called "Al-Fuṣṣilat," to avoid confusion with Sūrah 32.

[11] The Flügel text gives "Al-Sharī 'ah," which must be a mistake and meant to be "Al-Jāthīyah."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Al-Ḥāqqah (The Infallible)	69
A questioner questioned	70
Whereof do they question?	78
And those who drag forth	79
When the heavens are cleft	82
When the heavens are split	84
Al-Rūm (The Byzantines)	30
Al-'Ankabūt (The Spider)	29
Woe to the givers of short measure—they say it is from al-Madīnah	83
The hour drew nigh and the moon was cleft	54
And the heavens and the night comer	86

He [Abū al-Ḥasan] said:

Al-*Thawrī* passed on to me[12] from *Farrās* from al-*Sha'bī*, who said "Al-Naḥl" was revealed at Makkah, except for those verses, "If you take vengeance, avenge in the way that they take vengeance on you."[13] Ibn *Jurayj* passed on from 'Aṭā' al-*Khurāsānī* from Ibn *'Abbās*, who said eighty-five sūrahs were revealed at Makkah, whereas twenty-eight sūrahs were revealed at al-Madīnah. At al-Madīnah there were revealed:[14]

Al-Baqarah (The Cow)	2
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)	8
Al-A'rāf (The Heights)	7
Āl 'Imrān (Family of 'Imrān)	3
Al-Mumtaḥanah (She Who Is Examined)	60
Al-Nisā' (The Women)	4
When it quakes	99
Al-Ḥadīd (The Iron)	57
Those who disbelieve	47
Al-Ra'd (The Thunder)	13

[12] The Arabic has "Al-*Thawrī* told me," but the meaning must be "Al-Thawrī passed on to me," because al-Thawrī lived long before al-Nadīm and his contemporary Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, whom al-Nadīm quoted at the beginning of the passage.

[13] This evidently refers to the last three verses of Sūrah 16.

[14] As in the preceding lists, the headings and numbers of sūrahs have been inserted, although they do not appear in the Arabic text. Before each title there is the word "then," which has been omitted in the translation.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Has there come upon man?	76
Oh, Prophet, when you divorce women	65
Those who were unbelievers were not	98
Al-Ḥashr (The Assembling)	59
When the help of Allāh and the conquest come	110
Al-Nūr (The Light)	24
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)	22
Al-Munāfiqūn (The Hypocrites)	63
Al-Mujādilah (She Who Pleads)	58
Al-Ḥujurāt (The Private Apartments)	49
Oh, Prophet, wherefore dost thou forbid	66
Al-Jumu'ah (The Congregation)	62
Al-Taghābun (Disillusion)	64
Al-Ḥawāriyīn (The Disciples)[15]	61
Al-Fatḥ (The Victory)	48
Al-Mā'idah (The Dining Table)	5
Al-Tawbah (Repentence)	9

It is said that "Al-Mu'awwidhāt" were revealed at al-Madīnah. Then there is the remainder of the Qur'ān.[16]

Subdivision concerning the Arrangement of the Qur'ān in the Manuscript of *'Abd* Allāh ibn Mas'ūd

Al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān* said, "I found in a manuscript of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd the compilation of the sūrahs of the Qur'ān in accordance with the following sequence:[17]

Al-Baqarah (The Cow)	2
Al-Nisā' (The Women)	4
Āl 'Imrān (The Family of 'Imrān)	3

[15] Also called "Al-Ṣaff" ("The Ranks").

[16] In the Sūrahs 113 and 114, the principal word is *a'udh* ("I take refuge"), so that these sūrahs are called "Al-Mu'awwidhat." Here they are counted as one, making a total of 28 revealed at al-Madīnah. The remainder of the Qur'ān was ascribed to Makkah.

[17] 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd was a judge at al-Kūfah at the time of the early caliphs. He evidently owned an ancient manuscript which was kept for future generations to study. In this list, unlike the preceding lists, the word "then" does not precede each title. The sūrah numbers have been inserted by the translator.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Alif(A) Lām(L) Mīm(M) Ṣād(Ṣ)[18]	7
Al-An'ām (The Cattle)	6
Al-Mā'idah (The Dining Table)	5
Yūnus (Jonah)	10
Al-Barā'ah (Freedom)[19]	9
Al-Naḥl (The Bee)	16
Hūd	11
Yūsuf (Joseph)	12
Banī Isrā'īl (Children of Israel)	17
Al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets)	21
Al-Mu'minūn (The Believers)	23
Al-Shu'arā' (The Poets)	26
Al-Ṣāffat (Those Who Rank Themselves)	37
Al-Aḥzāb (The Confederates)	33
Al-Qaṣaṣ (The Story)	28
Al-Nūr (The Light)	24
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)	8
Maryam (Mary)	19
Al-'Ankabūt (The Spider)	29
Al-Rūm (The Byzantines)	30
Yā'(Y) Sīn(S)	36
Al-Furqān (The Test of Truth)	25
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)	22
Al-Ra'd (The Thunder)	13
Sabā	34
Al-Malā'ikah (The Angels)	35
Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	14
Ṣād(Ṣ)	38
Those who disbelieve	47
Al-Qamar (The Moon)[20]	31
Al-Zumar (The Troops)	39
The Praise-Giving Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M) Sūrahs:	
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Mu'min (The Believer)	40

[18] Better known as "Al-A'rāf" ("The Heights").

[19] Better known as "Al-Tawbah" ("Repentence").

[20] Flügel, p. 26 n. 10, suggests that this is meant to be "Luqmān" or Sūrah 31, which does not appear elsewhere on the list and in v. 29 mentions *al-qamar*. Sūrah 54, usually called "Al-Qamar," is mentioned in this list and others by its opening words, rather than by a title.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)	43
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship)[21]	41
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Aḥqāf (The Sandhills)	46
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Jāthīyah (The Kneeling)	45
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Dukhān (The Smoke)	44
Lo, We have given thee a victory	48
Al-Ḥadīd (The Iron)	57
Sabbaḥ: Al-Ḥashr (Praise: The Assembling)[22]	59
Tanzīl: Al-Sajdah (Revelation: Worship)	32
Qāf(Q)	50
Al-Ṭalāq (The Divorce)	65
Al-Ḥujurāt (The Private Apartments)	49
Blessed is he in whose hand is the sovereignty	67
Al-Taghābun (Disillusion)	64
Al-Munāfiqūn (The Hypocrites)	63
Al-Jumu'ah (The Congregation)	62
Al-Ḥawāriyūn (The Disciples)[23]	61
Say: It has been revealed to me	72
Lo, We sent Nūḥ (Noah)	71
Al-Mujādilah (She Who Pleads)	58
Al-Mumtaḥanah (She Who Is Examined)	60
Oh, Prophet, wherefore dost thou forbid?	66
Al-Raḥmān (The Compassionate)	55
Al-Najm (The Star)	53
Al-Dhārīyāt (Those Scattering)	51
Al-Ṭūr (The Mountain)	52
The hour drew nigh	54
Al-Ḥāqqah (The Infallible)	69
When there happens	56
Nūn(N) and the Pen	68
Al-Nāzi'āt (Those Who Drag Forth)	79
A questioner questioned	70
Al-Muddaththir (The Cloaked)	74
Al-Muzzammil (The Wrapped-Up)	73

[21] Usually called "Al-Fuṣṣilat," as Sūrah 32 is called "Al-Sajdah."

[22] This title and the one which follows combine the name of the sūrah with the opening word.

[23] Usually called "Al-Ṣaff."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Al-Muṭiffifīn (Givers of Short Measure)[24]	83
He frowned	80
Has there come upon man?	76
Al-Qiyāmah (The Resurrection)	75
Al-Mursalāt (Those Sent Forth)	77
Wherefore do they question?	78
When the sun is covered	81
When the heavens are cleft	82
Has there not come to you an account of the overwhelming?	88
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High	87
And the night when it enshrouds	92
Al-Fajr (The Dawn)	89
Al-Burūj (The Stars of the Zodiac)	85
Al-Inshiqāq (Rent Asunder)[25]	84
Recite in the name of your Lord	96
Verily, I swear by this city	90
Wa-al-Ḍuḥā (And the Morning Light)	93
Have We not expanded for you	94
And the heavens and the night comer	86
Al-'Ādīyāt (The Runners)	100
Have you seen someone?	107
Al-Qāri'ah (The Calamity)	101
Those of the People of the Book who were unbelievers were not	98
The sun and its morning light	91
And the fig	95
Woe to every slanderer	104
Al-Fīl (The Elephant)	105
For uniting the Quraysh	106
Al-Takāthur (Rivalry for Wealth)	102
Verily, We revealed it	97
And the afternoon. We have created man for loss [of God's favor] in which he will remain until the end of time, except for those who believe, enjoining one	

[24] Known as "Al-Taṭfīf."

[25] This is probably the title intended in the Arabic.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
another to piety and committing each other to endurance.[26]	
When the help of Allāh cometh	110
Verily, We have given you	108
Say: Oh, you who disbelieved, I do not worship what you worship	109
The hands of Abū *Lahab* have perished and he has perished. His wealth will not be enough for him, nor his gains. His wife, moreover, is the bearer of wood.[27]	111
Allāh is one, eternal.	112

These are one hundred and ten sūrahs.[28]

According to another tradition, "Al-Ṭūr" [Sūrah 52] comes before "Al-Dhārīyāt" [Sūrah 51].

Ibn *Shādhān*[29] stated that Ibn *Sīrīn* said *'Abd* Allāh ibn Mas'ūd did not transcribe into his manuscript either "Al-Mu'awwidhatān"[30] or the opening of the Book.[31] Moreover, al-Faḍl [ibn Shādhān] quoted in sequence from al-*A'mash*, saying that in the reading of 'Abd Allāh [ibn Mas'ūd] there was "Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M) Sīn(S) Qāf(Q)."[32]

Thus saith Muḥanımad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have seen a number of Qur'ānic manuscripts, which the transcribers recorded as manuscripts of Ibn Mas'ūd. No two of the Qur'ānic copies were in agreement and most of them were on badly effaced parchment. I also saw a Qur'ānic manuscript transcribed about two hundred

[26] The author has evidently quoted these sentences to show how different they are from the authorized version of the Qur'ān. Cf. Sūrah 103 of the authorized version.

[27] Here again the verses are quoted, as they are a variation. The authorized version makes it clear that the wife of Abū Lahab is carrying fuel to feed the flames with which her husband is being burned in Hell. For the sūrah which follows, the authorized version has, "Say, He, Allāh, is one, Allāh the Eternal."

[28] In the authorized version there are 114 sūrahs. In this passage there are only 106, not 110.

[29] The Flügel text has *Abū* instead of *ibn*, evidently a mistake.

[30] Sūrahs 113 and 114. Here the dual form is used instead of the plural.

[31] This refers to "Fātiḥat al-Kitāb," the first short sūrah.

[32] In the authorized version, the letters are "Ḥā' (Ḥ) Mīm (M) 'Ayn (') Sīn (S) Qāf(Q)." This is Sūrah 42.

years ago which included the opening of the Book. As al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān* was one of the leading authorities on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, I have mentioned what he said, in addition to what we ourselves have witnessed.

Subdivision concerning the Arrangement of the Qur'ān in the Manuscript of *Ubayy* ibn Ka'b

Al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān* said:

One of our reliable friends has informed us, saying that the composition of the sūrahs according to the reading of Ubayy ibn Ka'b is in a village called Qarīyat al-Anṣār, two parasangs[33] from al-Baṣrah, where in his home Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-*Anṣārī* showed us a Qur'ānic manuscript, saying, "This is the copy of Ubayy which we have, handed down from our fathers." I looked into it and ascertained the headings of the sūrahs, the endings of the revelations, and the numbers of verses.[34]

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah][35]
Fātiḥat al-Kitāb (Opening of the Book)—was the first	1
Al-Baqarah (The Cow)	2
Al-Nisā' (The Women)	4
Āl 'Imrān (The Family of 'Imrān)	3
Al-An'ām (The Cattle)	6
Al-A'rāf (The Heights)	7
Al-Mā'idah (The Table)	5
Alif(A) Lām(L) Dhāl(Dh) Yā'(Y)—about which I was confused, but it is "Yūnus" (Jonah)[36]	10
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)	8
Al-Tawbah (Repentence)	9
Hūd	11
Maryam (Mary)	19
Al-Shu'arā' (The Poets)	26
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)	22

[33] The Anṣār were the people of al-Madīnah who helped the Prophet. A parasang is a measure of distance of about five miles or less. Various sources give different values.

[34] This passage is translated freely.

[35] The sūrah numbers have been inserted by the translator.

[36] In the authorized version the letters are "Alif(A) Lām(L) Rā'(R)."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Yūsuf (Joseph)	12
Al-Kahf (The Cave)	18
Al-Naḥl (The Bee)	16
Al-Aḥzāb (The Confederates)	33
Banī Isrā'īl (The Children of Israel)	17
Al-Zumar (The Troops)	39
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Tanzīl (The Revelation)	45
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Hā'(H)	20
Al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets)	21
Al-Nūr (The Light)	24
Al-Mu'minūn (The Believers)[37]	23
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Mu'min (The Believer)	40
Al-Ra'd (The Thunder)	13
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S) Mīm(M): Al-Qaṣaṣ (The Story)	28
Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S): Sulaymān (Solomon)[38]	27
Al-Ṣāffāt (Those Who Rank Themselves)	37
Dā'ūd: Sūrah Ṣād(Ṣ) (David)	38
Yā'(Y) Sīn(S)	36
Aṣḥāb al-Ḥijr (The Inhabitants of the Rocky Land)	15
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M) 'Ayn(') Sīn(S) Qāf(Q)	42
Al-Rūm (The Byzantines)	30
Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)	43
Ḥā'(Ḥ) Mīm(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship)	41
Sūrah of Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	14
Al-Malā'ikah (The Angels)[39]	35
Al-Fatḥ (The Victory)	48
Muḥammad, may Allāh bless him and give him peace	47
Al-Ḥadīd (The Iron)	57
Al-Ṭūr (The Mountain)[40]	52
Tabārak: Al-Furqān (Blessed: The Test of Truth)	25
Alif(A) Lām(L) Mīm(M): Tanzīl (Revelation)	32

[37] The Arabic text has "Al-Mu' minīn" in possessive form after sūrah.

[38] Usually called "Al-Naml."

[39] The Flügel text gives "Al-Malikah."

[40] Flügel copied from his imperfect manuscript "Al-Ṭihār," but he points out, p. 27 n. 9, that this is a mistake. The title two lines above has evidently been lengthened by some pious scribe, as the real title is "Muḥammad."

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
Nūḥ (Noah)	71
Al-Aḥqāf (The Sandhills)	46
Qāf(Q)	50
Al-Raḥmān (The Compassionate)	55
Al-Wāqi'ah (The Event)	56
Al-Jinn	72
Al-Najm (The Star)	53
Nūn(N)	68
Al-Ḥāqqah (The Infallible)	69
Al-Ḥashr (The Assembling)	59
Al-Mumtaḥanah (She Who Is Examined)	60
Al-Mursalāt (Those Sent Forth)	77
Whereof do they question?	78
Al-Insān (The Man)	76
Verily I swear	75
Covered	81
Al-Nāzi'āt (Those Who Drag Forth)	79
'Abas[*a*] (He Frowned)	80
Al-Muṭiffifīn (Those Who Give Short Measure)	83
When the heavens are split	84
Al-Tīn (The Fig)	95
Recite in the name of your Lord	96
Al-Ḥujurāt (The Private Apartments)	49
Al-Munāfiqūn (The Hypocrites)	63
Al-Jumu'ah (The Congregation)	62
Al-Nabī, for whom be peace[41]	66
Al-Fajr (The Dawn)	89
Al-Mulk (The Sovereignty)	67
The night when it enshrouds	92
When the heavens are cleft	82
And the sun with its morning light	91
And the heavens with the stars	85
Al-Ṭāriq (The Night Comer)	86
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High	87
Al-Ghāshiyah (The Overshadowing)	88

[41] The words "for whom be peace" are not in the authorized version.

[Opening words or title of the sūrah]	[Number of the sūrah]
'Abas[a] (He Frowned)[42]	74?
He was not the first of those who disbelieved	98?
Al-Ṣaff (The Ranks)	61
Al-Ḍuḥā (The Morning Light)	93
Have we not expanded your	94
Al-Qāri'ah (The Calamity)	101
Al-Takāthur (Rivalry for Wealth)	102
Al-Khal' (Divorce), three verses[44]	65?
Al-Jīd (The Neck), six verses[45]	
Oh, Allāh, Thee do we worship—the last of which is—with the unbelievers. It is appended to "Al-Lumazah."[46]	104
When it quakes	99
Al-'Ādiyāt (The Runners)	100
Aṣḥāb al-Fīl (Owners of the Elephant)	105
Al-Tīn (The Fig)[47]	?
Al-Kawthar (Abundance)	108
Al-Qadr (The Power)	97
Al-Kāfirūn (The Unbelievers)	109
Al-Naṣr (Help)	110
Abī Lahab	111
Quraysh	106
Al-Ṣamad (The Eternal)	112
Al-Falaq (The Dawn)	113
Al-Nās (Mankind)	114

This is one hundred and sixteen sūrahs.[48]

[42] *'Abas[a]* has already been mentioned as Sūrah 80. As the word also appears in Sūrah 74, v. 22, this may refer to that sūrah, which is not mentioned elsewhere in this list.

[43] This is probably a variation for Sūrah 98, v. 1.

[44] This sūrah is probably meant as Sūrah 65, which deals with the subject of divorce. On the other hand, Sūrah 65 has many verses, so that "Al-Khal' " may be a garbled title for Sūrah 103, which has three verses.

[45] *Al-jīd* ("neck") is mentioned at the end of Sūrah 111, but this sūrah is included as "Abī Lahab." Perhaps the word is meant to be *al-ḥamd*, the opening word of Sūrah 34, not mentioned elsewhere in this list.

[46] "Al-Lumazah" almost certainly refers to Sūrah 104, but the words appended are not in the authorized version.

[47] This is a mistake, as the sūrah has already been mentioned and the name does not resemble titles of sūrahs not elsewhere mentioned.

[48] The list as given does not include such a large number, moreover, about a dozen of the sūrahs of the authorized version are omitted.

He [Al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān*] said:

So far I have followed the Qur'ānic copy of *Ubayy* ibn Ka'b. According to the statement of Ubayy ibn Ka'b the total number of the verses of the Qur'ān is six thousand, two hundred and ten. The total number of the sūrahs of the Qur'ān according to the statement of '*Aṭā'* ibn Yasār is one hundred and fourteen, its verses are six thousand, one hundred and seventy, its words seventy-seven thousand, four hundred and thirty-nine, and its letters three hundred and twenty-three thousand and fifteen.

According to the statement of 'Āṣim al-*Jaḥdarī*, there are one hundred and thirteen sūrahs. The total number of verses of the Qur'ān as stated by Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-*Dhamārī* is six thousand, two hundred and twenty-six, while its letters are three hundred and twenty-one thousand, five hundred and thirty.

The Collectors of the Qur'ān at the Time of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace

'*Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, may the favor of Allāh be with him; *Sa'd* ibn 'Ubayd ibn Nu'mān ibn 'Amr ibn Zayd, may Allāh be pleased with him;[49] Abū al-Dardā' '*Uwaymar* ibn Zayd, may Allāh be pleased with him; *Mu'ādh* ibn Jabal ibn Aws, may Allāh be pleased with him; Abū *Zayd* Thābit ibn Zayd Ibn al-Nu'mān;[50] *Ubayy* ibn Ka'b ibn Qays ibn Mālik ibn Imru' al-Qays; '*Ubayd* ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

Arrangement of the Sūrahs of the Qur'ān according to the Manuscript of the Commander of the Faithful, '*Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, May Allāh Honor His Countenance

Ibn al-*Munādī* said:

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-'Abbās said to me, "I received the information through '*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād from al-Ḥakam ibn Ẓuhayr al-*Sadūsī* from '*Abd* Khayr from 'Alī, for whom be peace, that he ['Alī] perceived an augury connected with the people[51] at the time of the death of the

[49] This name is sometimes written Sa'īd, but both *Al-Fihrist* and Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, spell it without the third letter.

[50] Abū Zayd had many names; see Biog. Index. As "Ibn al-Nu'mān" is not mentioned in connection with his lineage, it may be that this is a separate name, perhaps intended for the Prophet's intimate Companion, Qatādah ibn al-Nu'mān.

[51] For the phrase translated as "with the people" the Flügel text has *min al-nās*, but p. 28 n. 1 of the Flügel text suggests an alternative. *Al-nās* is sometimes used for angels as well as for people. The word might also be *al-nāsh* ("lamentation").

Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace. So he swore that he would not take his cloak from his back until he had compiled the Qur'ān. He stayed, therefore, in his house for three days until he compiled the Qur'ān. This was the first manuscript in which the Qur'ān was compiled from memory. The manuscript was with the people of *Ja'far*."[52]

In our own time I myself saw at the home of Abū Ya'lā Ḥamzah al-*Ḥasanī*, may Allāh be merciful to him, a manuscript from which some pages had dropped out, written in the handwriting of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The Banū Ḥasan hold it as an inheritance, as time passes by, and this is the arrangement of the sūrahs in that manuscript.[53]

Accounts of the Seven Readers with the Names of Those Who Quoted from Them and Read Like Them[54]

Abū '*Amr* ibn al-'Alā,' whose name was Zabbān ibn al-'Alā' ibn 'Ammār ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Julhum ibn Khuzā'ī ibn Māzin ibn Mālik ibn 'Amr al-Mazīnī, was one of the most learned authorities of the Qur'ān. *Yūnus* and other shaykhs of al-Baṣrah belonging to the fourth generation [of Islām] learned from him.

Naming of Those Who Followed the Reading of Abū '*Amr*

The Reading of Abū 'Amr, a composition of Aḥmad ibn Zayd al-*Ḥalwānī;* The Reading of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', from Abū Dhuhl, quoted by '*Iṣmah* ibn Abī 'Iṣmah; The Reading of Abū 'Amr, which was quoted by al-*Yazīdī*.[55]

Account of *Nāfi'* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Nu'aym al-Madanī

He was also called Abbān and Abū al-Ḥasan. Al-*Aṣma'ī* quoted Nāfi', who told him, "My origin was at Iṣbahān."

[52] This may refer to *Ja'far* ibn Abī Ṭālib, but it is more likely that it is meant to be the sixth Shī'ī imam, *Ja'far* al-Ṣādiq, who died A.D. 765.

[53] The Banū Ḥasan were descendants of the eldest son of '*Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib. The arrangement of sūrahs is missing.

[54] See Glossary for "reading" and "readers."

[55] Probably an eighth-century reader (see al-Hāshim *Yazīdī*), although this man was known for using a system other than that of Abū 'Amr. In this account of the readers, the word "quoted" is evidently used in connection with pupils and disciples who used the method of the master, also quoting from his books and lectures.

Naming of Those Who Quoted *Nāfiʿ*

ʿĪsā ibn Mīnā Qālūn; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Musayyabī*; al-*Aṣmaʿī*; *Ismāʿīl* ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī Kathīr al-Anṣārī; *Yaʿqūb* ibn Ibrāhīm; ——— ibn Saʿīd al-*Zuhdī*.

Account of Ibn *Kathīr*

His name was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Kathīr and his surname Abū Saʿīd, or some say Abū Bakr. He was a Qur'ānic reader of Makkah in the second generation [of Islām] and a protégé of ʿAmr ibn ʿAlqamah al-*Kinānī*. He was called al-Dārānī because he was a perfume seller and in al-Ḥijāz a perfumer is called a *dārānī*; [he was called] also al-Dārī al-Lakhmī because he was a descendant of the tribe of al-Dār ibn Hānī ibn Lakhm, to which Tamīm al-Dārī belonged.[56]

He was said to be a descendant of the Persians whom Chosroes sent by ship to al-Yaman in order to drive out the Abyssinians.[57] ʿAbd Allāh al-*Kathīr* died during the year one hundred and twenty [A.D. 738] at Makkah, where he was buried. He was regarded as preeminent.

Naming of Those Who Quoted Ibn *Kathīr*

Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qusṭanṭīn, a protégé of *Maysarah*, who was a protégé of al-*ʿĀṣ* ibn Hishām.

Account of *ʿAṣim* ibn Bahdalah

He was Ibn Abī al-Najūd, surnamed Abū Bakr, a protégé of the tribe of Jadhīmah ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn Quʿayn. He belonged to the third generation of the scholars of al-Kūfah, following *Yaḥyā* ibn Waththāb. ʿĀṣim died in the year one hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 745/46]. The reading used by ʿĀṣim was according to Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-*Sulamī* and *Zirr* ibn Ḥubaysh.

[56] For these tribes, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2542, 2545; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 226.

[57] Chosroes *Anūshirwān* sent this expedition A.D. 576, defeating the Abyssinians in al-Yaman.

Naming of Those Who Quoted *'Āṣim*

Abū *Bakr* ibn Ayyāsh quoted him. His name was Muḥammad, also said to be Sha'bah ibn Sālim al-Asadī. As there was a difference of opinion about his name, his surname was said to be his real name, by which alone he was known. He was a protégé of *Waṣil* ibn Ḥayyan al-Aḥdab, and died at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and ninety-three [A.D. 808], during the month in which al-*Rashīd* also passed away. He was quoted by *Ḥafṣ* ibn Sulaymān Abū 'Amr al-Bazzāz.

The reading learned from 'Āṣim dated back to *'Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom be peace, according to the tradition of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Sulamī*. Ḥafṣ died before the plague, the plague being in the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748].[58]

Account of 'Abd Allāh ibn *'Āmir* al-Yaḥṣubī

He was one of the Seven [Readers], surnamed Abū 'Amrān. It is said that he learned the Qur'ān[59] from *'Uthmān* ibn 'Affān, reading in accordance with him. He belonged to the first generation of followers [of the Prophet] at Damascus, where he died in the year one hundred and eighteen [A.D. 736].

Ibn 'Āmir quoted a number of the Companions, among whom there were *Wāthilah* ibn al-Asqa', *Faḍalah* ibn 'Ubayd, and *Mu'āwiyah* ibn Abī Sufyān.

Naming of Those Who Quoted Ibn *'Āmir*

Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-*Dhamārī*, surnamed Abū 'Umar, named for Dhamār, which is a district of the districts of al-Yaman.[60] He died in the year one hundred and forty-five [A.D. 762].

Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Muhājir and *'Abd* al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Āmir, his brother.[61] *Sa'īd* ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Hishām* ibn al-Ghāz,[62] and *Thawr* ibn Yazīd.

[58] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, II, 2016 l. 3, says the plague started at al-Baṣrah the year before.

[59] At this point the Beatty MS is intact again, after a loss of pages extending from Chap. I, sect. 1, near n. 59.

[60] For *makhālīf* ("districts"), see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 434; for Dhamār, II, 721.

[61] The text indicates that he was the brother of Ismā'īl, but it seems to be more reasonable to regard him as the brother of Ibn 'Āmir.

[62] The Flügel text has 'Ammār, which seems to be an error.

Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith [al-*Dhamārī*] was quoted by a group of men, among whom there were *Ayyūb* ibn Tamīm, *Suwayd* ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Ṣadaqah* ibn Yaḥyā, *Muḥammad* ibn Saʿīd ibn Shābūr, ʿ*Umar* ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, *Ghazzāl* ibn Khālid,[63] *Yaḥyā* ibn Ḥamzah, and others besides them.

Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt

He was one of the Seven [Readers], about whom it was said that he had a son, ʿ*Umārah*, and so was called Abū ʿUmārah.[64] He was a protégé of Āl ʿAkramah ibn Ribʿī al-Taymī and used to transport oil from al-Kūfah to Ḥulwān, bringing back cheese and walnuts from Ḥulwān to al-Kūfah.

He belonged to the fourth generation of scholars at al-Kūfah, being an authority on the law. He died in the year one hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 772/73], during the caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar [al-*Manṣūr*]. Among his books there were:

The Reading of Ḥamzah; Allotments of Inheritance.

Naming of Those Who Quoted *Ḥamzah*

Khālid ibn Yazīd, ʿ*Āʾidh* ibn Abī ʿĀʾidh, al-*Kisāʾī*, al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAṭīyah, and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-ʿ*Absī*.

Al-*Kisāʾī* the Grammarian

He was ʿAlī ibn Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bahman ibn Fīrūz,[65] by origin a Persian and one of the Seven Readers. He came from al-Kūfah where he was brought up, but he used to move from one town to another. He died in one of the villages of al-Rayy named Iranbūyah[66] during the year one hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 795].

[63] The Beatty MS has ʿIrrāl, but the word must be meant as Ghazzāl.

[64] The full name of the son was ʿ*Umārah* ibn Ḥamzah ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd (see Biog. Index). In the sentences which follow, Āl ʿAkramah was a tribal clan. Ḥulwān was a trading post on the Persian-ʿIrāqī frontier.

[65] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, Part V, p. 183, and Khallikān, II, 237, give Fīrūz, though the Beatty MS gives Mazūn, which is almost certainly an error.

[66] Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 223 has Iranbūyah, whereas the Beatty MS gives Ranbūyah. Yāqūt is probably correct.

He read according to *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā and *Ḥamzah* ibn Ḥabīb. Any disagreement between al-Kisā'ī and Ḥamzah was connected with the method of reciting of Ibn Abī Laylā. Ibn Abī Laylā recited in the manner of *'Alī*, for whom be peace.

Al-Kisā'ī was one of the [Qur'ānic] readers of the City of Peace [Baghdād]. At first he recited to the people with the reading of Ḥamzah, but later he chose his own reading with which he read to the people during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-*Rashīd*]. We shall give a more complete account about him in what follows, if Allāh so wills.

Naming of Those Who Quoted al-*Kisā'ī*

Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Marwazī*, Abū al-Ḥārith al-*Layth* ibn Khālid, Abū *'Umar* Ja'far ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and Hāshim al-*Yazīdī*.

The persons who learned from him but disagreed with him about certain letters were: Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; *Nuṣayr* ibn Yūsuf; *Aḥmad* ibn Jubayr, the mosque reader of Damascus; Abū *Tawbah* Maymūn ibn Ḥafṣ; *'Alī* ibn al-Mubārak al-Liḥyānī; Hishām al-*Ḍarīr*, the grammarian; and Abū *Dhuhl* Aḥmad ibn Abī Dhuhl. Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Āṣim al-*Nāqiṭ* gained a certain amount of knowledge from him, but did not use his reading. *Yaḥyā* ibn Ādam drew upon his reading to a certain extent, but only in a limited way.[67]

Naming of the Books Which the Scholars Composed about His Reading

The Things about Which al-Kisā'ī Disagreed with Ḥamzah, by Abū *Ja'far* Muḥammad ibn al-Mughīrah; about his reading according to al-Mughīrar ibn Shu'ayb al-*Tamīmī*; about his reading according to Abū Muslim 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Wāqid al-*Wāqidī*; The Letters of al-*Kisā'ī*, according to *Sawrah* ibn al-Mubārak.[68]

There was also his book, *The Meaning of the Qur'ān*.[69]

[67] The translation follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be more accurate than the Flügel edition.

[68] In this passage the words translated as "according to" are either *'an* or *'alā*. "Letters" probably refers to the way al-Kisā'ī interpreted the letters of the Qur'ān, his method of reading. Flügel gives Sawrah ibn al-Mubarrad, which seems to be wrong.

[69] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

The Names of the Readers with Odd Systems and the Relationships of the Readers[70]

The People of al-Madīnah

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ayyāsh ibn Abī Rabī'ah al-Makhzūmī belonged to the first generation of the followers [of the Prophet's time] at al-Madīnah and had his own reading. Abū Sa'īd *Abān* ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān also belonged to the first generation of followers, with his reading. *Muslim* ibn Ḥabīb al-Nahdī was one of the followers, who also had his reading.

Shaybah ibn Niḍāḥ ibn Surjus ibn Ya'qūb belonged to the second generation [of Islām] at al-Madīnah. He was a protégé of Umm *Salāmah*, but the only person we know of who quoted Niḍāḥ was his son, because he was ahead of his time in his reading, using his own reading.

There was also Abū Ja'far al-*Madanī*, whose name was Yazīd ibn Qa'qā', a protégé of *'Abd* Allāh ibn 'Ayyāsh ibn Abī Rabī'ah 'Ataqah, who quoted from Abū *Hurayrah*, Ibn *'Umar* ['Abd Allāh] and other authorities, but had his own reading. He died during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-*Rashīd*].

The People of Makkah

Ibn Abī *'Umārah* was quoted by Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā' and had his own reading; *Muḥayṣ*, who had his own reading;[71] *Dirbās*, also with his reading; *Ḥumayd* ibn Qays al-A'raj, who had his system.

The People of al-Baṣrah

'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq al-*Ḥaḍramī* had his reading; 'Āṣim al-*Jaḥdarī* with his reading; 'Īsā ibn 'Umar al-*Thaqafī* also had his reading; Ya'qūb al-*Ḥaḍramī* also had his reading; Abū al-*Mundhir* Sallām had his reading.

The People of al-Kūfah[72]

Ṭalḥah ibn Muṣarrif al-Ayyāmī of Hamadhān was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh and was one of the inhabitants of al-Kūfah. When

[70] See Glossary for "reader" and "reading."

[71] Flügel gives Ibn Muḥayṣ, a leading Qur'ānic reader of Makkah. The name in the Beatty MS is garbled.

[72] This paragraph is omitted in the Flügel edition. For the tribes mentioned, see Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, p. 179; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 110.

he saw the people coming to him in large numbers, he walked over to al-*A'mash* to study with him. Then the people [students] transferred to al-A'mash, leaving Ṭalḥah, who died in the year one hundred and twelve [A.D. 730/31].[73] He had his reading.

Yaḥyā ibn Waththāb of al-Kūfah from the [tribe of] Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah was a protégé of the Banū Kāhil Tribe. He died at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and three [A.D. 721/22]. He had his own reading.

'Īsā ibn 'Umar al-Hamadhānī, not the grammarian,[74] had his reading. Al-A'mash also had his reading. Later on we shall give detailed information about them. Ibn Abī *Laylā* had his reading, but mention of him is also postponed until later.

The People of al-Shām[75]

Abū al-Barhusam, whose name was *'Imrān* ibn 'Uthmān al-Zubaydī, had his reading. *Yazīd* al-Barbarī had his reading. *Khālid* ibn Ma'dān also had his reading.

The People of al-Yaman

Muḥammad ibn al-Sumayfi' originated in al-Yaman, but lived at al-Baṣrah during the later years of his life. He had his own reading.

Baghdād

Khalaf ibn Hishām ibn Tha'lab al-Bazzār[76] was one of the people of Fam al-Ṣilḥ, but he went to the City of Peace [Baghdād], becoming one of its citizens. He attended the lectures of *Sharīk*, Abū *'Awānah*, and *Ḥammād* ibn Zayd, also studying with *Sulaym*, the friend of *Ḥamzah* [ibn Ḥabīb], but he differed with Ḥamzah about certain points. He died during the year two hundred and twenty-nine [A.D. 843]. Among his books there was *The Readings*.[77]

[73] Flügel gives the year as A.H. 103.

[74] The grammarian was 'Īsā ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī.

[75] The names in this paragraph are given as in the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel edition.

[76] The Beatty MS has Bazzāz, which seems to be an error.

[77] The title is lacking in the Flügel edition.

Ibn *Mujāhid*

The last person whose priority was acknowledged in the City of Peace [Baghdād] during his generation was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn al-'Abbās ibn *Mujāhid*, who was unique in his time without competition. With his kindness, wisdom, piety, and knowledge of the Qur'ānic readings and sciences he was a man of noble virtue, refinement of character, wealth of humor, penetrating understanding, and excellence.

He was born in the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859] and he died on Wednesday, the last night of Sha'bān [the eighth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 935]. He was buried the day after his death in the burial place of the women's quarters in his house in Sūq al-'Aṭash. Among his books there were:

Large book of readings; small book of readings; The Yā'āt (The Y's); The Hā'āt (The H's); The Reading of Abū *'Amr*; The Reading of Ibn *Kathīr*; The Reading of *'Āṣim*; The Reading of *Nāfi'*; The Reading of *Ḥamzah*; The Reading of al-*Kisā'ī*; The Reading of *'Āmir*; The Reading of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

Ibn *Shanabūdh*

His name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb ibn Shanabūdh. He was hostile to Abū Bakr [Ibn *Mujāhid*], not consorting with him. He was religious, nonaggressive, but foolish.[78] Shaykh Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan al-*Sīrāfī* told me that Allāh strengthened him with his father's skill in modulation, though he had little science. He quoted many readings and wrote various books about them.

He died in the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939] in his prison at the sultan's palace. Abū 'Alī [*Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī] ibn Muqlah flogged him with lashes and when he prayed [to Allāh] that his [Ibn Muqlah's] hand should be cut off, [Allāh] granted that the hand [of Ibn Muqlah] should be amputated; a rare answer to prayer.[79]

[78] For the word translated as "nonaggressive," the Beatty MS is not clear, but Flügel gives *salāmah* ("peace").

[79] For the life of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Muqlah and the amputation of his hand, see Khallikān, III, 266–70.

Mention of Some of the Readings of Ibn *Shanabūdh*[80]

"When the call to prayer is made on the day of congregation, *pass on* to the remembrance of Allāh." [Qur'ān 62:9, gives *hasten* instead of *pass on.*]

He also read, "And there was *in front of* them a king, taking every *good* ship by force." [Qur'ān 18:79, gives, "And there was *behind* them a king, taking every ship by force."]

He read, "Like *al-ṣūf* al-manfūsh (carded wool)." [Qur'ān 101:5, has, "Like *al-'ihn* al-manfūsh."]

He read, "The hands of Abū *Lahab* will perish and *they have perished.* There shall not profit . . ." [Qur'ān 111:1, 2, give, "The hands of Abū Lahab will perish and *he will perish.* There shall not profit . . ."]

He read, "*Today* we deliver you by *making you strong*, that you may be a sign to whoever comes after you." [Qur'ān 10:92, gives, "*And today* we deliver you with your body that you may be a sign to whoever comes after you."]

He read, "And when it fell, the *people* (*al-ins*) perceived that the jinn, if they had known the unseen, would not have remained *in a state* (*ḥawl*) of *painful* (*alīm*) torment." [Qur'ān 34:14, gives, "And when it fell the jinn perceived that if they had known the unseen, they would not have remained in *abject* (*mahīn*) torment."]

He read, "By the night when it enshrouds and the day when it is bright, *and the* male and the female." [Qur'ān 92:1, gives, "By the night when it enshrouds and the day when it is bright, and *what created* the male and the female."]

He read, "*The unbelievers* have lied and there will be punishment." [Qur'ān 25:77, gives, "*You have lied* and there will be punishment."]

He read, "Unless you do so, there will be confusion on the earth and *widespread* (*'arīḍ*) corruption." [Qur'ān 8:73, gives *great* (*kabīr*) instead of *widespread.*]

[80] The Beatty MS has certain additions and variations which make the difference between this heretical version of Qur'ānic verses and the orthodox one greater than it appears in the Flügel edition. In this passage, the words in italics are the ones which differ from the authorized version of the Qur'ān, while the explanations in brackets are notes not contained in *Al-Fihrist.* It should be realized that the verse numbers cited for the Qur'ān may not correspond with the numbers of some versions, as the numbering is not always identical.

He read, "And let there be a people among you who invite what is good, commanding what is right, *refraining* (*nāhūn*) from what is wrong, *and who seek the aid of Allāh in what befalls them*, for these are they who are fortunate."[81] [Qur'ān 3:104, gives a different form of the same verb for *refraining* and omits *and who seek the aid of Allāh in what befalls them.*]

It is said that he [Ibn Shanabūdh] confessed all of this [variation]. Then he was moved to repentence and used his handwriting in contrition, so that he wrote:

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb [Ibn Shanabūdh]: I used to read expressions differing from the version of *'Uthmān* ibn 'Affān, which was confirmed by consensus, its recital being agreed upon by the Companions of the Apostle of Allāh. Then it became clear to me that this was wrong, so that I am contrite because of it and from it torn away. Now before Allāh, may His name be glorified for from Him is acquittal, behold the version of 'Uthmān is the correct one, with which it is not proper to differ and other than which there is no way of reading.

Among his books there was *How Ibn* Kathīr *Differed from Abū* 'Amr.

Ibn *Kāmil* Abū Bakr

He was one of the scholars famous for a knowledge of the sciences of the Qur'ān. He was [named] Aḥmad ibn Kāmil ibn Khalaf ibn Shajarah,[82] was born at Sāmarrā, and was an authority for many sciences. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Qur'ān; The [Qur'ānic] Readings; Nearness, about unveiling of the obscure; An Abridgment of Interpretation, concerning the Miracle of Revelation; Postures [for Prayer]; History; Abridgment of the Law; the large book, [Legal] Conditions; the small book [Legal] Conditions.

Abū *Ṭāhir*

His name was 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Hāshim al-Bazzāz. He was an inhabitant of Baghdād, and

[81] The Flügel edition inserts here, "And it is Allāh who extracted you from your mothers' wombs."

[82] This name is not clear in the Beatty MS.

studied under Abū Bakr ibn *Mujāhid*, Abū al-'Abbās *Aḥmad* ibn Sahl al-Ushnānī, and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Ḍarīr*, the reader to whom he was attached. He excelled in connection with elocution and reading,[83] knowing also something useful about grammar. He died on Thursday, eight days before the end of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and forty-nine [A.D. 960]. Among his books there were:

Exceptions of the Seven; The Bā'āt (The B's); The Hā'āt (The H's);[84] The Reading of al-*A'mash*; The Reading of *Ḥamzah*, the Great; The Reading of al-*Kisā'ī*, the Great;[85] Epistle about Raising the Voice for 'In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate'; The Distinction between Abū *'Amr* and al-*Kisā'ī*; The Disagreement between Abū *'Amr* and al-*Kisā'ī*; The Triumph of Ḥamzah; The Reading of *Ḥafṣ*, His Work; The Disagreement between the Adherents of *'Āṣim* and *Ḥafṣ* ibn Sulaymān.[86]

Al-*Naqqār*

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Dā'ūd, known as al-Naqqār, belonged to the Quraysh Tribe, the Banū Umayyah, and the people of al-Kūfah. He learned from[87] Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim, known as al-*Khayyāṭ*; al-Khayyāṭ learned from al-*Shamūlī*; al-Shamūlī learned from al-*A'shā*; al-A'shā learned from Abū Bakr;[88] Abū Bakr learned from *'Āṣim*; 'Āṣim learned from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Sulamī*; al-Sulamī learned from *'Alī*, for whom be peace; and 'Alī learned from the Prophet, for whom be peace.[89] Al-Naqqār died at al-Kūfah. Among his books there were:

The Reading of al-A'shā; Language, Derivation of Words, and the Sources of Grammar.

[83] The text is not clear enough here to be sure the translation "elocution and reading" is correct.

[84] For the first title in this list, the Flügel text has *The Yā'āt* ("The Y's"). The Beatty MS omits the third title, *Al-Hā'āt*, in the text, but gives it in the margin.

[85] "Great" may refer to the man, but more likely to the size of the book.

[86] Flügel has "Ḥafṣ *and* Sulaymān." The translation follows the Beatty MS in giving *ibn*.

[87] *Qara' 'alā* usually implies a teacher-student relationship. Here it might mean "read according to" but more likely means "learned from."

[88] Probably Abū Bakr Ibn *Mujāhid*.

[89] Flügel gives different forms, but the meaning is the same.

Ibn *Miqsam*

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Miqsam ibn Ya'qūb, one of the readers in the City of Peace [Baghdād], close to our time. He was a man learned in language and poetry, who heard *Tha'lab* lecture and quoted him. He died in the year three hundred and thirty-two [A.D. 944].[90] Among his books there were:

Lights on the Science (Knowledge) of the Qur'ān; An Introduction to a Knowledge of Poetry; Proofs of Readings; the great book about grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Stopping and Starting; The Numbers of Completeness; [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts; Knowledge of Himself;[91] the large book, The Seven [Readers] with their Defects; the medium-size book about the Seven [Readers]; another medium-size book; the smallest book, known as Healing of Breasts; about his unique points; The Sessions of *Tha'lab*.

Al-*Naqqāsh* Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī

He was one of the people of al-Mawṣil, where he was born. He was a [Qur'ānic] reader in the City of Peace [Baghdād], to which he moved and in which he did his reading. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; Elucidation of the Qur'ān and Its Meaning; Reason (The Mind);[92] Contrary to Reason; Rites [especially of pilgrimage];[93] Understanding of the Rites; Accounts of the Storytellers;[94] The Evil of Envy; Indications of the Prophecy [of Muḥammad]; Sections (Doors) of the Qur'ān; Iram dhāt al-'Imād;[95] The Medium-Size Compendium; The Smaller Compendium; The Larger Compendium, with the names of the readers and their readings; Explanation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; the large book, The Seven [Readers] and Their Defects; the medium-size book, The Seven; the small book, The Seven; The Great Commentary, with nearly twelve thousand leaves.

[90] Flügel's text and Khallikān, III, 47 n., give different dates.

[91] This title is garbled in the Flügel text. It could be *Choice of Himself*, but more likely is similar to the Greek "know thyself." The six titles following this one are not in the Beatty MS.

[92] Not included in the Flügel text, but in the Beatty MS.

[93] This could also refer to ascetic practices.

[94] For *al-quṣṣās* ("storytellers"), see Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 344.

[95] See Qur'ān 89:7.

Al-Naqqāsh died at Baghdād in the year three hundred and fifty-one [A.D. 962]. Ibn *Mujāhid* heard him give something of the Ḥadīth and this was rare.[96]

Naming of the Books Composed about Commentary of the Qur'ān

The book of al-*Bāqir* Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, for whom be peace, ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, for whom be peace, who was quoted by Abū al-*Jārūd* Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir, chief of the Jārūdīyah [faction] of the Zaydīyah, about whom we shall make further mention in its proper place.

The book of Ibn *'Abbās*,[97] who was quoted by *Mujāhid* and through Mujāhid by *Ḥumayd* ibn Qays as well as by *Waraqa'*, through Abū *Najīḥ* from Mujāhid, and also by *'Īsā* ibn Maymūn through Abū Najīḥ from Mujāhid.

The commentary of Ibn Tha'lab; the commentary of Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, whose name was *Thābit* ibn Dīnār, the surname of Dīnār being Abū Ṣafīyah—Abū Ḥamzah was a companion of 'Alī, for whom be peace, one of those who were noble and trustworthy, and also a friend of Abū Ja'far;[98] the commentary of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī ibn Jānī in part;[99] the commentary according to *Zayd* ibn Aslam in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*; the commentary of *Mālik* ibn Anas; the commentary of al-*Suddī*, which we shall mention in what follows; the commentary of *Ismā'īl* ibn Abī Ziyād; the commentary of *Dā'ūd* ibn Abī Hind; the commentary of Abū *Rawq*; the commentary of Sa'īd ibn Dā'ūd.[100]

The commentary of *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah; the commentary of *Nahshal*, according to al-*Ḍaḥḥāk* ibn Muzāḥim; the commentary of *'Ikramah*, according to Ibn *'Abbās*; the commentary of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; the commentary of Abū Bakr al-*Aṣamm*, one of the theologians; the commentary of Abū Karīmah *Yaḥyā* ibn al-Muhallab; the commentary of *Sīnān* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān the grammarian; the commentary of *Sa'īd* ibn Bashīr, according to Qatādah; the commentary of *Muḥammad* ibn Thawr, according to *Ma'mar* following *Qatādah*; the commentary of al-*Kalbī*, [called] Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib; the commentary of *Muqātil*

[96] This probably means that in his lectures al-Naqqāsh quoted traditions from the Ḥadīth which were not generally known.

[97] Probably the Prophet's cousin 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ibn 'Abbās.

[98] This was probably the fifth Shī'ī imam, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-*Bāqir*.

[99] This title is included in the Flügel text, but not the Beatty MS.

[100] Flügel gives Rashīd ibn Dād. The Beatty MS gives a garbled word, either Sa'īd or Sanad, or something similar, and Dā'ūd. Cf. Biog. Index, *Sa'īd* ibn Dā'ūd.

ibn Sulaymān; the commentary of Ya'qūb al-*Dawraqī*; the commentary of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wāqid, who also wrote the book, The Abrogating and Abrogated.[101]

The commentary of *Muqātil* ibn Ḥabbān; the commentary of *Sa'īd* ibn Jubayr; the commentary of *Wakī'* ibn al-Jarrāḥ; the commentary of Abū *Rajā'* Muḥammad ibn Sayf; the commentary of *Yūsuf* al-Qaṭṭān; the commentary of *Muḥammad* ibn Abī Bakr al-Muqaddimī; the commentary of Abū *Bakr* ibn Abī Shaybah; the commentary of *Hushaym* ibn Bashīr; the commentary of Abū *Nu'aym* al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn; the commentary of Abū Sa'īd al-*Ashajj*; the commentary on the verses 'illadhī nazzala fī aqwām bi-A'yānihum'[102] by Hishām al-*Kalbī*; the commentary of Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī*; the commentary of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-*Sijistānī*; the commentary of Abū *Bakr* ibn Abī al-Thalj.

Book of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-*Jubbā'ī*; book of Abū al-Qāsim al-*Balkhī*; book of Abū Muslim *Muḥammad* ibn Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī; book of Abū Bakr Ibn al-*Ikhshīd*, an abridgment of the book of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī;[103] An Introduction to Commentary of the Qur'ān, by Ibn al-Imām al-*Miṣrī*; the commentary of Abū Bakr al-*Aṣamm*.[104]

The Books Composed about Meaning of the Qur'ān and Its Ambiguity and Metaphor[105]

Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Kisā'ī*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Akhfash* Sa'īd ibn Masa'adah; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Ru'āsī*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by *Yūnus* ibn Ḥabīb, the small and large [editions]; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Mubarrad*;[106] Meaning of the Qur'ān, by *Quṭrub* the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Farrā'*, composed for *'Umar* ibn Bukayr; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū *'Ubaydah*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū Fayd *Mu'arraj* al-Sadūsī.

A Refutation of Whoever Denies the Metaphorical in the Qur'ān, by al-*Ḥasan* ibn Ja'far al-Raḥī;[107] Answers of the Qur'ān, by Ibn *'Uyaynah*;

[101] This additional title is not included in the Beatty MS.

[102] This evidently refers to words of the Qur'ān, but they cannot be identified by means of the concordance.

[103] This evidently refers to the *Tafsīr* ("Commentary") of al-Ṭabarī, mentioned above, one of the most important commentaries ever compiled.

[104] This title has already been cited and is therefore omitted in the Beatty MS at this point.

[105] For "meaning," see Glossary.

[106] This book is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.

[107] This book and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*;[108] Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah; The Light of Souls in Ma'ānī of the Qur'ān and What Is Obscure and Ambiguous in It, by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah; The Beautiful Book on Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Akhfash*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Ibn *Kaysān*, [his book] known as The Tens;[109] Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by al-*Zajjāj*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by *Khalaf* the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by *Tha'lab*.

The great book, Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū *Mu'ādh* al-Faḍl ibn Khālid the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'ān, by Abū al-Minhāl *'Uyaynah* ibn al-Minhāl, which he composed for Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Ṭāhirī*; The Middle Ground between Tha'lab and al-Akhfash, about the meaning, by Ibn *Durustūyah*;[110] The Discipline of Tongues for Qur'ānic Grammar and Meaning, by Abū Bakr ibn Ashtah al-*Iṣbahānī*; Meaning of the Qur'ān, Its Interpretation and Ambiguity, by Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the vizier—Abū Bakr ibn *Mujāhid* and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khazzāz* aided him with his work.

The Books Composed about the Strange in the Qur'ān[111]

The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū *'Ubaydah*; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by *Mu'arraj* al-Sadūsī; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Ibn *Qutaybah*; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Yazīdī*; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-*Jumaḥī*; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū Ja'far ibn Rustum al-*Ṭabarī*; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn 'Azīz al-*Sijistānī*; The Strange in the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts, by Abū *Bakr* ibn al-Warrāq;[112] The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū al-Ḥasan al-*'Arūdī*; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by *Muḥammad* ibn Dīnār al-Aḥwal; The Strange in the Qur'ān, by Abū Zayd al-*Balkhī*; Grammatical Analysis of Thirty Sūrahs of the Qur'ān, by *Khālawayh*.

[108] For al-Yazīdī, the Flügel edition gives al-Sadūsī, which is evidently an error. For al-Mufaḍḍal the Beatty MS gives al-Faḍl, which must also be wrong.

[109] The Beatty MS gives *al-'Usrāt* ("Difficulties"), but Flügel is probably correct in giving *al-'Asharāt* ("Tens"), referring to tens of verses.

[110] For spellings of Durustūyah, see Biog. Index.

[111] "Strange" (*gharīb*) refers to tribal forms and ambiguous passages in the Qur'ān.

[112] This title is mentioned twice in the Flügel edition, but omitted in the Beatty MS.

The Books Composed about the Expressions of the Qur'ān[113]

Expressions of the Qur'ān, by al-*Farrā'*; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by Abū Zayd;[114] Expressions of the Qur'ān, by al-*Aṣma'ī*; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-*Qaṭī'ī*; Expressions of the Qur'ān, by Ibn *Durayd*, which was not completed.

The Books Composed about [Qur'ānic] Readings[115]

The Readings, by *Khalaf* ibn Hishām al-Bazzār; The Readings, by Ibn *Sa'dān*; The Readings, by Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim; The Readings, by Abū Ḥātim al-*Sijistānī*; The Readings, by *Tha'lab*; The Strange in the Readings, by Tha'lab; The Readings, by Ibn *Qutaybah*; The Readings, by Ibn *Mujāhid*, the large version; The Readings, by Ibn Mujāhid, the small version; The Readings, by *Hushaym* ibn Bashīr; The Readings, by Abū al-*Ṭayyib* ibn Ashnās; The Readings, by 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-*Dāraquṭnī*; The Readings, by *Yaḥyā* ibn Ādam; The Readings, by al-*Wāqidī*; The Readings, by *Naṣr* ibn 'Alī; The Readings, by Ibn *Kāmil*, which he did not finish; The Readings, by al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān*; The Readings, by Abū *Ṭāhir*; The Readings, by Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā';[116] The Readings, by *Hārūn* ibn Ḥātim of al-Kūfah; The Readings, by al-*'Abbās* ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī; Proofs for Reading, by Ibn *Durustūyah*.[117]

The Books Composed about the Consonant Points and Vowel Signs of the Qur'ān[118]

Book of al-*Khalīl*, about consonant points; book of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Īsā, about consonant points; book of al-*Yazīdī*, about consonant points; book of Ibn al-*Anbārī*, about consonant points and vowel signs; book of Abū Ḥātim al-*Sijistānī*, about consonant points and vowel signs; book of

[113] The Arabic word translated "expressions" is *lughāt*, which can mean "languages," "colloquialisms," "phrases," "idioms," or "expressions."

[114] As Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 141 ff., does not include this book in a long list of the works of Abū Zayd al-*Balkhī*, the author may be Abū *Zayd* Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī.

[115] See Glossary for "reading."

[116] The Beatty MS omits this book.

[117] For spellings of Durustūyah, see Biog. Index.

[118] In Arabic, many consonants are written in exactly the same form except for identifying diacritical marks above or below the line (consonant points). Vowels are designated by small signs instead of letters.

al-*Dīnawarī*, [surnamed] Abū Ḥanīfa, about consonant points and vowel signs with lists and categories (circles).[119]

The Books Composed about the *Lāmāt* (the L's) of the Qur'ān[120]

The Lāmāt (The L's) by *Dā'ūd* ibn Abī Ṭībah; The Lāmāt (The L's), by *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'īd; The Lāmāt (The L's), by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; The Lāmāt (The L's), by al-*Akhfash* Sa'īd.

The Books Composed about Stopping and Starting in the Qur'ān

Stopping and Starting, according to *Ḥamzah*; Stopping and Starting, according to al-*Farrā'*; Stopping and Starting, by *Khalaf*; Stopping and Starting, by Ibn *Sa'dān*; Stopping and Starting, by *Ḍirār* ibn Ṣurad; Stopping and Starting, by Abū 'Umar al-*Dūrī*; Stopping and Starting, by *Hishām* ibn 'Abd Allāh; Stopping and Starting, by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Yazīdī*; Stopping and Starting, by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; Stopping and Starting, by Ibn *Kaysān*; book by al-*Ja'd* about stopping and starting; Stopping and Starting, by Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā al-*Ḍabbī*, [surnamed] Abū Ayyūb.

Books Composed about Discrepancies of the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts

The Discrepancies between the Manuscripts of the People of al-Madīnah, al-Kūfah, and al-Baṣrah, according to al-*Kisā'ī*; book of *Khalaf*, Discrepancies of the Manuscripts; Discrepancies of the People of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Syria concerning the Manuscripts, by al-*Farrā'*; Discrepancies between the Manuscripts, by Abū Dā'ūd al-*Sijistānī*; book of al-*Madā'inī* about the discrepancies between the manuscripts and the compiling of the Qur'ān; Discrepancies between the Manuscripts of Syria, al-Ḥijāz, and al-'Irāq, by Ibn *'Āmir* al-Yaḥṣubī; book of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-*Iṣbahānī* about discrepancy of the manuscripts.

The Books Composed about the Full Stop

Book of Aḥmad ibn 'Isā al-*Lū'lū'ī*; book of al-*Akhfash* Sa'īd; book of *Nuṣayr*;[121] book of Ya'qūb al-*Ḥaḍramī*; book of *Nāfi'* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān; book of *Rawḥ* ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min.

[119] The Flügel text confuses the last two titles.

[120] The Qur'ān was so holy that every detail was important. For that reason scholars wrote about the usage, forms, numbers, and so on, about points even as specialized as the significance of one letter of the alphabet. The last title in this paragraph is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[121] Flügel has Naṣr, but the Beatty MS gives Nuṣayr, evidently Ibn Yūsuf.

The Books Composed about the Points of Agreement in the Expressions and Meaning of the Qur'ān

Book of Abū al-'Abbās al-*Mubarrad*; book of Abū 'Umar al-*Dūrī*.[122]

The Books Composed about *Mutashābihah* of the Qur'ān

Book of *Maḥmūd* ibn al-Ḥasan; book of *Khalaf* ibn Hishām; book of al-*Qaṭī'ī*; book of *Nāfi'*; book of *Ḥamzah*;[123] book of 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim al-*Rashīdī*; book of *Ja'far* ibn Ḥarb al-Mu'tazilī; book of *Muqātil* ibn Sulaymān; book of Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*; book of Abū al-*Hudhayl* al-'Allāf.

The Books Composed about the Spelling in the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts

Book of *Yaḥyā* ibn al-Ḥārith; book of Ibn *Shabīb*; book of *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq; book of *Ya'qūb* ibn Abī Shaybah.

The Books Composed about the Disconnected and the Joined in the Qur'ān[124]

Book of al-*Kisā'ī*; book of al-*Sarī*; book of *Ḥamzah* ibn Ḥabīb; book of 'Abd Allāh ibn *'Āmir* al-Yaḥṣubī.

The Books Composed about the Sections of the Qur'ān

Book of Abu 'Umar al-*Dūrī*; book of *Ḥumayd* ibn Qays al-Hilālī; book of *Ḥamzah*, The Sevenths of the Qur'ān; book of al-*Kisā'ī*; book of *Sulaymān* ibn 'Īsā; Book of the Thirty Sections, according to Abū *Bakr* ibn 'Ayyāsh.

The Books Composed about the Virtues of the Qur'ān

Book of Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; book of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah; book of *Aḥmad* ibn al-Mu'adhdhal; book of

[122] The Beatty MS included another book after this, but the text has been effaced at this point.

[123] This was probably Ibn Ḥabīb.

[124] Books composed about the "disconnected and joined" are concerned with a technical study of the letters, especially the *hamzah*. The following paragraph in the text refers to the division of the Qur'ān into 30 sections, which are different from the sūrahs and have no connection with the subject matter. They are used for convenience in pious reading and recital.

Hishām ibn ʿAmmār; book of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Dūrī*; book of Abū *Shubayl*; book of *Ubayy* ibn Kaʿb al-Anṣārī; book of al-*Ḥaddād*; book of *ʿUmar* ibn al-Haytham al-Kūfī; book of *ʿAlī* ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Faḍḍāl of the Shīʿah; book of *ʿAlī* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim, about the rare forms of the Qur'ān; book of Abū al-Naḍr al-*ʿAyyāshī* of the Shīʿah.

The Books Composed about the Number of Verses in the Qur'ān

The People of al-Madīnah:[125]

The first book by *Nāfiʿ* about the number of the verses of al-Madīnah; the second book of numbers according to Nāfiʿ; The Numbers, by al-*ʿAbsī*; the first book of Ibn *ʿAyyāsh* about the numbers of al-Madīnah; the last book of *Ismāʿīl* ibn Abī Kathīr about the [numbers of] al-Madīnah; book of *Nāfiʿ* about the tenths of the Qur'ān;[126] The Numbers, by al-*Khuzāʿī*; The Numbers, by *ʿAṭāʾ* ibn Yasār; The Letters of the Qur'ān, according to *Khalaf* al-Bazzār.

The People of al-Kūfah:

The Numbers, by *Ḥamzah* al-Zayyāt; The Numbers, by *Khalaf*; The Numbers, by *Muḥammad* ibn ʿĪsā; The Numbers, by al-*Kisāʾī*.

The People of al-Baṣrah:

The Numbers, by Abū al-*Muʿāfāʾ*; The Numbers, according to ʿAṣim al-*Jaḥdarī*; book of al-*Ḥasan* [al-Baṣrī] ibn Abī al-Ḥasan about the numbers.

The People of Syria:

Book of Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-*Dhamārī*; book of *Khālid* ibn Maʿdān; book of *Wakīʿ* about the disagreement between the school of thought of Syria and other schools, in connection with the numbers [of Qur'ānic verses].

The Books Composed about the Abrogating and Abrogated in the Qur'ān[127]

Book of Ḥajjāj al-*Aʿwar*; book of *ʿAbd* al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd; book of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-*Muʾaddab*; book of *Ibrāhīm* al-Ḥarbī; book of

[125] The Arabic for "people" is *ahl*. The "verses of al-Madīnah" are the verses of the Qur'ān revealed to the Prophet when he was in the city of al-Madīnah.

[126] This refers to the signs marking ten verses, an aid for reading aloud or reciting the Qur'ān. The last title in this list is not given in the Beatty MS.

[127] See Glossary for "the abrogating and the abrogated."

Abū *Sa'īd* the Grammarian [al-Naḥwī]; book of al-*Ḥārith* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān; book of Abū '*Ubayd* al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; book of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-*Sijistānī*; book of *Muqātil* ibn Sulaymān; book of *Ja'far* ibn Mubashshir; book of Ismā'īl al-*Yazīdī*; book of *Ismā'īl* ibn Abī Ziyād; book of Abū Muslim al-*Kajjī*; book of *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal; book of al-*Zubayr* ibn Aḥmad; book of Abū al-Qāsim al-*Ḥallāj*; book of Ibn al-*Kalbī*; book of *Hishām* ibn 'Alī ibn Hishām.

The Books Composed about the [Form] *Hā* and Its Referring Back[128]

Book of Abū 'Umar al-*Dūrī*.

The Books Composed about the Revelation of the Qur'ān

Book of al-*Ḥasan* [al-Baṣrī] ibn Abī al-Ḥasan; book of '*Ikramah* according to Ibn '*Abbās*.

The Books Composed about the Judgments of the Qur'ān[129]

Judgments of the Qur'ān, by *Ismā'īl* ibn Isḥāq, the judge; Judgments of the Qur'ān, according to the code of *Mālik*; Judgments of the Qur'ān, according to *Aḥmad* ibn al-Mu'adhdhal; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Abū Bakr al-*Rāzī* according to the code of the people of al-'Irāq; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by the Imam Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-*Shāfi'ī*; Uniqueness of the Judgments of the Qur'ān, by *Yaḥyā* ibn Ādam; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by al-*Kalbī*, quoting Ibn al-'*Abbās*; An Affirmation of Holding to the Judgments of the Qur'ān, by *Yaḥyā* ibn Aktham; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Abū *Thawr* Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid; Judgments of the Qur'ān, by *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī. An Exposition according to the Judgments of the Qur'ān—the author is unknown and being inquired about.

The Books Composed about the Meaning of Miscellaneous Matters in the Qur'ān

Book of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-*Mihrajānī*, the reader, entitled Answers of the

[128] *Hā* is a feminine pronoun which often refers back to a feminine noun appearing earlier in the sentence. This paragraph is omitted in the Flügel edition.

[129] This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS. "Judgments" may imply decrees or ordinances forming a divine basis for the law; see "Ḥukm," *Enc. Islam*, II, 332; Qur'ān 13:41. For the code of Mālik see Chap. VI, sect. 1.

Qur'ān; Leaving the Contradictions in the Qur'ān, according to al-*Fīryābī*; Metaphor, by Abū '*Ubaydah*; Arrangement of the Qur'ān, by al-*Jāḥiẓ*; book of *Quṭrub* about which of the verses of the Qur'ān are questioned by the heretics; Questions in the Qur'ān, by al-Jāḥiẓ; The Created, by Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*; The Letters, a composition of '*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād al-Kūfī; book of *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir on allegory of the Qur'ān; Sublimity of the Qur'ān, about its arrangement and composition, by Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-*Wāsiṭī*, the Mu'tazilī.

Questions Scattered through the Qur'ān, according to Abū *Shuqayr*;[130] Arrangement of the Qur'ān, by Ibn al-*Ikhshīd*; Creation of the Qur'ān, by Ibn al-*Rāwandī*; The Lights (Al-Anwār), by Abū *Muqsim*;[131] An Exposition about Some of the Poetry and the Eloquence of the Qur'ān, by al-Ḥasan ibn Ja'far al-*Barjalī*; Book of Abū Zayd al-*Balkhī* about the Sūrah of Praise [Sūrah 1] as a substitute for the rest of the Qur'ān; The Abrogating and the Abrogated, by al-*Ja'd*;[132] Judgments of the Qur'ān, by Abū Bakr al-*Rāzī*; The Phrases of the Qur'ān, by a group of scholars; The Arrangement of the Qur'ān, by Abū '*Alī* al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Naṣr; Similitudes (Proverbs) by Ibn al-*Junayd*.

This is the end of what we have composed of the first chapter of the book Al-Fihrist, *up to the time of the appearance of the new moon on Saturday of Sha'bān [the eighth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and seventy-seven. We pray Allāh for continuance of health, safety, and plenty for him for whom we have written it, as well as for ourselves. By His grace He will grant this, inspiring us by His favor and by His bounty He will assign us to His obedience. For Allāh has taken account of us and excellent is this guardian; may Allāh bless the chosen of His creation, Muḥammad and his family.*[133]

[130] This book is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.

[131] This book and the following book are not mentioned in the Beatty MS. As the authors of these books and the one in the preceding note evidently lived in the tenth century, the titles may have been inserted after the Beatty MS was transcribed. *Al-Anwār* probably refers to the numerous mentions of light in the Qur'ān, although it may have a more figurative meaning. Flügel gives Abū Muqsim, but this may be a mistake; see Ibn *Muqsim* in the Biog. Index.

[132] This book and the four which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

[133] The Muslim year 377 started on May 3, A.D. 987. The last sentence of this passage is in the Beatty MS, but not in the Flügel edition. It is possible that the phrase "for whom we have written it" should be translated, "for what we have written for him." The pronoun "him" may refer to some patron or to Allāh. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the following: "We found in the original manuscript (*al-dustūr*) what this states."

The Names and Mention of a Group of Recent Readers[134]

Ibn al-*Munādī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Dā'ūd, one of the inhabitants of Baghdād, who lived in the Ruṣāfah [Quarter]. He used to Arabicize the titles of his books, competing in eloquence of composition, which brought him forth as an authority.[135] He was learned in [Qur'ānic] readings and other things, the author of more than one hundred and twenty books about different sciences, most of them sciences of the Qur'ān. He died in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 945/46], and among his books there were:

Disagreement of the Numbers [referring to verses of the Qur'ān]; Types of Prayers Seeking Protection from Plagues and Pests.

Al-*Naqqāsh*, Another[136]

He was 'Alī ibn Murrah, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan, one of the people of Baghdād, who lived in Jihār on Sūq al-Farsh.[137] When he died he left among his books:

Al-*Kisā'ī*; *Ḥamzah*; The Eight Readers in Addition to the Seven, quoting *Khalaf* ibn Hishām al-Bazzār.[138]

Bakkār

Bakkār ibn Aḥmad ibn Bakkār, surnamed Abū 'Īsā, was a [Qur'ānic] reader in the City of Peace [Baghdād], who died in the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 963]. Among his books there were:

The Reading of al-*Kisā'ī*; The Reading of *Ḥamzah*.

[134] This passage was probably added to the original composition after Chapter I had been completed.

[135] In the Beatty MS the word given as "authority" is *al-istaqāl*, difficult to translate in this passage.

[136] The word "another" evidently points out that this man is not the well-known Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Naqqāsh.

[137] The Beatty MS differs from the Flügel text. Jihār is a locality in Baghdād (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 167) and the *sūq* or market street must be either that of *al-Fars* or *al-Farsh*, probably the latter, meaning "furnishings."

[138] The Beatty MS and Flügel texts for this last book differ, but this rendering seems to be correct.

Ibn al-*Wāthiq*

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Wāthiq studied with al-*Ḍabbī* the reading of *Ḥamzah*. He lived in the city of Abū Jaʿfar al-*Manṣūr*[139] and when he died, among his books there were:

The Reading of *Ḥamzah*; The Ordinances; The Commentary.

Abū al-*Faraj*[140]

A friend of Ibn *Shanabūdh*.

[139] The original palace city of Baghdād.
[140] This author is lacking in the Beatty MS.

The Second Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars among the ancients and moderns who composed books, with the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Nadīm, *Isḥāq being known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.*[1] *In it is the second chapter.*

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, in whom I confide and to whom I pray for aid

The Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *in three sections, with accounts of the grammarians and scholars of language, with the titles of their books.*

The First Section

with opening words about grammar, accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Baṣrah, and also of the Arabian masters of literary style, with the titles of their books.

[1] In the title, it may be more correct to say "the ancient and recent scholars." In the Beatty MS a special page is devoted to the title. Written under the name Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq is the phrase, "Transcribed from his model and his handwriting." Below, to the left, is written, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allāh's] servant, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq." For the significance of this inscription, see the account of the Beatty MS in the Introduction. The title page for this chapter in the Beatty MS is similar to titles in MS 1934. In this title and in the last three titles of MS 1934 an unusual form for the author's name appears: "Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm, Isḥāq being known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq." See account of the author in the Introduction. The title in the Flügel edition is different and evidently copied from an imperfect manuscript. In order to understand many of the technical terms in this chapter, consult the Glossary.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Most of the scholars think that grammar was derived from Abū al-Aswad al-*Du'alī* and that Abū al-Aswad learned it from the Commander of the Faithful *'Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be the blessing of Allāh. Others say that *Naṣr* ibn 'Āṣim al-Du'alī, also called al-Laythī, developed grammar.[2]

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah, that *Tha'lab* said: "Ibn *Lahīy'ah* quoted Abū al-*Naḍr*, saying, ' *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Hurmuz was the first person to establish grammatical Arabic. He was a [Qur'ānic] reader who knew more about the genealogies and historical traditions of the Quraysh than anybody else.' " The Shaykh Abū *Sa'īd* al-Sīrāfī, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, confirmed this and also said to me, "*Naṣr* ibn 'Āṣim al-Laythī was one of the [Qur'ānic] readers and masters of literary style from whom Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā' and the people learned."

Abū Ja'far [Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad][3] ibn Rustum al-*Ṭabarī* said: "*Naḥw* (grammar) is called *naḥw* because when Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī spoke to *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace, he ['Alī] mentioned something about the roots of grammar. Then Abū al-Aswad said, 'I asked his leave to do *naḥw* (similarly) to something he had done,' so he called it *naḥw*."

People have disagreed about the reason which caused Abū al-*Aswad* to develop grammar as he did. Abū *'Ubaydah* said:

Abū al-Aswad derived grammar from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be peace, but he did not disclose to anyone what he had learned from 'Alī, whose countenance may Allāh honor,[4] until *Ziyād* appointed him for the composition of something to serve as a guide for the people, so that they could understand the book of Allāh. Abū al-Aswad asked to be excused from this task, until one time when he heard a reader recite,

[2] *Naḥw* has the meaning "similar" but came to be used for "grammar." In modern times it is used in a special way for "syntax." This section deals in particular with scholars of the school of al-Baṣrah; see Flügel in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 577. See also Flügel, *Gram. Schulen;* Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 320.

[3] The Flügel edition omits the two names in brackets, while the Beatty MS leaves a blank, but the names have been inserted in the translation to make the reference complete.

[4] This phrase is omitted in the Beatty MS.

"Allāh is quit of the idolaters and of His Apostle."[5] Then he said, "I never supposed that the condition of the people would come to this!" So he returned to Ziyād and said, "I will do what the emir has ordered. Let there be sought for me a scribe who is intelligent and obedient to what I say." They brought, therefore, a scribe from the 'Abd al-Kays Tribe, but he [Abū al-Aswad] was not satisfied with him. Then they came with another one, about whom Abū al-'Abbās al-*Mubarrad* said, "I regard him to be one of those [who are intelligent]." So Abū al-Aswad said [to the new scribe], "If you see that I open my mouth in pronouncing a letter, place a mark above, on top of it. If I close my mouth [making a *u* sound], place a mark in front of the letter, and if I split [my lips] double the mark."[6] So this was the marking system of Abū al-Aswad.

Abū *Sa'īd*, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, said:

It is also related that the reason for this [grammar] was the encounter of *Sa'd* with Abū al-Aswad. He [Sa'd] was a Persian from Nūbandajān[7] who went to al-Baṣrah with a group of his people. When they went to *Qudāmah* ibn Maẓ'ūn, announcing that they had accepted Islām under his auspices, they became his protégés. While he was leading his horse this Sa'd passed by Abū al-Aswad, who said, "What's the matter with you, oh, Sa'd, why don't you ride?" He replied, "My horse is strong (*ḍali'*)." He meant "lame" (*ẓāli'*). As he spoke some people who were there laughed at him. Then Abū al-Aswad said, "These protégés have sought Islām and embraced it, becoming our brothers, but we have not taught them speech." So he composed a chapter on the subject and object.

A Point Indicating that the First Person to Make a Statement about Grammar Was Abū al-Aswad al-*Du'alī*

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]:[8] In the city of al-Ḥadīthah[9] there was a man named *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn Abī Ba'rah, a collector of books. I have never seen anyone else with a library as extensive as the one which he had. It

[5] Qur'ān 9:3 has "Allāh is quit of the idolaters and so is His Apostle." The reader put the word "Apostle" in the accusative instead of the nominative.

[6] The Beatty MS has "make it two marks." Flügel gives "under the letter."

[7] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 817. Flügel gives this name incorrectly.

[8] For this passage, compare Khallikān, I, 666 n. 7.

[9] Mas'ūdī, V, 230, speaks of al-Ḥadīthah near al-Mawṣil, while Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 280, mentions a town of this name on the Euphrates. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 222 ff.

certainly contained Arabic books about grammar, philology, and literature, as well as ancient works. I met this man a number of times and, although he was friendly with me, he was wary and tight with his possessions, fearing the Banū Ḥamdān.[10] He took out for me a large case containing about three hundred *raṭl*[11] of double parchments, deeds, pages of paper from Egypt, Chinese paper, the paper of Tihāmah, *adam* skins, and the paper of Khurāsān.[12]

Among these there were *ta'līqāt*[13] from the Arabs, individual poems from their poetry, something of grammar, anecdotes, historical traditions, names, genealogies, and other things connected with the sciences of the Arabs and other peoples. He [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] mentioned that a man from al-Kūfah, whose name I have forgotten, was keen about collecting ancient writings. When his death drew near, he assigned these to Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn because of mutual friendship and courtesies shown to him, and also because of their common sect, for he was a Shī'ī.

When I looked over these manuscripts, opening them, I beheld something wonderful, even though time had worn them, tending to efface and alter them. In each section, leaf, or roll, there were notes in the handwritings of the scholars, one following another, telling to whom each penmanship belonged. Under every statement there was another note, with five or six testimonials of the scholars, grouped together in their various handwritings. Among them I saw a [Qur'ānic] manuscript written with the penmanship of *Khālid* ibn Abī Hayyāj, the friend of 'Alī, for whom may there be peace. Then [I read], "This manuscript fell into the hands of Abū *Abd* Allāh ibn Ḥānī, may Allāh have mercy for him."

I saw there the handwritings of the two imams, al-*Ḥasan* and al-*Ḥusayn*, for whom may there be peace. I also found trusts and contracts in the handwriting of the Commander of the Faithful,

[10] The feudal chiefs who established a dynasty at Aleppo under Sayf al-Dawlah, A.D. 944 to 967, liable to appropriate the library.

[11] In Richardson, *Dictionary*, a *raṭl* is given as a weight of 12 ounces; in modern Lebanon it is over 5 pounds, and in Egypt even more.

[12] The Tihāmah is the coastal plain of al-Ḥijāz in western Arabia. *Adam* is the plural of *adīm*, a type of parchment. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 169.

[13] This can mean "financial accounts," "supplements," or "marginal notes."

'Alī,[14] for whom may there be peace, as well as with the penmanships of others who were scribes of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

There were notes about grammar and language written in the handwritings of scholars like Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā', Abū 'Amr al-*Shaybānī*, al-*Aṣma'ī*, Ibn al-*A'rābī*, *Sībawayh*, al-*Farrā'*, and al-*Kisā'ī*, as well as with the penmanships of authorities of the Ḥadīth, such as *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah, *Sufyān* [ibn Sa'īd] al-Thawri, al-*Awzā'ī*, and others besides them.

In one of his writings I saw something which showed that grammar came from Abū al-Aswad. It was on four leaves, which I judged were China paper. This was the indication on it: "*Remarks about the Subject and Object*, by Abū al-Aswad, may the mercy of Allāh rest upon him." It was written in the handwriting of *Yaḥyā* ibn Ya'mar. Under these notes there was written in an ancient form of penmanship, "This is the handwriting of *'Allān* the Grammarian," under which there was, "This is the handwriting of al-*Naḍr* ibn Shumayl."

Then when this man [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] died, we lost the case and its contents, hearing no news about it and seeing nothing more of its contents, except for this manuscript, in spite of my many inquiries about the matter.[15]

Naming of Those Who Learned Grammar from Abū al-Aswad al-*Du'alī*

A group of scholars learned from Abū al-Aswad, among whom there were *Yaḥyā* ibn Ya'mar; *'Anbasah* ibn Ma'dān, who was 'Anbasah al-Fīl ('Anbasah of the Elephant); and *Maymūn* ibn al-Aqran. Some of the scholars say that *Naṣr* ibn 'Āṣim also studied with Abū al-Aswad.

Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mar was a member of the 'Adwān ibn Qays ibn 'Aylān ibn Muḍar, and was said to be attached to the Banū Layth ibn

[14] The name 'Alī is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[15] Because this happened, this probably means that the author of *Al-Fihrist* only had time to study one of the manuscripts in the old case carefully, hoping to study the others at some later time.

Kinānah.[16] He was trustworthy as well as learned, and because he had met Ibn *'Abbās*, Ibn *'Umar*, and others, he was quoted in connection with the Ḥadīth. Thus *Qatādah* quoted him.

'Anbasah ibn Ma'dān al-Fahrī was one of the people of Maysān, but he went to live at al-Baṣrah. He was named after the elephant (*al-fīl*), because his father, *Ma'dān*, received the elephant of *Ziyād* with maintenance for it, being named after it.[17]

After 'Anbasah there was 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq al-*Ḥaḍramī*, a protégé of Ḥaḍramawt whom al-*Farazdaq* satirized, saying:

> Although 'Abd Allāh (the Slave of God) is the *mawlā* of his satire,
> Nevertheless, 'Abd Allāh is *mawlā mawāliyā*.[18]

'Īsā ibn 'Umar al-*Thaqafī* was an outstanding man in his generation. Abū Sa'īd,[19] to whom may Allāh be merciful, told me that Abū *Muzāhim* said that Ibn Abī *Sa'd* recounted that Abū 'Uthmān al-*Māzinī* stated that al-*Aṣma'ī* passed on from 'Īsā ibn 'Umar [al-*Thaqafī*] who said:

While we were walking with al-Ḥasan [al-*Baṣrī*], 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq [al-*Ḥaḍramī*] being with us, al-Ḥasan said, "Catch these ideas[20] for they are rising." So 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq brought out his tablets and wrote on them saying, "We have received benefits from you, oh, Abū Sa'īd [al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī], with eagerness."

Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā' was also [one of those who learned grammar from Abū al-Aswad al-*Du'alī*].

[16] For these tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 105, 162, 163.

[17] Ziyād ibn Abīh, the governor of al-'Irāq, gave the elephant to Ma'dān. For Maysān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 714.

[18] Khallikān, IV, 288, 289, throws much light on this passage. The words of al-Farazdaq are there translated as:

> If 'Abd Allāh was a [simple] *mawlā*, I should satirize him,
> But 'Abd Allāh is a *mawlā* of a family which are *mawlās*.

Mawlā may mean "lord," "protégé," or "slave," though here it probably means protégé; see Glossary.

[19] This was the author's friend and almost certainly his teacher, the shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan al-*Sīrāfī*.

[20] Literally translated, this phrase says, "Attract these spirits," but the passage evidently indicates that some ideas rose in al-Ḥasan's mind which he wished to have taken down in writing.

An Account of ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar al-*Thaqafī*

He belonged to the generation of Abū *ʿAmr* ibn al-ʿAlā' and was ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar al-Thaqafī and not *ʿĪsā* ibn ʿUmar al-Hamadhānī, who was one of the people of al-Kūfah. He was quoted by the [Qur'ānic] readers, being a man of al-Baṣrah and one of the leading grammarians of al-Baṣrah. He learned from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq [al-*Ḥaḍramī*] and other persons. Al-*Khalīl* ibn Aḥmad [in turn] studied under ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar [al-Thaqafī].

He, I mean ʿĪsā, was blind, but was one of those at al-Baṣrah who recited the Qur'ān. He died during the year one hundred and forty-nine [A.D. 766/67]. Among his books there were:

The Compilation; The Perfected (Completed).

The judge, Abū Saʿīd [al-Ḥasan al-*Sīrāfī*], may Allāh be merciful to him, recited to us [a verse] by al-*Khalīl*, commemorating ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar and his two books:

> Grammar would not have been entire and complete,
> If it had not been for what ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar initiated,
> That is, completion, and this compilation,
> The two of them a sun and a moon for the people.

People lost these two books long ago. They have not fallen into the hands of anyone I know of and nobody has reported seeing them.

There is also Abū *ʿAmr* ibn al-ʿAlā', about whom I have already given an account in the passage about [Qur'ānic] readers in the first chapter.

Account of *Yūnus* ibn Ḥabīb

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khazzāz*, who said, "I think that Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb Abū al-Raḥmān was a protégé of the Banū Layth ibn Bakr ibn ʿAbd Manāh ibn Kinānah Tribe." He went on to say, "I am not sure about this, but he used to be with those people. I am also uncertain as to whether or not he was a protégé." Abū Saʿīd [al-*Sīrāfī*], to whom may Allāh be merciful, mentioned that he was surnamed Abū Muḥammad and that he was a protégé of the Ḍabbah Tribe.[21]

[21] For the tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 105, 117.

The author of *Mafākhir al-'Ajam* said that his origin was Persian, among the inhabitants of al-Jabbul,[22] and that he boasted about this. He knew more than anybody else about grammatical inflections and it is related about him that he said, "I do not heed (attend the lectures of) 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Isḥāq [al-*Ḥaḍramī*] but I once asked him, 'Is anyone known to pronounce [the word as] *al-ṣawiq* instead of *al-sawīq* (pounded grain)?' He replied, 'It is the vernacular of the 'Amr ibn Tamīm Tribe.'"

Yūnus was a companion of Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā', his circle (class) being at al-Baṣrah. He was concerned with seekers after learning, men of letters, masters of literary style, and representatives of the Bedouins.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Abū al-Abbās *Tha'lab* said that Yūnus lived for over a hundred years, being free from senility and dying in the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800].

In the handwriting of Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī* [it is written]: "Yūnus lived eighty-eight years; he did not marry or take a concubine, nor did he have any passion except for the seeking of learning and discourse with men." Among his books there were:

Meaning of the Qur'ān; Languages (Vernaculars); the large book about rare forms [in the Qur'ān]; Similes (Proverbs); the small book of rare forms.

Account of al-*Khalīl* ibn Aḥmad

He was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. [*Aḥmad* ibn Zuhayr] ibn Abī Khaythamah said that Aḥmad, the father of al-Khalīl, was the first person in Islām to be named Aḥmad. His origin was from the Azd Clan of the Farāhīd Tribe, so that *Yūnus* [ibn Ḥabīb] used to call him Farhūdī, like the form of Ardūsī.[23] He excelled in deriving points of grammar and verifying the rules. He was the first person who evolved prosody by which he strengthened Arab poetry. He was indifferent to the world, consecrated to

[22] *Mafākhir al-'Ajam* means *Illustrious Deeds of the Persians;* it has not been possible to identify the author. For al-Jabbul, a town between al-'Irāq and Persia, see Khallikān, IV, 586; Ziriklī, Part 9, p. 344; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 23.

[23] For the tribes, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 292 bottom, 293 n.

learning, and an indigent poet. Al-Khalīl died at al-Baṣrah during the year one hundred and seventy [A.D. 786], when seventy-four years old, and one of the books which he composed was the book *Al-'Ayn*.[24]

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-*Fatḥ* ibn al-Naḥwī, the associate of the Banū al-Furāt Tribe,[25] who was truthful, discerning, and analytical:

Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* happened to see the *Kitāb al-'Ayn* at al-Baṣrah during the year two hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 862/63]. A *warrāq* from Khurāsān brought it and it was in forty-eight sections. He sold it for fifty gold coins (s., *dīnār*).[26] This book was reported to have been in Khurāsān in the library of al-Ṭāhirīyah,[27] until the *warrāq* took it. It is also said that al-Khalīl wrote *Kitāb al-'Ayn* and then went on the pilgrimage, leaving the book in Khurāsān. Then he transferred it to al-'Irāq from the library of al-Ṭāhirīyah.

No one has quoted this book [directly] from al-Khalīl, nor has anything been quoted from the traditions definitely [asserting] that he wrote it. It is said that al-*Layth*, a descendant of *Naṣr* ibn Sayyār, was for a short time a friend of al-Khalīl and that al-Khalīl composed it [the book] for him, so that he learned the system [of al-Khalīl]. Then when death suddenly came to al-Khalīl, al-Layth completed it.

Its letters are those which come from the throat and palate. They start with the *'ayn*, then *ḥā'*, *hā'*, *khā'*, *ghayn*, *qāf*, *kāf*, *jīm*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *ḍāḍ*, *sīn*, *rā'*, *ṭā'*, *dāl*, *tā'*, *ẓā'*, *dhāl*, *thā'*, *zā'*, *lām*, *nūn*, *fā'*, *mīm*, ———, *alif*, *yā'*, *wāw*.[28]

Another Account of *Kitāb al-'Ayn*

Abū Muḥammad ibn *Durustūyah*[29] recalls that he heard about

[24] *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, the first Arabic dictionary.

[25] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 208 bottom.

[26] On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note saying, "Recorded from 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal and others." 'Āṣim was a scholar at al-Baṣrah who became judge of al-Madā'in. He died A.D. 760.

[27] Al-Ṭāhirīyah was probably an official residence or institution named for Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 494.

[28] The dictionary starts with the letter *'ayn*, which is pronounced with the mouth wide open, and evidently bases the sequence of letters on the mouth formations used to speak them. A note in the margin of the Beatty MS explains that *bā'* should fill the blank space before *alif*.

[29] See the Biog. Index for spelling of this name.

Kitāb al-'Ayn through the following sequence: Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mahdī al-*Kasrawī* said:

Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr, known as al-Zāj al-Muḥaddath, related to me, saying that al-*Layth* ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyār said, "I used to be with al-*Khalīl* ibn Aḥmad, to whom may Allāh be merciful, and one day he told me, 'If a man wants to, he can write the letters *alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, and others like them, so as to include all of the Arabic words and to form a source (book) which has nothing lacking.'" He [al-Layth] went on to say, "I asked him, 'How can that be?' He replied, 'It [Arabic word formation] is composed of words of two, three, four, or five [consonants], with no known words any longer than that.'"

Then al-*Layth* said, "I began to understand him as the matter was explained to me. But instead of being satisfied with what had been described, I returned to [be with] him in connection with this matter for a few days, until he fell ill and I went on the pilgrimage. I continued to be solicitous about him, fearing lest with his illness he might die, so that what he had explained to me might be lost. But when I returned from the pilgrimage, going to him, behold he had composed [the dictionary descriptions] for all of the letters in the first part of the book. Then he dictated to me the things in it which were to be preserved and the points which were doubtful. He would say to me, 'Ask about this' and, if the point was correct, he would confirm it. Thus I compiled the book."

'Alī ibn Mahdī [al-*Kasrawī*] said, "From *Muḥammad* ibn Manṣūr I obtained a copy of this book, that is, the *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr copied it from al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar."

This al-Layth was a legal expert and ascetic, whom al-Ma'mūn tried to appoint as a judge, but he did not succeed in doing this. He was quoted by Abū al-Haydhām Kilāb ibn Ḥamzah al-*'Uqaylī*.[30]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: The manuscript in the possession of *Da'laj* was [originally] the manuscript of Ibn al-'Alā' al-*Sijistānī*. Ibn *Durustūyah* recalls that Ibn al-'Alā' was one of the persons who together used to listen to [the reading of] this book.

[30] This short paragraph is not in the Beatty MS. In the Flügel edition, the name Haydhām is spelled incorrectly.

A group of scholars corrected the errors and mistakes in the *Kitāb al-'Ayn* of al-Khalīl, as [for instance] when something mentioned as obsolete was really in use, or a thing mentioned as extant was obsolete. Among these there were Abū Ṭālib al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah, '*Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Karmānī, Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd*, and al-*Hunā'ī* al-Dawsī.[31] Thus a group of scholars were helpful to him, showing the errors one to another. If Allāh so wills, we shall deal with this matter in its proper connection, when we speak of these men in their place in the book.

Al-Khalīl also wrote some other books:

Chanting; Prosody; Witnesses; Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs]; Death of the 'Ayn;[32] Harmony.

The Names of Famous Arabs Who Taught the Scholars, with Some Information about Them and Their Genealogies[33]

Thus saith Muḥammad [al-*Nadīm*]: It is necessary to mention them in this place, along with the diversities of their localities and the divergencies of their periods, although mention of the scholars who learned from them[34] comes in a different order.

Affār ibn Laqīṭ

It is said that he used to sit on a high dung hill, while his companions (pupils) gathered around him, learning from him. It was asked, "What is this dust-colored thing?" And some said, "Perhaps you are the biggest part of it!"[35]

Abū al-Baydā' al-*Rabāḥī*

He married the mother of Abū *Mālik* 'Amr ibn Kirkirah. The name of Abū al-Baydā' was As'ad ibn 'Iṣmah. He was an Arabian

[31] The Flügel edition omits al-Dawsī, but includes al-Jahḍamī and al-Sadūsī, which are omitted in the Beatty MS. Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad died A.D. 786, whereas the members of the group mentioned in the Beatty MS died during the late ninth or early tenth century.

[32] This title and the one following are omitted by the Beatty MS. "Death" is probably an error. It should probably be "pronouncing" or "omitting."

[33] Here the word "Arabs" signifies men of the Arabian tribes. Most of these names are not found in the other medieval books.

[34] The idiom is, literally, "the scholars heard from them."

[35] The Beatty MS differs from the Flügel text. In the former, the word for "biggest part" is not clearly written, but seems to be *thabaj*.

who lived at al-Baṣrah, teaching throughout his life, the boys who learned from him paying tuition. He was a poet, and from his poetry we have:

> The eloquent spoke of her (it) as spoke the hesitant,
> Each rhetorical in describing her.
> In the same way the enemy was not hostile,
> But nicely spoke as speaks a friend.

Abū *Mālik* ʿAmr ibn Kirkirah

He was an Arabian who taught among the Bedouins and worked as a *warrāq* in the settled communities. He was a protégé of the Banū Saʿd Tribe, who quoted Abū al-Baydā', his mother being subservient to Abū al-Baydā' [al-*Rabāḥī*].[36] It is said that Abū Mālik kept in his memory [all of the words of] the entire language. He belonged to the school of al-Baṣrah, and al-*Jāḥiẓ* said that he was one of the Ṭayyār,[37] who suppose that the rich are more honored by Allāh, Mighty and Powerful, than the poor. They also say that Pharaoh was more honored by Allāh than Moses and that a person who swallows a sharp forbidden thing is not harmed by it.[38] Among his books there were:

The Disposition of Man; Horses.

Abū *ʿIrār*

He was an Arabian from the Banū ʿIjl Tribe and a master of literary style, who it is said was almost as cognizant as Abū Mālik in his knowledge of language. He was also a poet.

It is related that when *Jannād* and *Isḥāq* ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ came to Abū ʿIrār, Jannād said to him, "Hear something which I have rendered and do it justice."[39] Upon his replying, "Speak," Jannād recited:

[36] *Warrāq* often refers to a man who kept a book and paper shop, but as this man spent most of his time among the tribes, the word probably means he was a scribe. His mother was the wife of Abū al-Baydā' al-Rabāḥī.

[37] This word is in the Beatty MS. The sect is not included by Shahrastānī and Baghdādī.

[38] The text of the Beatty MS differs from Flügel and is not entirely clear.

[39] In the Beatty MS the name Jannād is not carefully written, but comparison with the account of Jannād in Chap. III, sect. 1, near n. 18, makes it clear that this is correct. "Do it justice" is perhaps meant to be "I will cut it short."

If thou dost not comprehend what death is,
Behold the Convent of Hind, how its graveyard is outlined.[40]

Then Isḥāq said:

Thou seest the wonder of things ordained by Allāh,
Among them pledges of death, constrained by His omnipotence.

Abū 'Irār continued:

Houses thou seest, their locks above their dwellers,
With a group of visitors, but the visitor is not spoken to.

He did not compose any books.

Abū *Ziyād* al-Kilābī

His name was Yazīd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr and he was an Arabian nomad. *Di'bil* said, "He went to Baghdād during the days of al-Mahdī, when famine afflicted the people. He settled on the estate of al-'*Abbās* ibn Muḥammad, where he resided for forty years, also dying there. He was a poet from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Kilāb Tribe, among whose books there were:

Rare Forms [in the Qur'ān]; Differentiation; Camels; The Disposition of Man.[41]

Abū Sawwār al-*Ghanawī*

He was a master of literary style, with whom Abū '*Ubaydah* and less distinguished persons studied. Once while he was meeting with *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb and Abū 'Uthmān al-*Māzinī*, Abū 'Uthmān said, "When I was a lad, I recited to my father, 'Thou seest the rain come forth from its clefts (*khilālihi*).'" Then Abū Sawwār retorted, "If it were good literary style it would be 'come forth from *khalalihi*.'" Then he added, "My father said 'from *khalalihi*' when reading."[42]

Abū Sawwār also said, "Have you heard the saying of the poet:

[40] For the Convent of Hind at al-Ḥīrah see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 707, 709.

[41] This last title inserted in the Beatty MS with a marginal note.

[42] Qur'ān 24:43 and 30:48 have *khilālihi* ("clefts"), so that the father's form of reading was heterodox.

A sign is made[43] and a wink comes forth from her,

As the coming of the rain from the rifts (*khalali*) of the clouds."

Then Abū 'Uthmān remarked, "*Khalal* and *khilāl* are two nouns which are identical."

Abū al-*Jāmūs* Thawr ibn Yazīd, the Arabian Tribesman

He came to al-Baṣrah as an envoy to the family of *Sulaymān* ibn 'Alī and from him Ibn al-*Muqaffa'* learned his eloquence of style. There were no books of his.

Abū al-*Shamkh*

He was an Arabian who lived at al-Ḥīrah. Among his books, according to what Shaykh Abū *Muḥammad* ibn Abī Sa'īd remembered to have seen written with an upright handwriting, there was the book, *Camels*.

Shubayl ibn 'Azrah al-Duba'ī

He was one of the preachers and scholars of the Khawārij and the author of the poem, "The Strange." He started by being a Rāfiḍī for seventy years, after which he joined the Shurāt.[44] He said, "Then I got clear of the Rawāfiḍ for the sake of the true religion, the court of assembly, and peace of mind (salvation)." He died at al-Baṣrah, where there are some of his descendants.

Abū *'Adnān*

He was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-A'lā, known as Ward ibn Ḥākim. He quoted Abū al-Baydā' al-*Rabāḥī* at al-Baṣrah, being a poet and a scholar of language. Among his books there were:

The Grammarians;[45] The Bow (Weapon); The Strange in the Ḥadīth—his interpretation grew out of the Ḥadīth of the Prophet, for whom be peace, which were *ma'thūr*,[46] explained in the way that the early scholars commented on the subject.

[43] Flügel gives *yushīr bi-ghamzah*, translated as "a sign is made." The Beatty MS has what appears to be *thafīn bi-'umrah*, which does not make sense and must be wrong.

[44] Instead of Shurāt, the Beatty MS has Shurāyah.

[45] This title is not in the Beatty MS. The next one is omitted from the Flügel text and the third title is confused in the Flügel text.

[46] *Al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr* was a term for a statement by the Prophet coming directly from himself, or through one of his wives or Companions known to be reliable.

Abū *Thawābah* al-Asadī

He was an Arabian tribesman who was quoted by al-*Umawī*. This al-Umawī related, "We went in to Abū Thawābah, who said, ' I have no sliced (*mushannaq*) food and no pleasing (*mu'niq*) traditions.' "[47]

Abū Ḥabrah

His name was Nahshal ibn Zayd, an Arabian of the Banū 'Adī Tribe, who came to the settled regions and among whose books there was *The Creatures*.

Abū Shunbul al-'*Uqaylī*

He was a poet whose name was al-Khulanj, an Arabian tribesman and a master of literary style. He went on a deputation to [Hārūn] al-*Rashīd* and became attached to the Barāmakah. Among his books there was *Rare Forms*, written in an ancient script, corrected by Abū 'Amr ['Umar] al-*Zāhid*, about three hundred leaves.

Dahmaj ibn Muḥarrar al-Naṣrī

He was Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn of the Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah Tribe, among whose books there was *Rare Forms*, which was quoted by *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Nuṣayr al-Anbārī; I saw it and it had about one hundred and fifty leaves, with corrections made by Abū 'Umar al-*Zāhid*.

Abū *Muḥallim* al-Shaybānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, but he was also called Muḥammad ibn Hishām ibn 'Awf al-Sa'dī. He was spoken of both as Muḥammad and Aḥmad and was an Arabian tribesman. He knew more than anybody else about poetry and language. Moreover, he used to roughen his manner, so as to make his words sonorous and his speech like that of a Bedouin. I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Sikkīt* saying that Abū Muḥallim was of Persian origin, being born in Persia, although he traced his lineage to the Banū Sa'd Tribe.

[47] There is also a form *mu'anniq* which may have been used to make the play on words more perfect, although the meaning is not so well adapted to the passage. The Arabic is not clear enough here to tell which word is meant.

It was related by al-*Mubarrad*, "I heard him say 'fifteen mortars.'" He went on, "One day he said to me, 'I never saw a mortar among the nomads, so that when I did come across one, I was disdainful of it.'"[48]

He was a poet, and used to satirize *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm, al-Kātib,[49] although the poetry of Abū Muḥallim was inferior to that of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm. He said, "*Muʿarraj* had a better memory than other people. He caught a passage from me and remembered it all night, repeating it the next day, although it was about fifty leaves in length."

Abū Muḥallim said, "I was born during the year in which [the Caliph] al-*Manṣūr* went on the pilgrimage." He died during the year two hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 862/63]. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwāʾ; Horses; The Disposition of Man.

Abū *Mahdīyah*

He was an Arabian tribesman who was an authority for the obscure. He was quoted by the scholars of al-Baṣrah, and because of him there was agitation for a long time every year. He did not write any books.[50]

Abū *Miṣḥal*

He was an Arabian surnamed Abū Muḥammad, whose name was ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥarīsh. While on a deputation to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl he settled at Baghdād, where he had arguments with al-*Aṣmaʿī* about declension. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; The Uncultured Obscure.[51]

[48] The mortar was probably a brass vessel, too expensive for the nomads to buy, but used in settled regions for pounding salt and other things, or else a larger stone vessel used for pounding grain, which was too heavy for the nomads to carry on their camels and of little use for them, as they regard wheat as a luxury.

[49] The word *al-kātib* usually means a simple scribe, but here refers to a government secretary.

[50] In the Flügel text the name of al-Mubarrad is mentioned in this paragraph, but the Beatty MS gives a different and probably more correct version.

[51] The Flügel text gives the word *al-waḥshī* ("the uncultured") as the name of Abū Tharwān, but the Beatty MS gives it as part of the title of this book. It evidently refers to primitive colloquialisms.

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Abū *Tharwān* al-'Uklī

He was an Arabian of the Banū 'Ukal Tribe,[52] a master of literary style, who taught among the nomads. This is what Ya'qūb ibn *Sikkīt* has recalled. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of the Horse; The Meaning of Poetry.

Ibn *Ḍamḍam* al-Kilābī

He was Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ḍamḍam, an envoy to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl. He wrote some excellent poems, among which was a *qaṣīdah* (poem) the final words of which cannot be surpassed:

May the rain water a quarter in al-Liwā,
Where I used to know them;
From a long time ago
This was their covenant (custom).[53]

Al-*Bahdalī*

His name was 'Amr ibn 'Āmir and he was surnamed Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He composed *rajaz* (metric poetry) and was a master of literary style, as well as one who quoted.[54] Al-*Aṣma'ī* learned from him, relied upon him as an authority and quoted his poems. From his poetry there is:

He offered as provender a sheep,
Which for long had been with him, strung up,
To the point that it was almost putrid.
He presented it, with the intestines wrapped.

Jahm ibn Khalaf al-Māzinī

He was one who quoted [poetry and legends], and a scholar of obscure [words and expressions], as well as of poetry. He was contemporary with *Khalaf* and al-*Aṣma'ī*. They had similarity, resembling one another in their study of poetry and the unusual.

[52] For the Banū 'Ukal Tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 113.

[53] The final words for the second and fourth lines of this couplet form the kind of play on words which the poets enjoyed. For al-Liwā, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 336–67.

[54] A scholar of this type would probably quote tribal poetry and legends, rather than the Ḥadīth.

He wrote a poem about creeping things and birds of attack. He belonged to the family of Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā' and it was for Ibn *Munādhir* to praise Jahm:

> You were named [with the surname of] the family of al-'Alā',
> Because you are [of] the people of *al-'alā'* (nobility) and a mine of learning.
> The family of al-'Alā' has built for Māzin a dwelling,
> Causing him (it) to abide with the stars.

From [Passages Written in] the Handwritings of the Scholars[55]

Abū al-*Haytham* al-A'rābī; Abū al-*Mujīb* al-Rib'ī, whose name was Mazīd ibn Yaḥyā; Abū al-*Jarrāḥ* al-'Uqaylī; Abū *Sa'īd* al-Kilābī; al-*'Adabbas* al-Kinānī; Abū Zakarīyā' al-*Aḥmar*; Abū *Adham* al-Kilābī; Abū al-*Saqr* al-'Adawī; *Ghanīyah* Umm al-Ḥumāris;[56] Abū *Qurrah* al-Kilābī; Abū al-*Ḥidrijān*: taken from [what is written in] the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*. Abū *Tammām* al-Ḥarār; Abū al-*Ḥaṣīn* al-Hujaymī; *Mukawwazah*; Abū al-*'Umar*, whose name was al-'Alā' ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Rabb ibn Miṣḥal ibn al-Muḥallaq ibn Jushm ibn Shaddad ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr: from [what is written in] the handwriting of Ya'qūb.[57] Abū *Ziyād* al-Ṣamuwī al-Kilābī;[58] al-*Ṣaqīl* al-'Uqaylī, surnamed Abū al-Kumayt; Abū *Faq'as* Lazā'iz;[59] Abū al-*Duqaysh* al-Qanānī al-Ghanawī; Abū al-*Saqr* al-Kilābī; *Haddāb* al-Hujaymī; *Ghaythah* Umm al-Haytham; *Ridād* al-Kilābī; *Qarībah* Umm al-Buhlūl al-Asadīyah; a book was written by Umm al-*Buhlūl* [entitled] *Rare*

[55] Al-Nadīm apparently copied these names from old manuscripts. The names are evidently those of men acquainted with tribal legends and colloquialisms. Many of the names seem to be more accurate in the Beatty MS than in the Flügel edition. The spelling of the names is according to those in Durayd, *Geneal.*, and based on words in standard dictionaries. The Arabic text does not make clear which names were taken from al-Sukkarī and which from other scholars.

[56] *Umm* means "mother." This list shows that some of the tribal women were scholars. Over several names in this first group the Beatty MS has inserted al-Sukkarī, suggesting that the name was obtained from this scholar.

[57] Probably Ya'qūb ibn al-*Sikkīt*.

[58] On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note probably referring to this man, saying: "called al-A'war ibn Barā' al-Kilābī."

[59] Another note in the Beatty MS may go with this name, saying: "Abū al-Qamāqim al-Faq 'ashī, who was quoted by al-Kinānī."

Forms and Sources (*Verbal Nouns*): from [what is written in] the handwriting of al-Sukkarī. Abū *Dithar* al-Faq'asī—there is a section of his [book] *Al-Ḥurqīyah*;[60] Abū al-*Kabas* al-Bāhilī; Abū *Ṣāliḥ* al-Ṭā'ī; Abū al-*Kils* (Killis) al-Namrī (Namarī); Abū al-*Samḥ* al-Ṭā'ī, who was one of the persons summoned at the time of al-*Mu'tazz*, so that he could learn from him;[61] Abū al-*Yad* al-Kilābī; Abū *'Alī* al-Yamāmī; al-*Ruhmī* of the period of *Qāsim* [Abū Muḥammad] al-Anbārī, who quoted Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim; *'Urm* ibn al-Aṣbagh al-Salamī; Abū *Ḥajjār* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Manṣūr al-Kilābī: from [what was written in] the handwriting of Ibn Abī *Sa'd*. *Harim* ibn Zayd al-Kulaybī; Abū *Zayd* al-Māzinī, who was quoted by *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb; Abū al-*Nu'mān*, an Arabian who was quoted by Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb; Abū al-*Musallim* al-Ghāḍī, who was quoted by Abū 'Amr al-*Shaybanī* in his [book] *Rare Forms*.

Among the Arabian tribesmen, who were masters of literary style, there was Abū *Mus·hir* the Arabian, who was quoted by Abū *'Uṭbah* Jazw ibn Qaṭan al-Nabtī. Among their masters of literary style there was also Abū al-*Maḍraḥī*, author of the book *Rare Forms*, which I saw written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sa'd.

Persons Other than Members of This Group[62]

Abū Di'āmah al-*'Absī*, a scholar who quoted [tribal poems and traditions] and whose origin was among the nomads. He dwelt for a long time with the townspeople, becoming attached to the Barāmakah. I read from [what was written in] the handwriting of al-*Yūsufī*, saying that his name was 'Alī ibn Burayd, [spelled] with a *rā'* (*r*). Among his books there was *Poetry and the Poets*.

Mu'arraj al-Sadūsī

He was Mu'arraj ibn 'Amr al-Sadūsī al-Ijlī, surnamed Abū Fayd.

[60] This title is evidently given incorrectly by Flügel and is very likely given erroneously in the Beatty MS too.

[61] Evidently the Caliph called upon this tribal authority to help his scholars understand tribal forms and vernaculars.

[62] Not only the names but also the arrangement follows the Beatty MS instead of Flügel. Two sentences below, the Barāmakah were members of the Barmak family; see Glossary.

Written in the handwriting of *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz I found, "Mu'arraj ibn 'Amr was descended from the children (clan) of al-Mu'arraj. His name was Marthid ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Thaw ibn Ḥarmalah ibn 'Alqamah ibn 'Amr ibn Sadūs." He said, "*Al-fayd* is saffron." It is also said to be the odor of saffron, while the verb [forms] *fād, yufīd, fayd(an)*, are used if someone dies.

Abū Fayd was a friend of al-*Khalīl*. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 810/11] on the same day on which there died Abū *Nuwās*. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā'; The Rare Forms in the Qur'ān; Communities of the Tribes; Meaning.

Al-*Liḥyānī*, [called] Ghulām al-Kisā'ī

His name was 'Alī ibn al-Mubārak, also said to be Khāzim,[63] and he was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He met with the scholars, the masters of style among the Arabians acquiring information from him.[64] *'Ubayd* [Abū] al-Qāsim ibn Sallām [also] learned from him. Among his written books there was *Rare Forms*.

Al-*Umawī*

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd. He was not one of the Arabian literary men,[65] but he met with the scholars and entered among the tribes, deriving knowledge from the masters of style among the Arabians. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; Migrating with the Tent.

Abū al-*Manhāl*

He was 'Uyaynah ibn al-Manhāl, one of those who quoted [poems and traditions]. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Current Proverbs.[66]

[63] Before this name, the Beatty MS has what looks like *bal*, probably implying "on the contrary," or else it is a mistake meant to be *ibn*.

[64] The Beatty MS is not clear. It may be more correct to say that "he learned from the Arabian language experts."

[65] *Fuṣaḥā'* is usually rendered in this translation as "masters of literary style," but in speaking of the tribesmen, it may be more correct to say "literary men" or "experts for pure tribal vernaculars."

[66] The Beatty MS omits *Drinks*. The Flügel text adds, after *Current Proverbs*, "In another place I found *Current Verses*."

Al-*Ḥirmāzī* Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī

This was how *Muḥammad* ibn Dāʾūd quoted his name from *Ibrāhīm* ibn Saʿīd. He was an Arabian tribesman and quoter [of traditions and poems], who went to al-Baṣrah to live. He was connected with the Ḥirmāz ibn Mālik ibn ʿAmr ibn Tammīm Tribe,[67] it being said that because he lived among the Banū Ḥirmāz he was given their name. He was a poet and quoter [of traditions and poems].

Al-Ḥirmāzī once said, "When a city woman was asked, 'By what do you recognize the dawn?' she said, 'By the coldness of the jewelry on my body.' When a village woman was asked, 'By what do you recognize the dawn?' she said, 'By the bursting forth of the flowers in the gardens.' When a barbarous type of woman was spoken to, she said, 'It loosens my bowels.'"[68] Among his books there was *The Disposition of Man.*

Abū al-ʿ*Amaythal*

He was an Arabian tribesman whose name was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khulayd, a protégé of *Jaʿfar* ibn Sulaymān. "Al-ʿAmaythal" is the name of a horse, one that has a long stringy tail and struts as he walks. He was the tutor of the sons of ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in Kurāsān. Although his origin was said to be from al-Rayy, he spoke in a heavy way, giving a Bedouin articulation to his speech.

He used to say, "I am a protégé of the Banū Hāshim."[69] Saʿd was the name of his grandfather, who was a protégé of al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He served *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn and his son, ʿ*Abd* Allāh.

One day when he [Abū al-ʿAmaythal] went to him [ʿAbd Allāh] and kissed his hand, ʿAbd Allāh jokingly said, "You've scratched my hand with the sharpness of your moustache." Then Abū al-ʿAmaythal replied quickly, "A hedgehog's quill doesn't hurt a lion's

[67] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 124.

[68] The Arabic word for city is *madīnah* and for village, *dihqān*, but these are also place names (for Dihqān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 634). "City woman" might be "woman of al-Madīnah." "Village woman" could be "woman of Dihqān," or also, "wife of a village headman." But as *al-ʿiljah* ("barbarous") is not mentioned as a place name by Yāqūt, the others are probably not meant as proper names either.

[69] The Banū Hāshim was the clan of the Prophet's tribe.

paw." The *bon mot* astonished him ['Abd Allāh] so much that he ordered a rich reward for him.

One day when he [Abū al-'Amaythal] came to him ['Abd Allāh] and he was refused admittance, he said:

> I shall leave this door while admittance to it
> Remains as I now see it, until it grows somewhat easier;
> Even if I did not find a day to gain permission for access,
> I found a way of avoiding a meeting.[70]

When this reached 'Abd Allāh it displeased him, so that he ordered that he [Abū al-'Amaythal] should be brought no matter in what way.

Abū al-'Amaythal died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 853/54]. Among his books there were:

What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning;[71] Resemblance; Current Verses (Tents for Migrating); The Meaning of Poetry.

'*Abbād* ibn Kusayb

He belonged to the Banū 'Amr ibn Jundab branch of the Banū al-'Anbar Tribe.[72] Nicknamed Abū al-Khansā', he was a quoter of the poetry of the Arabs and acquainted with their historical traditions.

Al-*Faq'asī*

He was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Asadī, who quoted [tribal traditions] about the Banū Asad Tribe, being learned in their great deeds and traditions. He was a poet, living as late as the time of al-*Manṣūr* and his successor. The scholars learned from him about the heroic deeds of the Banū Asad. In one of the verses of his poetry he praised al-Faḍl ibn al-Rubay':[73]

> People are varied in their circumstances,
> But Ibn al-Rubay' is on a course which is one.

Among his written works there was *The Heroic Deeds and Poems of the Banū Asad.*

[70] Both the Beatty MS and Khallikān, II, 56, make the meaning of this passage clear.

[71] This title is not in the Flügel text and is squeezed into the Beatty MS, so that it is not entirely clear.

[72] Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 129.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Ibn Abī *Ṣubḥ*

He was ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn Abī Ṣubḥ al-Māzinī, an Arabian tribesman, who lived and died at Baghdād. He was a poet and master of literary style from whom the scholars derived knowledge, for like al-*Faqʿasī* he had fresh information.

Diʿbil said, "Al-Faqʿasī went to a house where there was a feast, which was also attended by Ibn Abī Ṣubḥ, the Arabian. As they were crowded at the entrance, Ibn Abī Ṣubḥ got ahead, entering in front of Muḥammad al-Faqʿasī and saying:

Oh, would that thou, mother of ʿAmr,
Might see how I stand so as to excuse me,
With my shoving al-Asadī's shoulder away from me
Quickly, in the Zabūn Quarter.
As though he were a lion in the house,
He hurled at me with his eyebrows and eyes,
So that if I had regarded the adversary's right,
The adversary would have prevented them from receiving me.[74]

Rabīʿah al-Baṣrī

He was a nomad who became a townsman and was both a poet and quoter of traditions. Among his books there were:

What Is Mentioned in the Selection of Poetry and Rajaz;[75] Yearning of the Camel for the Homeland.

Account of *Khalaf* al-Aḥmar

He was Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān surnamed Abū Muḥriz, a protégé of Abū *Mūsā* al-Ashʿarī. It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah and, furthermore, that his origin was in Khurāsān, from the descendants of *Qutaybah* ibn Muslim. He was one of the keenest of the collectors of poetic verse and a poet who wrote his

[74] The Beatty MS has variations, different from the Flügel text. The "mother of ʿAmr" might have been the poet's grandmother, as his father was ʿAmr. There is a play on words. "Zabūn" was a quarter of the city, but also "a struggle, with crowding." Al-Faqʿasī belonged to the Asad Tribe, and *asad* means "lion."

[75] The translation follows the Beatty MS, which gives what seems to be *al-khiyār* ("selection"), but might be *al-jināz* ("funeral"). Flügel gives *al-ḥayāt* ("lives"). There are also other minor variations in this passage, but the translation follows the Beatty MS.

poetry in the vernacular of the nomads, plagiarizing them verse for verse.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*], who said, "I heard *Kaysān* the grammarian when he asked, 'Oh, Abū *Muḥriz*, was '*Alqamah* ibn 'Abadah Pre-Islāmic or one of the Banū Ḍabbah Tribe?'" Among his books there was, *Biographies of the Arabs and What Is Said about Them in Poetry*.[76]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Mention of the rest of the men who quoted and were Arabian tribesmen will be with the accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah, if Allāh so wills.

An Account of the Yazīdīs according to Their Sequence

The judge Abū *Sa'īd*, may Allāh be merciful to him, brought out for me part [of a manuscript written] in the handwriting of Abū Bakr ibn al-*Sarrāj*, which recorded:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-*Yazīdī* said, "Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak al-'Adawī, known as al-*Yazīdī*, was called 'al-Yazīdī' because of his friendship with *Yazīd* ibn Manṣūr, the maternal uncle of [the Caliph] al-*Mahdī*. Abū '*Amr* ibn al-'Alā' attached him [al-Yazīdī] to himself [as a protégé] while Yazīd ibn Manṣūr attached him to al-Mahdī. His sons were: Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad, the most famous among them, as he was the grandfather of Abū 'Abd Allāh and the family's greatest poet; also Ibrāhīm; Ismā'īl; 'Abd Allāh; Ya'qūb; and Isḥāq; mentioned here in accordance with the sequence of their ages. Ya'qūb and Isḥāq were ascetics, learned in the Ḥadīth of the Prophet. Four of them were preeminent because of their knowledge of language and Arabian colloquialisms. The members of the family who were boon companions of [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn* were Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Muḥammad was their foremost member and the one who went abroad with [the Caliph] al-*Mu'taṣim* when he journeyed to [engage in combat with] the Mubayyaḍah[77] in Egypt. It was there where he died, whereas the others died in Baghdād.

[76] The Beatty MS gives *Ḥayāt al-'Arab* ("Lives *or* Biographies of the Arabs"), whereas Flügel omits *ḥayāt*, making the first words *The Arabs*, with an ungrammatical ending to the title. The original was probably as translated.

[77] A heterodox religious order, engaged in fighting against the caliph; see Mas'ūdī, VIII, 33, 140; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 1504, 1561, 1563, 1564, 1589, 1639.

"Muḥammad had twelve sons, the most important of whom were Aḥmad; then 'Abd Allāh, called as a rule by his nickname 'Abdūs; and al-'Abbās, the father of Muḥammad Abū 'Abd Allāh.[78] These three were their father's executors. There were also Ja'far, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, the twins al-Faḍl and al-Ḥusayn, 'Īsā, Sulaymān, 'Ubayd Allāh, and Yūsuf. The most distinguished among these were Aḥmad, al-'Abbās, Ja'far, al-Ḥasan, al-Faḍl, Sulaymān, and 'Ubayd Allāh.[79]

"Aḥmad died before the year two hundred and sixty [A.D. 873/74]. Al-'Abbās died during the year two hundred and forty-one [A.D. 855/56], and 'Abdūs somewhat earlier. He ['Abdūs] was so addicted to amusement and pleasure that his zeal culminated in his learning to play the lute and in teaching his two sons to play also. They were blessed with riches. Al-Faḍl died in the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92], and 'Ubayd Allāh during the year eighty-four [A.H. 284: A.D. 897/98]. Al-Ḥasan died in Egypt, because he accompanied Abū *Ayyūb*, who was the vizier's nephew [sister's son] and the governor of Egypt. Ja'far died at al-Baṣrah later than the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45] and Sulaymān died in the year forty-five [A.H. 245: A.D. 859/60].

"It is not recorded that any of them quoted scholarly information, except for Abū 'Abd Allāh [Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-*Yazīdī*] and two of the sons of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. One of these was Mūsā ibn Aḥmad, surnamed Abū 'Īsā, and the other was 'Īsā, surnamed Abū Mūsā. They quoted from their father and Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Muḥammad what the two of them heard spoken by Abū *Zayd* and al-*Aṣma'ī*."[80]

The books which Abū Muḥammad [al-*Yazīdī*] wrote were:

Rare Forms, composed for *Ja'far* ibn Yaḥyā; The Shortened and the Lengthened; An Abridgment of Grammar, composed for some of the sons of al-Ma'mūn; Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs].

The compositions of Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*:

What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning; Building of the Ka'bah; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Noun Forms in the Qur'ān—he reached as far as "Al-Ḥadīd" [Sūrah 57].

[78] The Beatty MS gives Ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh, which seems to be a mistake.

[79] For the names of the members of this family, see Biog. Index, Yazīdī.

[80] The Beatty MS is evidently more accurate than the Flügel text in giving this passage.

The compositions of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Muḥammad, surnamed Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [al-*Yazīdī*]:

The Strange in the Qur'ān; An Abridgment of Grammar; Raising of the Tongue in Speech; Stopping and Starting.

The composition of Ismāʿīl ibn Abī Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*: *Generations of Poets*. The compositions of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Abī Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*:

Abridgment of Grammar; Horses; Virtues of the Banū al-ʿAbbās; Account of the Yazīdī Family.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Yazīdī* died in the year three hundred and ten [A.D. 922/23]. At the end of his life he was summoned to teach the sons of al-*Muqtadir* bi-Allāh, whom he served for a time. I have been told that one of his friends met him after he had become associated with the ruler, asking him to read something quoted, whereupon he said, "I've persisted in giving it special attention, but I'm too busy for it."[81]

Account of *Sībawayh*, One of the Disciples of al-*Khalīl*

Our shaykh Abū Saʿīd, to whom may Allāh show mercy, said that the name of Sībawayh was ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān ibn Qanbar. He was a protégé of the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿUlah ibn Khālid ibn Mālik ibn Udad.[82] He was surnamed Abū Bishr, some however saying that his surname was Abū al-Ḥasan. *Sībūyah* (Per., *sībawayh*) in Persian is the odor of the apple.

He learned grammar from al-Khalīl, who was his teacher, as well as from ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar [al-*Thaqafī*], *Yūnus*, and others. He learned the dialects (languages) from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-*Akhfash* al-Kabīr (the Elder) and others, too.

He composed his book, unequaled before his time and unrivaled afterwards. I have read what was written in the handwriting of

[81] This was probably a commentary on the work of a well-known author, perhaps a commentary on one of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's own compositions. Cf. Khallikān, III, 51. The translation is based on the Beatty MS, which again differs from Flügel. The meaning seems to be that although he tried to finish something he was writing, he was too busy instructing the sons of the caliph to complete his work.

[82] For al-Ḥārith and ʿUlah, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 155, 237.

Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab*, that forty-two persons cooperated in composing the *Book* of Sībawayh. Although Sībawayh was one of them, the principles and subjects were based on those of al-*Khalīl*.

Sībawayh came to al-'Irāq in the days of al-*Rashīd* when he was thirty-two years old and he died in Persia when he was somewhat over forty. Others say that [the purpose of] his coming to al-'Irāq was to seek *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālid, who put him in touch with al-*Kisā'ī* and al-*Akhfash*, who had discussions with him, checking [his answers] in connection with the questions which they addressed to him.[83] They summoned him [to be tested] in the presence of some linguistic authorities, who had come as a deputation to the sultan. These were Abū *Faq'as*, Abū *Dithār*, Abū al-*Jarrāḥ*, and Abū *Tharwān*. Verification was for al-Kisā'ī.

Al-Kisā'ī spoke with Yaḥyā ibn Khālid, who granted him [Sībawayh] ten thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*), after receiving which he journeyed to al-Baṣrah and from there to Persia, where he died during the year one hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 793/94].

In a source different from what was written in the handwriting of Tha'lab it is recorded that if anybody desired to read the *Book* of Sībawayh with al-*Mubarrad*, he used to say, "Have you ridden through grammar, appreciating its vastness and meeting with the difficulties of its contents?" Al-*Māzinī*, moreover, used to say, "If anybody wishes to compose a great book about grammar in addition to the *Book* of Sībawayh, he ought to be ashamed of himself."

Account of al-*Naḍr* ibn Shumayl

He was al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl ibn Kharashah ibn Yazīd ibn Kulthūm ibn 'Antarah ibn Zuhayr ibn 'Umar ibn Julhumah ibn Ḥujr ibn Khuzā'ī ibn Māzin ibn Mālik ibn 'Amr ibn Tamīm. Although his origin was at al-Baṣrah, he lived at Marw al-Rūdh in the region of Māzin.[84] He learned from al-*Khalīl* and Arabians who were linguistic authorities. He died in the year two hundred

[83] Al-Rashīd was the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Yaḥyā ibn Khālid was the vizier, and the others mentioned were linguistic experts.

[84] A five-day journey from Marw (Merv) in Khurāsān; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 506.

and three or four [A.D. 818/19 *or* 819/20]. Among his books there was *Al-Ṣifāt* (Descriptions), a large work comprising a number of chapters, from which Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim ibn Sallām drew material for his book *The Strange in Compositions.*

I have read something written in the handwriting of Abū al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Kūfī, which confirmed what I myself remembered about the book *Al-Ṣifāt*, so that I am not relying only upon what I myself saw in it. Ibn al-Kūfī said:

The first section deals with the character of man, liberality, generosity, and the qualities of women. The second section deals with tents, houses, descriptions of mountains and chasms, and utensils. The third section is entirely devoted to the camel. The fourth section deals with flying clouds, the sun and the moon, night and day, milks, mushrooms, wells, cisterns, well ropes, buckets, and a description of wine. The fifth section deals with planting, vines, grapes, the names of herbs, trees, winds, clouds, and rain.

There were also some books of his which did not form a part of this volume:[85]

Weapons; The Disposition of the Horse; Al-Anwā'; Meaning; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Al-Muṣāfanah;[86] Introduction to "Kitāb al-'Ayn"; The Jīm (The J);[87] The Sun and the Moon.

Account of al-*Akhfash* al-Mujāshi'ī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Sa'īd ibn Masa'dah, a protégé of the Banū Mujāshi' ibn Dārim Tribe and one of the most famous of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah.[88] He learned from *Sībawayh*, being one of his disciples, although al-Akhfash was the elder of the two. Thus he came into contact with the scholars with whom Sībawayh associated.

[85] In the Beatty MS *Weapons* and *The Disposition of the Horse* are squeezed in with the fifth section of the large volume *Al-Ṣifāt*, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 218, gives them as written here.

[86] This is the measuring of the water that covers a pebble, to give as a share to a member of a desert band.

[87] This title and the one following are in Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 218, but are omitted in the Beatty MS.

[88] For the Banū Mujāshi' Tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 36 l. 19, 37 l. 17.

The way to the *Book* of Sībawayh was through al-Akhfash. Nobody is known to have studied the *Book* with Sībawayh and Sībawayh himself did not expound it. When, however, he died, the *Book* was studied with al-Akhfash. Among those who studied it with him there were Abū 'Umar al-*Jarmī*, Abū 'Uthmān al-*Māzinī*, and others besides them.

Al-Akhfash died during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 836], later than the death of al-*Farrā'*. In his book, *The Virtues of Khurāsān*, al-*Balkhī* said that his [al-Akhfash's] origin was in Khwārizm. It is also stated that he died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Al-Akhfash quoted *Hammād* ibn al-Zibriqān. He lived at al-Baṣrah and among his books there were:

Al-Awsaṭ (Middle Size), about grammar; Commentary on the Meaning of the Qur'ān; Measurings in Grammar; Prosody; The Four;[89] Expositions; the large book, Questions; the small book, Questions; Al-Qawāfī; Kings;[90] The Meaning of Poetry; The Full Stop; Voices; Description of Sheep, Their Colors, Remedies, and Ages.

Account of *Quṭrub*

He was Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr, also spoken of as Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, but the first rendering is the more accurate. He learned from *Sībawayh* and a group of the scholars of al-Baṣrah, being reliable in his statements.

The *quṭrub* is a small creature, crawling without resting. It is said that Sībawayh gave him [Quṭrub] that nickname because of his way of greeting him in the early morning, for he said to him one day, "What are you but a *quṭrub* of the night?"

Quṭrub taught the sons of Abū *Dulaf* al-Qāsim ibn 'Īsā, and then his [own] son, al-*Ḥasan* ibn Quṭrub, taught them after Quṭrub died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his written books there were:

Meaning of the Qur'ān; Derivations; Al-Qawāfī; Rare Forms; Periods; Triple;[91] Distinguishing; Voices; Descriptions (Adjectives,

[89] "Four" may refer to cases in grammar, words of four consonants, the four seasons, or perhaps to certain periods of the spring and autumn.

[90] The title *Kings* in the Beatty MS looks more like *malūl* than *malūk*, so that it may mean "melancholy" or "fatigue."

[91] Three consonants, three dots, or some other meaning connected with linguistics.

Attributes); The Weak Letters in Grammar; Opposites [words of opposite meaning]; The Disposition of the Horse; The Disposition of Man; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Refutation of the Heretics, about the metaphorical in the Qur'ān; The Hamzah; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'ān.[92]

Account of Abū *'Ubaydah*

The shaykh Abū *Sa'īd*, may Allāh be merciful to him, said, "Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā al-Taymī was from the Taym of the Quraysh rather than Taym of the Ribāb,[93] for he was a protégé of theirs." It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar al-Taymī.

We have been told that Abū Bakr ibn *Mujāhid* related, saying:

Al-Kudaymī recounted to me and Abū al-'Aynā', saying, "A man once said to Abū 'Ubaydah, 'Oh, Abū 'Ubaydah, you have made records of people, penetrating into their genealogies, but by Allāh you haven't informed me who your own father was and what was his origin!' Then he said, 'My father told me that his father was a Jew from Bājarwān.'"[94]

I myself have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said:

Abū 'Ubaydah agreed with the doctrines of the Khawārij, so that when he read the Qur'ān he read it with reflection. He knew about the strange forms in the Qur'ān, as well as the metaphorical in the Qur'ān, but in spite of his learning, if he composed a verse of poetry he did not pay attention to its grammatical accuracy.[95]

When he died no one attended his funeral, for he never used to greet a *sharīf* or anybody else. He wrote the book *Al-Mathālib* (Faults), in which he spoke of the faults of some of the things connected with the Prophet,[96] may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

Abū al-'Abbās [*Tha'lab*] said:

[92] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[93] For the tribal groups, see *Enc. Islam*, IV, 622; Mas'ūdī, IV, 223; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 111, 228.

[94] For several towns with this name, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 454.

[95] This sentence has been translated freely, so as to make it readable.

[96] The Arabic for the phrase "the things connected with the Prophet" is *asbāb al-Nabī*.

Abū 'Ubaydah lived to be nearly a hundred. He was heavy in speech, but possessed a knowledge of Islām and the Pre-Islāmic period, and in his house there was a record of the Arabs. When he spoke with his friends, such as al-*Aṣma'ī*, Abū *Zayd*, and some others, he was curt[97] while he was with them. Then, moreover, he was foul, unsound in religion and genealogy.

I read what was written in the handwriting of *'Allān* al-Shu'ūbī, that Abū 'Ubaydah was nicknamed *Sakht* (Rigid *or* Overbearing). His origin was Persian. Abū 'Ubaydah was born in the year one hundred and fourteen [A.D.732/33] and died during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26], or some say eleven. Abū *Sa'īd* has said the year eight and some say nine. Among his books there were:

The Metaphor of the Qur'ān; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj); Al-Bāj (Tribute, Tax, Revenue); Animals; Imperfections (Al-Naqā'is); Abnā' (Sons of) Wayl;[98] Restrictive Ordinances (Penalties); Grave of Eternity (Ḥufrat Khuld);[99] *Mas'ūd*;[100] Al-Baṣrah; The Blessing (Information) of the Quoter [of Traditions]; Khurāsān; Strifes of Qays and al-Yaman; Account of 'Abd al-Qays; Account of Abnā' (Sons of) Baghīd;[101] The Khawārij of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah;[102] Protégés; Stupidity; Owls (Al-Ḍi'ān); Al-Ṭarūqah [girl (female) ready for mating]; The Field of Rāhit;[103] The Contestants; The Combat; Account of al-Barāṣ (the Sandy Desert) (*or* Account of al-Barrāḍ [the standard of Ibn Qays]).

Fugitives (Al-Farrārīn) (*or* Al-'Izāzīn [Noble], *or* Al-Ghirārīn [Careless about Prayer]);[104] The Falcon; Pigeons (Doves); Snakes; The Eagle (Al-'Uqāb) (*or* Punishment [Al-'Iqāb]); Al-Nawākiḥ;[105] Al-Nawāshiz;

[97] The Beatty MS has *nataf*, which means "picked out hair," but when applied to scholarship has the connotation of being brief or curt.

[98] For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 165.

[99] Flügel differs.

[100] The fourth title of the last paragraph of the list is *Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr and His Murder*. Here, *mas'ūd* may refer to the same Mas'ūd, or it may mean "prosperous."

[101] For the tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 157, 167.

[102] Rebellious tribes in eastern Arabia and the Island of Baḥrayn.

[103] A battle near Damascus in which the rebel supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr were beaten by the army of the Caliph Marwān, A.D. 684.

[104] The Beatty MS differs here from Flügel and, as the word lacks consonant signs, it may be one of numerous interpretations.

[105] These are unusual plurals. Perhaps *al-nawākiḥ* refers to marriage and *al-nawāshiz* to persons resurrected.

Al-Jabal;[106] Smooth White Stones [Used for Writing]; Al-I'tān (Severity [especially to a debtor]); Virtues of the Bāhilah Tribe;[107] Heroic Deeds of the Azd; Horses; The Camel; Teeth; Al-Muḥām (Protected [such as a walled-in plot of land]); The Planting; The [Nomadic] Migration; The Bucket; The Well Pulley; The Saddle; The Bridle.

The Bow; The Sword; Faults of the Bāhilah Tribe;[108] Unusual Expressions; Dreams; Increments (Superfluities); Warrior Cavaliers; Completion of the Leader (Tāmmat al-Ra'īs); Warriors of the Nobles (Ashrāf); Poetry and the Poets; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Verbal Nouns; Faults; The Disposition of Man; Al-Gharaf [plant for tanning] (*or* Drowning [Al-Gharaq]); The Thorn (*or* Date Scrapings); Makkah and the Sacred Enclosure; [The Battles of] the Camel and Ṣiffīn;[109] Aristocratic Families; Languages (Vernaculars); Raids; Mutual Reproaches; Refuges.[110]

Al-Aṣdād (Adjacent Parts) (*or* Al-Aḍdād [Words of Opposite Meanings]); Heroic Deeds of the Arabs;[111] The Two Sandal Thongs; The Undutiful; Heroic Deeds of the Ghaṭafān;[112] Trustworthy [Persons Keeping Their Word]; The Names of Horses; Invited Guests of the Arabs; The Assassination of *'Uthmān* [the third caliph]; Judges of al-Baṣrah; The Invasion of Armenia; The Invasion of al-Ahwāz; Robbers of the Arabs; Account of al-*Ḥajjāj* [the governor of al-'Irāq]; Story of the Ka'bah; The Heroic among the Quraysh; Excellencies of Persia (Excellencies of the Horse); Tithes of Slaughtered Animals (Sheep); Al-Ḥāmalīn al-Khimālāt;[113] How the Populace Errs in Speaking.

Salm ibn Qutaybah; Rūstuqbādh;[114] Al-Sawād and Its Invasion; *Mas'ūd* ibn 'Amr and His Murder; Who among the Governors

[106] This is different from the word in the Flügel text.

[107] For Bāhilah, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 164, and for Azd, see "al-Azd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 529.

[108] Omitted in the Beatty MS. Perhaps confused with *Virtues of the Bāhilah Tribe*, given in the previous paragraph.

[109] These were two famous battles between 'Alī and his competitors; see Glossary.

[110] The Arabic word here is probably an unusual plural (*al-malāwithāt*) indicating either places of refuge, or chiefs offering refuge.

[111] In the Beatty MS there is probably an error, or this may be *What Influences the Arabs*.

[112] For this tribe see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 164.

[113] These forms are clear in the Beatty MS, but they do not fit together. *Al-ḥāmalīn* ("bearing") does not agree with *al-khimālāt* ("secrets"). The Flügel text has *al-ḥamalīn wa'l-ḥamālat* ("masculine and feminine forms").

[114] A locality east of al-Kūfah, where al-Ḥajjāj made his headquarters for a time while he was ruling al-'Irāq. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 833.

(Workers) Gives Thanks and Gratitude; The Strange [Forms] of the Tribes[115] of the Arabs; Naming of the Killings (Murderers) of the Banū Asad; The Plural and the Dual; Al-Aws and al-Khazraj Tribes; *Muḥammad* and *Ibrāhīm*, the Two Sons of *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan; The Days (Ayyām), which included, from what is written in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*: The Days (Ayyām) of the Banū Yashkur and Information about Them;[116] The Days (Ayyām) of the Banū Māzin and Information about Them; Similes (Proverbs);[117] Freeborn Women; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'ān.

Among the Disciples of Abū *'Ubaydah*

There was Dammādh Abū Ghassān, whose name was *Rufi'* ibn Salamah ibn Muslim ibn Rufī' al-'Abdī. He quoted Abū 'Ubaydah and copied his books, learning from him about genealogies, historical traditions, and heroic deeds.

Account of Abū *Zayd*

His name was Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī and he came from Ṣulbīyah al-Khazraj. Abū al-'Abbās al-*Mubarrad* said, "Abū Zayd knew a great deal about grammar, but not as much as al-*Khalīl* and *Sībawayh*. *Yūnus* [ibn Ḥabīb] ranked with Abū Zayd in language study, and was more learned than Abū Zayd in grammar. As Abū Zayd knew more about grammar than al-*Aṣma'ī* and Abū *'Ubaydah*, he was called Abū Zayd the Grammarian."

Abū *Sa'īd* said, "I do not know of any of the scholars of grammar and language at al-Baṣrah, who derived information about the Arabs from the people of al-Kūfah, except Abū Zayd, who quoted al-*Mufaḍḍal* al-Ḍabbī."

In the beginning of the book *Rare Forms*, Abū Zayd said, "Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī recited for me [a verse by] *Ḍamrah* ibn Ḍamrah al-Nahshalī of the Pre-Islāmic period:

[115] The word translated as "tribes," *buṭūn*, might also mean "subtribes." For the tribal names which follow, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 258, for Asad; p. 259 bottom for Aws and Khazraj.

[116] For the Banū Yashkur, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 38, 47. For the Banū Māzin, in the title which follows, see "Māzin," *Enc. Islam*, III, 433.

[117] The order of titles in the list is different in the Beatty MS from the sequence in the Flügel edition. The Beatty MS omits these last three titles.

She awoke after midnight blaming you for generosity,
But my blame and censure is wrong for you."[118]

I read what was written in the handwriting of Isḥāq:[119]

Abū Zayd said to me, "I came to Baghdād at the time when [the 'Abbāsid Caliph] al-*Mahdī* Muḥammad began to reign 775 [A.D.] and the scholars of every land arrived with different branches of learning. I did not see anyone more keen about poetic verse than *Khalaf* [ibn Ḥayyān] or more erudite and devoted to his learning than *Yūnus* [ibn Ḥabīb]."

Abū Zayd died in the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Among his books there were:

The Oath of '*Uthmān*; Subterfuge and Joking; Confusion and Watering of Camels; Displeasing (Corrupt); The Naked (Al-Mu'arrī) (*or* The Comforter [Al-Mu'azzī] *or* The Raid [Al-Maghzā]); The Camel; The Disposition of Man; Tents (Verses of Poetry); Rain; Water; Innate Qualities (Idiosyncrasies); Plants and Trees; Languages (Vernaculars); The Reading of Abū '*Amr* [ibn al-'Alā']; Rare Forms; The Plural and the Dual; Diarrhea.

Aristocratic Families; Pronouncing the Hamzah Lightly; Khuba'ah;[120] Improvised Speech; Wild Beasts; Differentiation; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; The Strange among Names; Marking with the Hamzah; Verbal Nouns; The Session; Celebrated and Noted; The One (Unique);[121] Dates; Description of Sheep; Description of Oral Ways of Speaking; Speech (Logic).

Account of al-*Aṣma'ī*

Thus saith Muḥammad [al-*Nadīm*]: I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū '*Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah: "Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said that al-Aṣma'ī was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Alī ibn Aṣma'ī ibn Muẓahhir ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhilī." It is quoted that someone said to Abū '*Ubaydah*, "Al-Aṣma'ī said to us, 'My father used to travel with *Salm* ibn

[118] Cf. translation in Fleischer, in *ZDMG*, XII (1858), 63 top.

[119] Probably Isḥāq al-*Mawṣilī*.

[120] The translation follows the Beatty MS, which varies from the Flügel edition. This word is used in various ways for secluded women. It may mean "concealed" or have a technical use in connection with the *hamzah*.

[121] These last five titles are given by Flügel but omitted by the Beatty MS.

Qutaybah on a horse of his.'" Abū 'Ubaydah remarked, "Praise be to Allāh and thanks to Allāh, for Allāh is greater [than His creatures]. One boasting of what he does not own is like a person wearing a false robe and, by Allāh, the father of al-Aṣma'ī never owned any animal other than the one inside of his robe."

Our shaykh Abū *Sa'īd* said, "Abū al-'Abbās al-*Mubarrad* stated that al-Aṣma'ī was most keen about poetry and rhetoric, as was also Abū 'Ubaydah, who excelled al-Aṣma'ī in his knowledge of genealogy, although al-Aṣma'ī knew more about grammar than he did." He [al-Aṣma'ī] was surnamed Abū Sa'īd, the name of Qurayb [his father] being 'Āṣim, surnamed Abū Bakr.

Abū al-'*Aynā*' related, saying:

Al-Aṣma'ī died at al-Baṣrah when I was present, during the year two hundred and thirteen [A.D. 828/29]. There invoked Allāh on his behalf al-*Faḍl* ibn Abī Isḥāq, and I heard '*Abd* al-Raḥmān, his brother's son, recite at the funeral, "To Allāh we belong and to Him are we returning."[122] Then I said, "What matter to him if he has been called home, in accordance with what Allāh has made known to him?"

It is also said that al-Aṣma'ī died in the year two hundred and seventeen [A.D. 832/33]. Among his books there were:[123]
The Disposition of Man; Types (Categories); Al-Anwā'; Marking with the Hamzah; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Differentiation; The Attributes [of God] (Descriptions); Doors;[124] Al-Maysir and al-Qidāḥ;[125] The Disposition of the Horse; Horses; The Camel; Sheep; Tents and Houses; Wild Beasts; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Similes (Proverbs); Opposite Words [each bearing different meanings]; Pronunciations (Dialects); Weapons; Languages (Vernaculars); Waters of the Arabs.

Rare Forms; Origins of Words; [Grammatical] Change and Substitution; The Arabian Peninsula; The Bucket; Etymology; [Nomadic] Migration; The Meaning of Poetry; Rajaz Poems; The Palm Tree; Plants and Trees; The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning; The Strange in the Ḥadīth—I saw this

[122] Qur'ān 2:156.

[123] Cf. Flügel, *Gram. Schulen*, p. 78.

[124] Probably the gates of Heaven; Qur'ān 38:50.

[125] *Al-maysir* was the drawing of arrows to obtain part of a slaughtered animal; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1542. *Al-qidāḥ* were arrows without heads used for fortune telling and gambling.

written in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*, about two hundred leaves; The Saddle, Bridle, Halter, and Hobbling Rope;[126] The Strange in the Ḥadīth—Uncultured Words; Rare Forms of the Arabians (*or* Rare Forms of Inflection [Declension]); Masculine and Feminine; The Six Poems;[127] The Seasons; Genealogy; Voices (Sounds); Names of Fermented Drinks; What the Arabs Say, Being Spread by the Peoples' Mouths.

Al-Aṣma'ī worked over a large number of the poems of the Arabs, but not in a way pleasing to the scholars, because he minimized [the importance of] rare forms and abbreviated quotations.[128]

The Son of the Brother of al-*Aṣma'ī*

In the handwriting of al-*Yazīdī* his name is written *'Abd* al-Raḥmān, surnamed Abū Muḥammad, but he was also said to have been surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He was not bright, but he was relied upon for what he quoted from his uncle and other scholars. Among his books there was *The Meaning of Poetry*.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥātim

He quoted al-*Aṣma'ī* and was surnamed Abū Naṣr. He also quoted Abū *'Ubaydah*, Abu *Zayd*, and other [scholars]. He died in the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46], when he was over seventy years old. Among his books there were:

The Camel; Verses of "Al-Ma'ānī";[129] Horses; The Sown and the Palm; Trees and Plants;[130] First Milk [after Giving Birth] and [Ordinary] Milk; Derivations of Names; Birds; How the Populace Errs in Speaking; Locusts.

[126] This title is not correct in the Flügel text and the word translated as "halter" is carelessly written in the Beatty MS. It must be *al-burs*, a kind of wooden camel halter.

[127] This title and the ones which follow are not included in the Beatty MS.

[128] The word translated as "minimized" is probably given incorrectly in the Flügel text and is garbled in the Beatty MS, but the meaning, as translated, seems to be fairly clear.

[129] Probably *Ma'ānī al-Shi'r* of al-Aṣma'ī, *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr* of Ibn Qutaybah, or some similar book.

[130] This title and the ones following are not in the Beatty MS.

Account of al-*Athram*, a Disciple[131] of al-*Aṣma'ī* and Abū *'Ubaydah*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Mughirah al-Athram, who quoted a group of scholars as well as language authorities among the Arabian tribesmen. He quoted the books of Abū 'Ubaydah and al-Aṣma'ī, from whom he was never separated.

[Abū al-'Abbās] *Tha'lab* said, "We were with al-Athram, the disciple of al-*Aṣma'ī*, when he was dictating the poetry of al-*Rā'ī*." He continued, "When he ended the session, Ya'qūb ibn al-*Sikkīt* being one of those with him, he put down the manuscript from his hand saying, 'I must ask him [Ibn al-Sikkīt] about a verse of al-Rā'ī.'" Then he [Tha'lab] went on to say, "I said to him [al-Athram], 'Don't do that lest he has no answer and you humiliate him in the presence of the leaders of the session.' But he [al-Athram] said, 'It must be,' as he jumped up exclaiming, 'What do you say about this line of al-Rā'ī?

> They ruminated the cud after their hunger,
> Leaving Dhū al-Abāriq and pasturing at Ḥaqīl.'"[132]

He [Tha'lab] said, "The shaykh [Ibn al-Sikkīt] stammered and gulped, not answering at all. Then he [al-Athram] asked, 'What do you have to say about another of his verses?

> Like the high-rising smoke of a lonely man,
> Hungry, causing wet thorn bushes to kindle.'"[133]

Then he [Tha'lab] continued, "He [Ibn al-Sikkīt] relapsed into his state [of embarrassment] and we saw in his face disapproval and dissent. But al-Athram said (quoted), 'The loaded [camel] seeks relief with the neck.' Ya'qūb [ibn al-*Sikkīt*] exclaimed, 'That's wrong, it's with its chin!' Then al-Athram said, 'You're trying to be the leading person in a hurry,' and he went into his house."[134]

[131] He was called *ṣāḥib* of al-Aṣma'ī, and as he was much younger, it seems more accurate to translate this word as "disciple" rather than "associate."

[132] There are some differences with the Flügel text; the verses are taken from the Beatty MS. For a better understanding of this first couplet, see Rā'ī, *Shi'r*, p. 132 (25); Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 72.

[133] For a better understanding of this couplet, see Rā'ī, *Shi'r*, p. 140 (59).

[134] This story casts much light on medieval education. As a disciple or apprentice of the great grammarian al-Aṣma'ī, the younger man al-Athram was ambitious and successful. He was evidently teaching a class in poetry, not in a mosque or house, as was usual, but somewhere near his house, perhaps an open court. He tried to show

Meaning of the Simile

Ya'qūb [ibn al-*Sikkīt*] said that if a camel is loaded and its burden becomes heavy, it will stretch out its neck and seek support with its chin (lean on its chin), but in so doing it will gain no relief. So it is compared with a man who undertakes something or to whom something happens from which he shrinks, and he seeks the aid of one weaker than himself. This is the simile.

Al-Athram died during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; The Strange in the Ḥadīth.

Account of al-*Jarmī*

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khazzāz*: "Abū 'Umar Ṣāliḥ ibn Isḥāq al-Bajilī [al-Jarmī] was a protégé of Bajīlah ibn Anmār ibn Irāsh ibn al-Ghawth, brother to al-Azd ibn al-Ghawth."[135] Abū *Sa'īd* said that he [al-Jarmī] was a protégé of Jarm ibn Rabbān, Jarm being one of the Arab tribes from al-Yaman.

He learned grammar from al-*Akhfash* and others, studying the *Book* of *Sībawayh* with al-Akhfash. Although he met *Yūnus* ibn Ḥabīb, he did not meet Sībawayh. He learned about language from Abū *Zayd*, al-*Aṣma'ī*, and their associates. Abū al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad said, "He was a protégé of Bajīlah ibn Anmār." Al-Jarmī died ———.[136] Among his books there were:

Joy (Al-Farah) (*or* Al-Faraj *or* Al-Farkh); Structures (Al-Abnīyah);[137] Prosody; Abridgment of the Grammar of the Learned; The Strange in Sībawayh;[138] Al-Qawāfī;[139] The Dual and the Plural; Structures and Inflection.

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off at the expense of the Shaykh Ibn al-Sikkīt, the tutor of the caliph's son and a man of dignity. Tha'lab was a younger man, but one of the great scholars of his generation. His efforts to keep al-Athram from being rude failed. Al-Athram tried to show his pupils that he knew more lines of poetry than his senior, and was so conceited that he went into his house when Ibn al-Sikkīt accused him of making an erroneous quotation.

[135] For these tribes see Mas'ūdī, III, 148, 216.

[136] Al-Jarmī died A.H. 225 (A.D. 840). The date is omitted in the Arabic text.

[137] Perhaps connected with a book of this name by Sībawayh.

[138] The Flügel text has *Commentary on the Strange in Sībawayh.*

[139] This title and the two which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

Account of al-*Māzinī*

His name was Bakr ibn Muḥammad and he was from the tribe of the Banū Māzin ibn Shaybān ibn Dhuhl ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Ukābah ibn Ṣa'b ibn 'Alī ibn Bakr ibn Wā'il. His father was *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb, a grammarian and reader [of the Qur'ān], mention of whom has already been made in the account of Abū Sawwār al-*Ghanawī*. Al-W*āthiq* brought al-Māzinī from al-Baṣrah because of a poem sung by a slave girl in the following way:

> Is not, oh, tyrant, thy evil treatment of a man
> Who has greeted thee with a salutation injustice?[140]

When he [al-Māzinī] reached Sāmarrā and, entering into the presence of al-Wāthiq, gave the verse its correct grammatical form, it happened to be in accordance with the opinion of al-Wāthiq, who bestowed upon him by the hand of *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Duwād five thousand silver coins (s., *dirham*) and sent him home to al-Baṣrah. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Alif (The A) and the Lām (the L); Declension (Conjugation); Prosody; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj), contradicting the book of Abū *'Ubaydah*; How the Populace Errs in Speaking;[141] Al-Qawāfī.

Account of al-*Tawwazī*

Our shaykh Abū *Sa'īd*, may Allāh be merciful unto him, said that his [Tawwazī's] name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Hārūn. According to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Wadā'* ibn al-Faḍl al-Asadī of the Quraysh, quoting Abū *Sa'īd*, he was a protégé of the Quraysh surnamed Abū Muḥammad.

He studied (read) with al-*Aṣma'ī*, quoted Abū *'Ubaydah* and other authorities, and mastered the *Book* of *Sībawayh* under Abū 'Umar

[140] For the Banū Māzin ibn Shaybān Tribe, see "Māzin," *Enc. Islam*, III, 433. In the story which follows, al-Wāthiq (caliph A.D. 842–47) was in his palace city at Sāmarrā. His slave girl, who had been trained to recite poetry by the great scholar al-Māzinī, recited the word of a poem in a way which the caliph believed to be correct. When his scholars disagreed with him, he sent for al-Māzinī to come to Sāmarrā from al-Baṣrah. The caliph was pleased when al-Māzinī said that the girl had been correct. Authorities differ about the author of the poem and Flügel gives some errors in his version. For this incident, see Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 92; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 202; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 382; Khallikān, I, 265.

[141] This title and the one following it are not in the Beatty MS.

al-*Jarmī*. Abū ʿAlī al-*Ṣaffār* told us what he claimed to be true, saying:

Muḥammad ibn Yazīd [al-*Mubarrad*] said to us, "In the presence of *ʿUmārah* ibn ʿAqīl ibn Bilāl ibn Jarīr, I read to Abū Muḥammad al-*Tawwazī* a selection from *Jarīr* beginning:

The dove was happy in the trees exciting me;
For a long time may thou tarry in the branches and the forest verdure,

until I came to this line:

But the heart remaineth bound by longing
For Jumānah or Rayyā, the Barren Place (*al-ʿĀqir*).

"Then ʿUmārah, having Abū ʿUbaydah in mind, said to al-Tawwazī, 'What would your master say?' Al-Tawwazī replied, 'That they are two women [referring to Jumānah and Rayyā].' 'Umārah laughed, saying, 'These two, by Allāh, are two sandy places to the right and left of my house!' Then al-Tawwazī said to me,'Write down what he said.' "

He [al-Mubarrad] continued, "I refused out of respect for Abū ʿUbaydah, but he [al-Tawwazī] said, 'Write, for if Abū ʿUbaydah were present, he would accept this interpretation, as it is about the man's own house.' "[142]

Al-Tawwazī learned so much from al-Aṣmaʿī that he was called [al-Aṣmaʿī] after him. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Similes (Proverbs); Contraries (Opposites); Horses, Racing Them, Their Ages (Teeth), Their Young, Their Eyes, Exercising Them, and Which One Is Named for Its Mare; Faʿaltu wa-Afʿaltu; Rare Forms.

Account of al-*Ziyādī*

Abū *Saʿīd*, to whom may Allāh be merciful, said, "He was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sufyān ibn Sulaymān ibn Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād ibn Abīh. He was a pupil of (read with) al-*Aṣmaʿī* and other scholars and, although he studied the *Book* of *Sībawayh*, he did not finish it." Among his books there were:

An Exposition of the "Book" of Sībawayh; Similes (Proverbs); Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs]; The Writing of Historical Traditions; Names of the Clouds, the Winds, and the Rains.

[142] This passage should be compared with the poet's anthology; see Jarīr, *Sharḥ Dīwān*, pp. 304, 305. ʿUmārah knew all about Jumānah and Rayyā al-ʿĀqir, as he was a great-grandson of the poet Jarīr, probably brought up in the old family home.

Account of al-*Riyāshī*

He was Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās ibn al-Faraj, a protégé of *Muḥammad* ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī. Riyāsh was a member of the Judhām Tribe[143] and, as the father of al-'Abbās [al-Riyāshī] was his [Riyāsh's] slave, the name derived from Riyāsh was attached to him.

He was a scholar of language and poetry who quoted al-*Aṣma'ī* copiously, also quoting other authorities. Abū al-*Fatḥ* Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Naḥwī (the Grammarian) said that al-Riyāshī studied the first half of the *Book* of Sībawayh as a pupil of al-*Māzinī*.

Abū *Sa'īd* related to us, saying:

Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* said to us, "When I saw a *warrāq* of al-Baṣrah reading [aloud] the book of logic by Ibn al-*Sikkīt*, some people of al-Kūfah being present, I asked al-Riyāshī, who was sitting among the *wārraqūn*, 'What did he [Ibn al-Sikkīt] say?' [Al-Riyāshī replied,] 'He said, "We learned about language from *Ḥarashat* al-Ḍibāb and *Aklat* al-Yarābī', who derived a knowledge of language from the inhabitants of al-Sawād: *akalah al-kuvāmīkh*, *al-shawārīz*, and similar words." ' "[144]

With reference to the year during which al-Riyāshī died, Abū Sa'īd said, "Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* told us that it was the year two hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 870/71]." Among his books there were:

Horses; The Camel; How the Names[145] Differ from the Words of the Arabs.

Account of Abū Ḥātim al-*Sijistānī*

Abū *Sa'īd* said, "His name was Sahl ibn Muḥammad. He quoted copiously from Abū *Zayd*, Abū *'Ubaydah*, and al-*Aṣma'ī*, being himself a scholar of language and poetry." Abū al-'Abbās al-*Mubarrad* related that he heard him say, "I read (studied) the *Book* of *Sībawayh* twice with [as a pupil of] al-*Akhfash*."

He had an excellent knowledge of prosody, was a prolific writer of books about language, or it is said poetry,[146] and was accurate in

[143] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 225.

[144] These words from the dialects of southern 'Irāq cannot be identified.

[145] In the Arabic of the Beatty MS the *hamzah* is omitted, but the word given evidently means "names" or "nouns."

[146] Perhaps this phrase should be translated as "with the speech of poetry." One of the letters is unclear in the Arabic text, making the meaning uncertain.

quoting. Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd* depended upon him in connection with linguistics.[147] It has been told to me that he died during the year fifty-five [A.H. 255: A.D. 868/69] on a day of rain. *Sulaymān* ibn al-Qāsim, the brother of *Ja'far* ibn al-Qāsim, prayed for him when he was buried to the right of the place of prayer of Ḥayyāl al-Mayl. Among his books there were:

How the Populace Errs in Speaking; Birds; Masculine and Feminine; Plants;[148] The Shortened and the Lengthened; Differentiation;[149] [Qur'ānic] Readings; Stopping and Starting; Eloquence of Style; The Palm Tree; Contraries (Opposites); Bows, Arrows, and Archers; Swords and Spears; Planting and Going the Rounds at Night;[150] Wild Beasts; Creeping Things; Spelling; Planting; The Disposition of Man; Incorporation of Letters [to make a double letter]; First Milk after Giving Birth, Curds, and Milk; Generosity; Winter and Summer; Bees and Honey; The Camel; Herbs and Vegetables; Agreement [when one word follows another without altering the sense of the phrase]; Fertility and Drought; Contradictions of the Manuscripts [of the Qur'ān]; Locusts;[151] Yearning for the Homeland; Heat and Cold, Sun and Moon, Night and Day; The Difference between the Sons of Adam and All the Animate Creatures.

Account of al-*Mubarrad*[152]

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khazzāz*, that:

The name of al-Mubarrad was Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Akbar ibn 'Umayr ibn Ḥasanān ibn Sulaym ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Durayd ibn Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bilāl ibn 'Awf ibn

[147] The following sentence is found at this point in the Flügel edition and in the margin of the Beatty MS: "Ibn Durayd said, 'He was accomplished with books, clever and intelligent in explaining obscure passages.' "

[148] The Flügel text has *Trees and Plants.*

[149] This title is written twice in the Beatty MS.

[150] This title is not in the Flügel text. In the Beatty MS it seems to be *Al-Zar' wa-al-Jawasān*, which gives the idea of planting and guarding the crops at night.

[151] Omitted from the Beatty MS.

[152] The Beatty MS gives al-Mubarrid, but in most of the translation the usual spelling, al-Mubarrad, is used. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137, says that al-Māzinī gave this man the nickname "Mubarrid" (meaning "cool-headed in establishing the truth"), but the scholars of al-Kūfah changed it to "Mubarrad" ("chilly"), the name by which the grammarian is known.

Aslam ibn Aḥjan ibn Ka'b ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn al-Azd, al-Azd said to be the son of al-Ghawth. Our shaykh, Abū *Sa'īd*, said that:

Our shaykh, Abū *Sa'īd*, said that:

After the generation of al-*Jarmī* and al-*Māzinī*, grammar passed on to Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Azdī al-Thumālī [al-*Mubarrad*], who was descended from the Thumālah, a subtribe of al-Azd.[153] He learned grammar from al-Jarmī, al-Māzinī, and other scholars, developing the work of al-Māzinī.

It is said that he [al-Mubarrad] started studying the *Book* of *Sībawayh* with al-Jarmī, but completed it with al-Māzinī. In the handwriting of al-*Ḥakīmī* [there is the following quotation] from the book *Device of the Men of Letters*, which says:

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn al-Qāsim said, "Al-Mubarrad was one of the Sūraḥūn[154] of al-Baṣrah who sweep the grounds. He was called 'Ḥayyān al-Sūraḥī,' but as he traced his lineage to al-Yaman, al-Mubarrad married the daughter of al-*Ḥafṣā* al-Mughannī, this Ḥafṣā being a noble man (*sharīf*) of the people of al-Yaman."

Abū Sa'īd said:

According to what Abū Bakr ibn al-*Sarrāj* and Abū 'Alī al-*Ṣaffār* have told us about him [al-Mubarrad], his birth was during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26] and he died in the year two hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 898/99], when he was seventy-nine years old.

It is also said that his birth was during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23]. Al-*Ṣūlī* [Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā] said, "I heard him say that." He was buried in the cemetery of the Kūfah Gate. Among his books there were:

Al-Kāmil (The Complete);[155] The Garden; Improvisation; Etymology; Al-Anwā' and the Seasons; Al-Qawāfī; Penmanship and Spelling;

[153] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 288.

[154] As this sect does not occur in Shahrastānī, Baghdādī, Mas'ūdī, and other reference books, it is probably some local group at al-Baṣrah. The Beatty MS, which has been followed here, gives the idea that it was a band who were sweepers.

[155] Recent Arabic editions of this famous book have been published by Dār al-Kutub and Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr in Cairo, and there is also the older edition put out by Kreysing of Leipzig in 1864.

Introduction to *Sībawayh*; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, known as Kitāb al-Tāmm (Entirety); Proving the Readings [methods of reading the Qur'ān]; Explanation of the Arguments of the "Book" of *Sībawayh*; Necessity of Poetry; The Training of an Examiner;[156] The Letters in the Meaning of the Qur'ān to "Ṭā'(Ṭ) Hā'(H)";[157] The Meaning of the Attributes of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Praiseworthy and Vile; Pleasing Gardens; Names of the Calamities among the Arabs; The Compendium—he did not finish it; Consolation.

Embellishment; Thorough Searching of the "Book" of *Sībawayh*;[158] Thorough Searching of "Kitāb al-Awsaṭ" of al-*Akhfash*;[159] Prosody; An Explanation of the Words of the Arabs, Rescuing Their Pronunciation, Coupling of Their Words, and Relating Their Meaning; How the Pronunciations of the Qur'ān Agree, Though Their Meanings Differ; The Generations of the Grammarians of al-Baṣrah, with Accounts about Them; The Complete Epistle;[160] Refutation of Sībawayh; The Principles of Poetry; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'ān; Exhortation for Morality and Truth; Qaḥṭān and 'Adnān [the basic Arab tribes]; The Excess Deleted from Sībawayh; Introduction to Grammar; Inflection (Declension); The Speaker (The Rational Being); Superior and Distinguished;[161] Explanation of the Names of Allāh the Almighty; The Letters; Declension (Conjugation).

Among the Transcribers of al-*Mubarrad*[162]

Ibn al-*Zajjājī*, whose name was Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad, and al-*Shāshī*, whose name was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad.

Abū *Sa'īd*, may Allāh have mercy for him, said, "In his [al-Mubarrad's] time there appeared a group interested in the *Book* of

[156] This probably refers to a scholar trained to examine old poems and tribal vernaculars.

[157] *Ṭā' hā'* are the letters which begin Sūrah 20.

[158] The word used in the Beatty MS seems to be *qa'r* ("thorough searching"), followed in the translation, although Flügel gives the word as *ma'na* ("meaning").

[159] For *Kitāb al-Awsīṭ fī al-Naḥw* of al-Akhfash (the Middle), see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 244.

[160] This title and those following are in the Flügel edition but not in the Beatty MS.

[161] This is perhaps a misprint, meant to be instead the grammatical forms *Al-Fā'il wa-al-Maf'ūl*.

[162] The word translated as "transcribers" is an unusual form, but it probably refers to the two men mentioned in the first phrase, who copied al-Mubarrad's manuscripts. The other persons mentioned under this heading were not transcribers.

Sībawayh, but they did not have (produce) a book equal to his, I mean to that of al-Mubarrad.[163] An example [of those interested in Sībawayh] was Abū *Dhakwān* al-Qāsim ibn Ismā'īl. Abū Dhakwān wrote a book, *The Meaning of Poetry*, which was quoted by Ibn *Durustūyah*. He happened to go to Sīrāf at the time of al-Zanj.[164] He was erudite, an authority on historical tradition, and the member of a group [of scholars]. Al-*Tawwazī* was the husband of the mother of Abū Dhakwān.

[Another] example was *'Ubayd* ibn Dhakwān, surnamed Abū 'Alī, who lived at 'Askar Mukram[165] and among whose books there were *Contraries*,[166] *Reply of the Silencer*, *Oaths* (*Divisions*) *of the Arabians*. [Another] example was Abū *Ya'lā* ibn Abī Zur'ah, a friend of al-*Māzinī*, who was eminent, a scholar of grammar and language, and trustworthy in his quoting. One of his written books was *A Compendium of Grammar*, which he did not finish.

Among the Scholars of al-Baṣrah

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustum ibn Yazdibān al-*Ṭabarī*, who belonged to the generation of Abū *Ya'lā* ibn Abī Zur'ah. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Form of the Hamzah; Declension (Conjugation); Grammar.

An Example [of Those Interested in Sībawayh]: Al-*Ushnāndānī*

He was surnamed Abū 'Uthmān and was quoted by Abū Bakr ibn *Durayd*, whom he met at al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry; Verses (Tents) of the Arabs.

[163] This evidently refers to *Al-Kāmil*, the first title in the list of books in the account of al-Mubarrad.

[164] For Sīrāf, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 211. For the Zanj Rebellion, see Glossary.

[165] A well-known town of southern Persia; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 676–77.

[166] This title is not included in the Beatty MS. On the margin the following note is inserted: "Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Marwān quoted through Abū Dhakwān the book *Opposites* from al-Tawwazī." This evidently refers to *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* of al-Tawwazī.

An Example: Al-*Mabrimān*

He was Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl, surnamed Abū Bakr, who was one of the people of al-ʿAskar.[167] He had a dialogue with Abū *Hāshim* about instruction for explaining *Sībawayh*, which with the desire and help of Allāh we shall mention.[168] Among his books there were:

The Letters ʿAyn (Eyes, Springs); Grammar Compounded according to the Weak Letters; An Explanation of the "Book" of Sībawayh, which he did not complete; An Explanation of the Arguments (Proofs) of the "Book" of Sībawayh; The Illustrious Book of Streams (Events);[169] Description of Thanks to the Beneficent.

Account of al-*Zajjāj*

He was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sārī (Surrī) al-Zajjāj, the first pupil (leading disciple) of al-*Mubarrad*, with whom he studied. Whoever, moreover, wished to become a pupil of al-Mubarrad first of all explained to him [al-Zajjāj] what he wished to study. Later al-Zajjāj rose higher to be with *ʿUbayd* Allāh ibn Sulaymān [the vizier] and then with [the Caliph] al-*Muʿtaḍid*, whose children he taught.

The reason for his connection with al-Muʿtaḍid was that some of the court companions described for al-Muʿtaḍid the book *Compendium of Speech*, which Maḥbarah al-Nadīm wrote. The name of Maḥbarah was *Muḥammad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī ʿAbbād, surnamed Abū Jaʿfar. The name of Abū *ʿAbbād* was Jābir ibn Zayd ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-ʿAskarī. He [Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā] was highly cultured and a court companion of al-Muʿtaḍid.[170] When he composed his book in the form of tables, al-Muʿtaḍid ordered [his vizier] al-*Qāsim* ibn ʿUbayd Allāh to find out who could explain these tables. So he [al-Qāsim] sent to *Thaʿlab*, exposing the matter (problem), but he [Thaʿlab] did not undertake the solution of the tables, saying, "I am not acquainted with this problem, but if you wish [me to work

[167] For al-ʿAskar, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 676–77.

[168] This sentence is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[169] This is probably *al-majārī*, which usually means "streams" or "events," but here may have a more technical meaning. It could be *al-majāzī* ("metaphorical").

[170] It is not perfectly clear to whom the pronouns refer, but it seems logical to interpret the passage as translated.

on] *Kitāb al-'Ayn* [of al-Khalīl], it is available, and there is no quoting (public presentation) of it." Then he [al-Qāsim] wrote to al-Mubarrad, asking him to explain it [the *Compendium of Speech*], but he answered that the book was a long one, involving labor and toil, whereas he had grown old, with resulting weakness. But [he said], "If you will turn it over to my friend Ibrāhīm ibn Sarī [al-*Zajjāj*] I hope that he can accomplish the task." Al-Qāsim neglected to mention al-Zajjāj to al-Mu'taḍid until al-Mu'taḍid pressed him. Then he informed him of what Tha'lab and al-Mubarrad had said and that the matter should be entrusted to al-Zajjāj. Al-Qāsim did this [referred the commentary to al-Zajjāj][171] and al-Zajjāj said, "Although I do not yet have the manuscript and have not yet seen the tables, I will undertake the work."

When, therefore, he ordered him to work on two parts,[172] al-Zajjāj borrowed books about language from Tha'lab, al-Sukkarī, and others, because he did not know much about language. He interpreted all of two parts, having it written in the handwriting of al-*Tirmidhī* al-Saghīr Abū al-Ḥasan. After he had bound it and brought it to the vizier, the vizier took it to al-Mu'taḍid, who was delighted with it and ordered that three hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*) should be bestowed upon him. He also commanded him to write a commentary on the entire book. When al-Zajjāj had finished this, no manuscript was issued to any place other than the library of al-Mu'taḍid.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: This commentary appeared during the misfortunes of the sultan, apart by itself. We saw it and it was on fine paper.[173] It is said that because of it al-Zajjāj received a high position, there being assigned to him an allowance among the court companions, an allowance among the legal authorities, and an allowance among the scholars—about three hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*).

[171] The Beatty MS clearly implies this insertion.

[172] The Beatty MS, differing from Flügel here, gives *al-thunā'ī*. In this spot, the word may mean "two parts" or "half," although it more often means "double," or has some technical signification.

[173] This manuscript may have been saved from the palace library when Aḥmad ibn Buwayh took Baghdād and blinded the caliph A.D. 945/46, or else when al-Mu'taḍid died, probably due to poisoning.

Al-Zajjāj died on Friday, the eleventh night from the end of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the eighteenth day of the sixth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and ten [A.D. 922/23]. Among his books there were:

What He Explained in the "Compendium of Speech";[174] Meaning of the Qur'ān; Etymology; Al-Qawāfī; Prosody; Differentiation; The Disposition of Man; The Disposition of the Horse; Abridgment of Grammar; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; What Is Inflected and What Is Not Inflected; Commentary on the Verses of *Sībawayh*; Rare Forms.

Account of Ibn *Durayd*

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Duraydī*, who was one of his young men especially attached to him, said, "Abū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], to whom may Allāh show mercy, said to me, 'I was born at al-Baṣrah on Ṣāliḥ Street (Sikkat Ṣāliḥ) during the year two hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 837/38].'"

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Durayd ibn 'Atāhiyah ibn Ḥantam ibn Ḥasan, the son of Ḥamāmī, whose name came from that of a village in the region of 'Umān called Ḥamāmā and who was the son of Jarw ibn Wāsi' ibn Wahb ibn Salamah ibn Jusham ibn Ḥādir ibn Jusham ibn Ẓālim ibn Ḥādir ibn Asad ibn 'Adī ibn 'Amr ibn Mālik ibn Fahm ibn Ghānim ibn Daws ibn 'Adnān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn Azd ibn al-Ghawth. After living at al-Baṣrah he [Ibn Durayd] went to 'Umān, where he dwelt for a while. He moved on to Jazīrat Ibn 'Umārah, where he spent some time, and then went to live in Persia. Finally he came to Baghdād, where he settled down.[175]

He was learned in the language and poetry of the Arabs, for he studied with the scholars of al-Baṣrah, learning from men like Abū

[174] This was probably a commentary on the work of *Muḥammad* ibn Yaḥyā.

[175] The names of this genealogical series belong to tribes, which are dealt with in Ibn Durayd's own book, *Al-Ishtiqāq* (see Bibliography). His biography should be compared with the accounts in Khallikān, III, 37, and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, (6), 483. Ibn Durayd was born at al-Baṣrah about A.D. 838. When he was about 32 years old the Zanj Rebellion occurred, so he left home and spent some 12 years in 'Umān in southeastern Arabia. When the rebellion ended A.D. 883 and he was about 44 or 45 years old, he returned to al-Baṣrah. Perhaps Jazīrat Ibn 'Umārah was a suburb of al-Baṣrah, where the other biographies say he lived. Finally he went to Persia and then Baghdād.

Ḥātim [al-*Sijistānī*], al-*Riyāshī*, al-*Tawwazī*, and al-*Ziyādī*. Abū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], moreover, quoted the book *Musālamāt al-Ashrāf* (Gestures of Friendship of the Nobles), written by his paternal uncle al-*Ḥasan* ibn Muḥammad. He died at Baghdād during the year three hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 933/34], and was buried in the cemetery known as al-'Abbāsīyah on the east side to the rear of Sūq al-Silāḥ (the Weapon Bazaar).[176] Among his books there were:

Al-Jamharah (The Main Part, The Collection), about the science of language, which had diversities in its transcribing, with many additions and deletions, for he dictated some of it in Persia and also dictated some from memory at Baghdād. When the dictation was inconsistent, he added and subtracted. What he dictated to his pupils (young men) in Persia is known to be the beginning of the book, whereas the complete form, which is regarded as reliable, is the last transcription. The last person to make the transcription correct, in his copy, was Abū al-Fatḥ *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad the grammarian, who wrote it from a number of manuscripts and read it over with him [Ibn Durayd].[177]

Saddle and Bridle; Etymology (Al-Ishtiqāq);[178] Large Book of the Horse; Small Book of the Horse; Al-Anwā'; The Gathered; The Acquired; Errors in Speaking; Arab Pilgrims; What He Is Questioned about in Speech and Is Answered by Him from Memory—*'Alī* ibn Ismā 'īl ibn Ḥarb compiled it under his supervision (collected it from him); Languages (Vernaculars); Weapons; The Strange in the Qur'ān, which he did not complete; Training of the Scribe, similar to the book of Ibn *Qutaybah*—as he did not complete more than a rough draft, nothing resulted that can be relied upon; The Borrower of Passages (The Quoter);[179] The Jeweled Girdle; Fa'altu wa-Af'altu; Description of Clouds and Rain.

Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Duraydī* said to me:

I was present when Abū 'Alī ibn Muqlah [*Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī] and Ibn Ḥafṣ[180] were studying, with Abū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], the book of

[176] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 194.

[177] This book, which resembles a dictionary, was published in Hyderabad, India, 1926–27, with the title *Jamharat al-Lughah*.

[178] See Bibliography.

[179] This title and the ones following it are omitted in the Beatty MS.

[180] Flügel gives Abū Ḥafṣ, the Beatty MS gives Ibn Ḥafṣ. This man was perhaps some scholar of secondary importance, who lived during the last half of the ninth and the early tenth centuries.

al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah in which he refutes al-*Khalīl*. He [Ibn Durayd] was saying, "Abu Ṭālib [al-Mufaḍḍal] told the truth about one thing which he happened upon, but Abū Ṭālib made an erroneous statement about another matter." Then I saw this passage, which Ibn Ḥafṣ collected on about one hundred leaves, his version being mediocre.

Account of Ibn al-*Sarrāj*

Ibn *Durustūyah*, [surnamed] Abū Muḥammad, said:

He was one of the brightest of the young men of al-*Mubarrad*, with sharpness of intellect and quickness to comprehend. Al-Mubarrad was fond of him, keeping him near him, explaining things to him, meeting him in private and social gatherings, and enjoying his company.

He went on to say:

One day I saw Ibn al-Sarrāj when he had joined al-*Zajjāj*, being transferred to him [as a pupil] after the death of al-Mubarrad. As some man asked al-Zajjāj about a certain matter, he said to Ibn al-Sarrāj, "Answer him, oh, Abū Bakr!" He [Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj] replied to him making a mistake. Then al-Zajjāj stopped him saying, "By Allāh, if I were at home I'd beat you, but the people here won't stand for that. We were just comparing you for brightness and quick understanding with al-*Ḥasan* ibn Rajā' and then you make a mistake over this sort of a question!" So he [Ibn al-Sarrāj] answered, "You've beaten me, oh, Abū Isḥāq [al-Zajjāj], and you've trained me, but I've been neglecting what I studied while reading this book"—he meant the *Book* of *Sībawayh*—"because I've been diverted from it by logic and music, but now I'm going back [to Sībawayh and grammar]." He did return, writing the books which he composed and causing the leadership to fall to him after al-Zajjāj passed away.

He died in the year ———.[181] Among his books there were:

The large book, Roots (Fundamentals);[182] Collection of Roots; The Small Compendium; Etymology; Commentary on *Sībawayh*; Proving of Readings [arguments for ways of reading the Qur'ān]; Poetry and the Poets; Winds, Air, and Fire; The Camel; Sequences in Historical Traditions and Reports.[183]

[181] The date of his death, omitted in the manuscript, was A.D. 929.

[182] This probably refers to the roots or origins of words.

[183] Here *muwāṣalāt*, translated as "sequences," may refer to unbroken sequences in handing down traditions, or else to conjunctions used in relating traditions.

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā al-*Rummānī* said, "When Ibn al-Sarrāj was present, his book which he wrote about roots was mentioned and some speaker said that it was better than the book *Improvisation* (*Al-Muqtaḍab*).[184] Abū Bakr [Ibn al-Sarrāj] replied, 'Don't say that,' and recited:

> But she wept first, and her weeping moved me to weep with her,
> And I said, the first one is the best one."[185]

Account of Abū Saʿīd al-*Sīrāfī*, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

The shaykh Abū *Muḥammad*, may Allāh strengthen him,[186] said to me:

Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Marzubān was of Persian origin. His birth was at Sīrāf, where he started his search for learning, but he left before he was twenty years old, going to ʿUmān. After engaging in legal work there he returned to Sīrāf, later moving to al-ʿAskar, where he dwelt for a time, and fell in with Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-*Ṣaymarī*, the theologian, with whom he associated and whom he liked best among all his friends.

He was an authority for the law according to the codes of the ʿIrāqī scholars, and was the successor of the judge Abū *Muḥammad* ibn Maʿrūf,[187] his grammar teacher, serving as a judge first on the East Side, then for both sides, and again for the East Side. The legal authority al-*Karkhī* used to meet with him and, being fond of him, formed for him a circle (class) in which he interpreted the law. His birth was before the year seventy [A.H. 270: A.D. 883/84] and he died between the first two nights of Rajab [the seventh Muslim month] during the year three hundred and sixty-eight [A.D. 978/79].[188] Among his books there were:

[184] This was a well-known book of al-Mubarrad.

[185] A more literal translation is "superiority is to the first."

[186] This was probably the shaykh Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Saʿīd, who was perhaps a son of Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī. The word "strengthen" is given in different forms in the Beatty MS and Flügel text.

[187] "His grammar teacher" is only in Flügel.

[188] Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī served as judge on different sides of the Tigris at Baghdād. The Flügel version gives his birth as before A.D. 903; the translation follows the Beatty MS, which is probably correct, as Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 221, says he interpreted the law for fifty years.

Commentary on *Sībawayh*; The Alfāt (The A's) at the End of a Line of Poetry and of Stopping; Accounts of the Grammarians of al-Baṣrah; The Origins, about grammar, three hundred leaves; Stopping and Starting;[189] The Art of Poetry and Good Style; Commentary on the "Maqṣūrah"[190] of Ibn *Durayd*.

Account of Ibn *Durustūyah*[191]

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Durustūyah met al-*Mubarrad* and *Thaʿlab*, from both of whom he received instruction. He was distinguished and learned in many of the sciences of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah, to whom he adhered with zealous loyalty. He wrote *A Refutation of al-*Mufaḍḍal *ibn Salamah* and *Consideration of "Kitāb al-ʿAyn."* He died some time after the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42].[192] Among his books there were:

Directions, about grammar; Guidance, a commentary on al-*Jarmī*; A Commentary on Eloquent Style; Training of the Writer (Scribe);[193] Al-*Mutammim*; Masculine and Feminine; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Spelling; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Meaning of Poetry; The Living and the Dead; The Mediation between al-*Akhfash* and *Thaʿlab* in Connection with the Meaning of the Qur'ān, with the Point of View of Abū Muḥammad [Ibn *Durustūyah*] with Regards to the Matter; Commentary on the "Mufaḍḍalīyāt," which he did not finish;[194] Commentary on the Seven, which he did not finish; Meaning in the

[189] This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.

[190] *Al-Fihrist* does not include this title in the list of books written by Ibn Durayd, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 489, gives as the title of one of his books *Kitāb al-Maqṣūr wa-al-Mamdūd* ("The Shortened and the Lengthened").

[191] See the Biog. Index for additional spellings of this name.

[192] The Beatty MS omits the date. The translation is taken from Flügel. Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 127, gives A.H. 347 (A.D. 958/59) as the year of the scholar's death.

[193] As part of this title the Beatty MS gives what must be either *al-mutmam* or *al-mutammin*, which would give the meaning *The Training of a Finished Scribe* (or *The Training of a Scribe Who Completes*). This translation follows Flügel, which gives *Al-Mutammim* as a separate title, in which case it may refer to the poet of that name; see Biog. Index.

[194] This refers to the famous anthology of poetry; see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 94, and the Bibliography under Mufaḍḍal. The title which follows must refer either to the Seven Readers of the Qur'ān, or else to the Muʿallaqāt (see Glossary).

Qur'ān, which he did not finish; Commentary on al-Shay', which he did not finish;[195] The Secrets of Grammar, which he did not finish; Commentary on "Al-Muqtaḍab," which he did not finish;[196] Criticism of the Book of Ibn al-*Rāwandī* about the Grammarians; Refutation of Barzakh al-'*Arūḍī*;[197] The Seasons (Ages), which he did not finish; Refutation of *Tha'lab* concerning "Disagreement of Grammarians";[198] An Account and Explanation of *Quss* ibn Sā'idah; An Exposition of Speech and Its Structure,[199] which he did not finish.

Refutation of Ibn *Khālawayh* concerning the Whole and the Part; Refutation of Ibn *Muqsim* concerning his "Ikhtīyār";[200] Contraries (Opposites); Accounts of the Grammarians; Refutation of al-*Farrā'* concerning "Meaning";[201] Collection of Prosody; Argument for the [Qur'ānic] Reader; Explanation of the Poem of *Shubayl* ibn 'Azrah; his epistle to Najīḥ al-*Ṭūlūnī*, concerned with exalting Arabic; a statement to Ibn *Qutaybah* concerning "Mistakes of Scholars";[202] Refutation of Abū Zayd al-*Balkhī* concerning Grammar; A Refutation of Whoever Speaks of Supplementary Letters[203] and Says That There Is an Extra Letter in a Word; The Triumph of *Sībawayh* over All of the Grammarians—this book comprised a number [of sections] but he did not finish it; A Refutation of Whoever Has Transmitted "Kitāb al-'Ayn" from al-*Khalīl*; Controversy of Sībawayh with al-Mubarrad.[204]

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-*Rummānī*, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh[205] the Grammarian traces his origin to Sāmarrā, but was born at Baghdād during the year two hundred and ninety-six [A.D. 908/909]. He is one of

[195] *Al-shay'* probably signifies "the will" (of Allāh).

[196] *Al-Muqtaḍab* was a book written by al-Mubarrad.

[197] The first part of this name may be Nazraḥ instead of Barzakh.

[198] Title of a book by Tha'lab.

[199] Flügel gives *naqā'* ("purity"), which may be more correct than *banā'* ("structure").

[200] This title is not mentioned with Ibn Muqsim. Instead of a book, it may mean "freedom of will," as Ibn Muqsim was heretical in his thinking.

[201] This refers to the book of al-Farrā' entitled *Meaning of the Qur'ān*.

[202] Title of a book by Ibn Qutaybah.

[203] *Al-zawā'id* ("supplementary letters") are ten letters which can be added to the basic forms of Arabic words.

[204] This title is omitted by the Beatty MS.

[205] The Beatty MS omits "ibn 'Abd Allāh."

the most illustrious of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah and theologians of Baghdād, skilled in many of the studies (sciences) connected with the law, the Qur'ān, grammar, and theology, and prolific, moreover, in authorship and composition.

Most of the works which he composed were taken by dictation from him, being still extant at the time this book is being formed. We shall mention at this point his compositions concerning grammar, language, and poetry, but list his books on theology in their proper place, doing the same with the law.

Commentary on *Sībawayh*; Criticism of Sībawayh; Aims of the "Book" of Sībawayh;[206] Basic (Elemental) Questions in the "Book" of Sībawayh; Commentary on the "Introduction" (Al-Madkhal) [about grammar] of al-*Mubarrad*; Commentary on the Questions of al-*Akhfash*, the Younger and the Elder;[207] Commentary on the "Abridgment" of al-*Jarmī*;[208] Commentary on "The [Small] Compendium" of Ibn al-*Sarrāj*; Commentary on "The Alif (The A) and the Lām (The L)" by al-*Māzinī*; Declension (Conjugation); Spelling; Brevity in Grammar; The Subject in Grammar; the large book, Etymology; the small book, Etymology; The Alfāt (The A's) in the Qur'ān; Brevity of the Qur'ān; Commentary on the Book "Roots" by Ibn al-Sarrāj.[209]

Al-*Fārisī*, [surnamed] Abū 'Alī, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

He was al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār, the grammarian, who died before three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81].[210] Among his books there were:

Beneficial (Corrected) Questions, in which he refutes al-*Zajjāj*—it is known as The Neglected; Argument That the Seven Readers Were the Imams of the Cities, as Designated by Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn al-'Abbās ibn *Mujāhid*, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased; The

[206] The word "aims" (*aghrāḍ*) may be instead "expositions" (*a 'rāḍ*).

[207] The Arabic for "younger" and "elder" may indicate instead "small" and "large" commentaries. *Questions* ("*Masā'il*") is not included with the titles of the books of al-Akhfash the Elder, the Middle, or the Younger.

[208] The full title of this book by al-Jarmī is *Abridgment of the Grammar of the Learned.*

[209] The full title of this book is *The Large Book of Roots* ("*Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-Kabīr*").

[210] This date is omitted in the Beatty MS.

Recollection (Record); Elucidation in Grammar; Verses (Tents) of the Arabians;[211] Digest of Governing Words in Declension (Conjugation); Baghdādī Questions;[212] Ḥalabī Questions; Shirāzī Questions.

[211] This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.

[212] These three titles are written in small letters under the list of books. Before each title there are the words "and to him." The name "Baghdādī" is not written correctly. "Ḥalabī" refers to Aleppo. These titles were perhaps added by the same scribe who transcribed the Beatty MS, but after he had written down the original passage about al-Fārisī. It is also possible that the book titles were added at a later time by a different scribe.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist *with accounts of the scholars. This section includes accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah.*[1]

Thus saith Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: We discussed the scholars of al-Baṣrah first, because [scientific] knowledge of Arabic was derived from them and also because al-Baṣrah was established before al-Kūfah.[2]

Account of al-*Ru'āsī*

I read [something written] in the handwriting of Abū al-*Ṭayyib*, which stated that the name of al-Ru'āsī was Muḥammad ibn Abī Sārah, and that he was surnamed Abū Ja'far but called al-Ru'āsī because of the large size of his head. As he used to dwell at al-Nīl[3] he was also called al-Nīlī. He was the first scholar of al-Kūfah to write a book about grammar.

Tha'lab said, "Al-Ru'āsī was the teacher of al-*Kisā'ī* and al-*Farrā'*," Moreover, al-Farrā' said:

When al-Kisā'ī went to Baghdād, al-Ru'āsī said to me, "Al-Kisā'ī has gone and you are more steadfast than he is." When I [also] went to Baghdād, I saw al-Kisā'ī and asked him some questions connected with

[1] The Beatty MS contains the words, "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate," but Flügel omits them. The Beatty MS omits the words "the second chapter." For al-Kūfah, see Flügel in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 577.

[2] Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah were established as military camps. Al-Baṣrah became a town with buildings about A.D. 638 and al-Kūfah about A.D. 670. The first grammarian at al-Baṣrah lived during the seventh century, whereas al-Ru'āsī lived in the eighth century.

[3] A suburb of al-Kūfah near ancient Babylon; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 861.

al-Ru'āsī. When he answered me in disagreement with my point of view, I winked at a group of scholars from al-Kūfah who were with me. Then he said, "What's the matter with you? You haven't agreed [but] perhaps you're one of the people of al-Kūfah." I replied, "Yes." Then he said, "Al-Ru'āsī states thus and thus, but it is not correct. You have heard the Arabs say thus and thus," until he came to my question and I convinced him.

This al-Ru'āsī was a righteous man. Once al-Ru'āsī said, "Al-*Khalīl* sent to me asking for my book, which I sent to him. He read it and then wrote his own book."[4] It is [also] said that in the *Book* of *Sībawayh* there spoke al-Kūfī, meaning al-Ru'āsī.[5] Ibn *Durustūyah* said, "Tha'lab thought that al-Ru'āsī was the first of the grammarians of al-Kūfah to compose a book about grammar." He died ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Fayṣal (Judgment, Division), which many have quoted; The Diminutive [a form in grammar]; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, which is quoted to this day; the large book, Stopping and Starting; the small book, Stopping and Starting.

Account of *Mu'ādh* al-Harrā'

From [what is written in] the handwriting of Abū al-*Ṭayyib*, the brother of al-*Shāfi'ī*:

Mu'ādh al-Harrā' was the paternal uncle of al-*Ru'āsī*. He was Abū Muslim Mu'ādh al-Harrā', said to be surnamed Abū 'Alī, one of the protégés of *Muḥammad* ibn Ka'b al-Qaraẓī. His father called him Abū Muslim, but when he had a child, whom he named 'Alī, he was surnamed for him.

Mu'ādh was a friend of al-*Kumayt*, whom he advised to keep clear of *Khālid* [ibn 'Abd Allāh] al-Qasrī, saying, "He is strongly prejudiced against the Muḍarīyah." When al-Kumayt did not take his advice and Khālid arrested him, putting him in prison,[6] Mu'ādh lamented the occurrence, saying:[6]

[4] *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, the first Arabic dictionary.

[5] This may mean that in the *Book* of Sībawayh, Sībawayh said "al-Kūfī," meaning "al-Ru'āsī."

[6] Because a contemporary poet received a large gift for flattering Khālid, the governor of al-'Irāq, al-Kumayt also tried to flatter him. But Mu'ādh warned him that he belonged to the tribe of Muḍar, was a Shī'ī and an 'Irāqī, whereas Khālid belonged to a hostile tribe, was a Sunnī and a Syrian; see Khallikān, III, 371, 372.

I advised you, but if counsel goes too far for the advised,
it is rarely accepted;
You repudiated what was guidance for you and there distressed you
a disaster contrary to what you hoped for.
Thus there befell something different from what you desired,
contrary to it, with far-reaching and enduring affliction.

When his [Mu'ādh's] saying reached al-Kumayt he [al-Kumayt] wrote to him:

I see you as one offering water to the sea,
Bringing to the sand of Yabrīn[7] sand for trading.

Mu'ādh al-Harrā' lived until the days of the Barāmakah. He was born at the time of *Yazīd* ibn 'Abd al-Malik and died during the year in which the Barāmakah fell, which was the year one hundred and eighty-seven [A.D. 803]. He had children and grandchildren, all of whom died while he lived on. No books of his are known.

Account of al-*Kisā'ī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Uthmān, called Bahman ibn Fīrūz, said to have been surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was from al-Kūfah and learned from al-*Ru'āsī* and a group [of other scholars]. He went to Baghdād, where al-*Rashīd* placed him with his two sons, al-*Ma'mūn* and al-*Amīn*.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-*Ṭayyib*, stating that:

Al-Rashīd observed al-Kisā'ī without being seen by him. Al-Kisā'ī arose to put on his slippers, when he needed them for some purpose, but al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn got hold of them first and put them on for him. Then he kissed their heads and hands, making them promise not to do it again.[8] When al-Rashīd sat in his audience hall he said, "Who among the people is the most honored by service?" They replied, "The Commander of the Faithful [the caliph], may Allāh exalt him!" He said, "No, but rather al-Kisā'ī, for al-*Amīn* and al-*Ma'mūn* serve him." Then he told them the story.

[7] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 1005.

[8] Al-Kisā'ī was tutor to the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Handling shoes and slippers was regarded as a menial duty for slaves and humble servants.

It is said that when the disease of al-Kisā'ī became serious at al-Rayy, al-Rashīd began to visit him, constantly returning to him. One day he heard him [al-Kisā'ī] recite:

> Fate has made you settle in Dhū al-Nujayl,
> But it has been shown to me, as I swear by my father,
> that you shall not have Dhū al-Nujayl as a residence.
> Your abode should be in Dhū Baqar al-Ḥimā,
> But how can Dhū Baqar be compared with the
> place of pilgrimage (*al-muzdār*)?[9]

Al-Rashīd came out saying, "By Allāh, al-Kisā'ī has died." When they asked him, "How is that, oh, Commander of the Faithful?" he replied, "He told me that a nomad who was staying with him fell ill and, using this verse as an illustration, died while he was with him." It is said that al-Kisā'ī did die on that day.

He was called "al-Kisā'ī" because he used to attend the class of *Mu'ādh* al-Harrā' at which the others wore cloaks, whereas he wore a *kisā'* and mantle.[10] He died at al-Rayy in the year one hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 812/13], both he and Abū *Yūsuf* the Judge being buried on the same day. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of the Qur'ān; Abridgment of Grammar; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Numbers; the large book, Rare Forms; the medium-size book, Rare Forms; the small book, Rare Forms; Terminations and Connections in the Qur'ān; Disagreement of Numbers; Spelling; Nouns; Poems of Contention and Their Forms; Forms of Surnames in the Qur'ān; Letters.[11]

[9] The Beatty MS; the Flügel edition; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 198; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 141–42; and Tha'lab, *Majālis Tha'lab*, pp. 544–45, give these lines with variations. The couplet mentions two localities. For Dhū al-Nujayl, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 764 l. 20; for Dhū Baqar al-Ḥimā, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 699 ll. 19–21. *Al-muzdār* is a Persian word.

[10] In this sentence "cloaks" (*ḥulal*) very likely refers to costumes composed of shirt, inner robe, and large outer cloak. A *kisā'* was probably a short cloak over the shoulders. "Mantle" (*ridā'*) is in the Flügel version. In the Beatty MS there is instead a word which seems to be *rūrmādī;* it cannot be identified and may be a mistake. These names for garments signified different types of cloaks and mantles in different regions. For *kisā'*, see Khallikān, II, 238.

[11] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

Naṣr ibn Yūsuf

He was a friend of al-*Kisā'ī*, a grammarian and philologist, among whose books there were:

The Camel; The Disposition of Man.[12]

Among the Scholars of al-Kūfah

Abū al-*Ḥasan* al-Aḥmar, not Khalaf,[13] lived before and after al-Kisā'ī. He started ahead of him, studying under al-*Ru'āsī*, but reading [the Qur'ān] according to al-*Kisā'ī*. Among his books there were:

Declension (Conjugation); Sure Knowledge of the Masters of Literary Style.[14]

Among Their Scholars Also, and Those among Them Who Quoted

Khālid ibn Kulthūm al-Kalbī, who according to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī* handed down [traditions about] the poems and the tribes, being versed in the genealogies, surnames, and times of the people. He also wrote works about the poems and tribes. Among his books there were:

Poets Who Are Remembered; Poems of the Tribes, dealing with a number of tribes.

Account of al-*Farrā'*

Abū Zakarīyah ibn Ziyād al-Farrā', a protégé of the Banū Minqar Tribe, was born at al-Kūfah. According to [what is written in] the handwriting of *Salamah*, al-Farrā' was called al-'Absī. From [what is written in] the handwriting of al-*Yūsufī* [he was called] Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād ibn Qāwī-Bakht[15] ibn Dāwar ibn Kūdanār. According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Abū '*Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah:

[12] Second title not included in the Beatty MS.

[13] See Biog. Index, *Khalaf* ibn Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar. The Flügel text has Aḥmad, but the Beatty MS gives al-Aḥmar, which is correct.

[14] Second title not included in the Beatty MS.

[15] This name and the ones which follow are Arab transliterations of Persian names and probably inaccurate. Compare with Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 411.

Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said that the reason why al-Farrā' dictated his book about meaning [*Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*] was because a friend of his, '*Umar* ibn Bukayr, who was attached to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl,[16] wrote to al-Farrā', "The Emir al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl may ask me one question after another about the Qur'ān, which I shall be unable to answer. Do you think that you can collect some answers for me, or write a book, so that I can refer to what you have done?"

So al-Farrā' said to his associates,[17] "Meet together, so that I can dictate to you a book about the Qur'ān." Then he appointed a day for them and, when they came together, he joined them. There happened to be a man in the mosque who was accustomed to give the call to prayer and to read [the Qur'ān] to the people during worship.[18] So al-Farrā' turned to him, saying, "Recite the Fātiḥah of the Book,[19] so that we can explain it!" Then he went through the entire book, the man reading and al-Farrā' explaining.

Abū al-'Abbās [*Tha'lab*] said, "No one previous to him was his equal and I don't suppose anybody will surpass him." Abū al-'Abbās also said: "The reason why he dictated *Al-Ḥudūd* was because a number of the associates (students) of al-Kisā'ī came and asked him to dictate to them some verses about grammar, which he proceeded to do. At their third meeting some of them said to the others, 'If this kind of thing, which is like teaching grammar to small boys, continues, the best thing to do will be to get clear of him,' which they did. Then he became angry, saying, 'You asked me to hold a session (class), but when I took my seat you held back. By Allāh, I'll keep on dictating grammar, even if only two show up!' So he dictated this [book] for sixteen years. Never was there seen a book in his hand except once, when he was dictating the chapter 'Mulāzim' from a manuscript."[20]

Abū al-'Abbās [*Tha'lab*] also said, "Al-Farrā' held sessions for the people in his mosque next to his house, opposite to where al-*Wāqidī* lived." He also said, "Al-Farrā' used to philosophize in his compositions and literary works, so as to insert philosophical terms in his diction."

He [al-Farrā'] spent most of his time at Baghdād, where throughout his life he collected [fees]. Then, when it was the end of the

[16] The vizier of the Caliph al-*Ma'mūn*. He died A.D. 851.

[17] These associates were probably his students.

[18] Evidently al-Farrā' taught in a mosque near his house. It was the custom to give lessons in a mosque in medieval times.

[19] This is the opening sūrah of the Qur'ān.

[20] This probably refers to the sixth chapter of the book *Al-Ḥudūd*.

year he went to al-Kūfah, where he stayed for forty days among his people, to whom he distributed what he had collected, showing them kindness.

Nothing is quoted from his poetry except these verses which Abū Ḥanīfah al-*Dīnawarī* has quoted from al-*Ṭuwāl*:

Oh, governor over a *jarīb* of land, with nine doorkeepers,[21]
Seated in the midst of a ruin, in which he is served by a doorkeeper,
Never before have we heard of the doorkeeper of a ruin;
Eyes shall not disclose me to you at a door,
For one like me does not endure the repulse of doorkeepers.

While on his way to Makkah al-Farrā' died, during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23]. Among his books there were:

Meaning of the Qur'ān, which he composed for *'Umar* ibn Bukayr—four parts;[22] Splendor, which he wrote for *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir; Languages (Vernaculars); Noun Forms in the Qur'ān; The Plural and Dual in the Qur'ān; Stopping and Starting; The Excellent; Instrument for Writing; Rare Forms, quoted by *Salamah* and Ibn *Qādim*; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala;[23] The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine.

Titles of *Al-Ḥudūd*[24]

I copied them from [what was written in] the handwriting of *Salamah* ibn 'Āṣim in the following sequence:

The Arabians, about Arabic Roots; Al-Naṣb [form of relation] Derived from the Verb; The Definite and the Indefinite; Min wa-Rubb ('From'

[21] A *jarīb* is 144 square yards. The word here translated as doorkeepers is *ḥājib* (pl., *ḥujjāb*). The term is often translated as "chamberlain," but here evidently refers to the official who met people at the door and decided whether or not to give them access to the governor. Cf. the free translation in Khallikān, IV, 67.

[22] The Beatty MS omits "four parts."

[23] The Beatty MS omits this title and the two which follow. It also gives the sequence of titles somewhat differently from the order in the translation, which follows the Flügel edition.

[24] The Beatty MS gives "Titles of *Al-Ḥudūd*" as a subheading under al-Farrā', *Al-Ḥudūd* being a well-known book on grammar by al-Farrā'. *Ḥudūd* may be translated as "definitions"; *ḥadd* is the singular form. Each title is introduced by the word *ḥadd;* this word is omitted in the translation. The first title may be *Declension* (*Conjugation*) ("*Al-I'rāb*").

and 'Perhaps');[25] Numbers; Invariable and Variable (Mulāzamah wa-Ḥall);[26] Al-'Imād [a pronoun between the subject and predicate]; The Transitive Verb; In [a particle] and Its Sister Particle; Kay wa-Kay-la ('In Order that' and 'Lest'); Ḥattā ('Until,' 'So That'); Instigating (Al-Ighrā'); Al-Du'ā' (Calling, Addressing [as in prayer]); The Two Forms of Nūn (N), Heavy and Light;[27] Interrogation; Division; The Answer; Alladhī, Man, wa-Mā ('Who,' 'Who?,' and 'What'); Rubb wa-Kam ('Perhaps' and 'How Many?'); The Oath; Double and Dual;[28] The Call (Proclamation).

The Elegy; Al-Tarkhīm [dropping the last letter of a noun]; An ('That') Spelled with Alif (A); Idh, Idhā, and Idhan [forms of 'if']; What Does Not Mention Its Subject; Law ('If,' 'Notwithstanding') in Construction and Separate;[29] Narrative; Making the Diminutive; Al-Nisbah [form of relationship];[30] Spelling; Referring Back; Verb with Four Consonants; Verb with Three Consonants; A Word Declined from Two Places;[31] Making a Double Letter (Incorporation Together); Marking with a Hamzah; Structures; The Plural; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; The Interdiction; Stopping and Starting; What [Form] Is Current and What Is Not Current.[32]

Mention of Those Who Were Famous among the Associates of al-*Farrā'*[33]

Ibn *Qādim*

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Qādim was an associate of al-Farrā'. He taught al-*Mu'tazz* before he [al-Mu'tazz] became the caliph

[25] In the Beatty MS this title is not properly written.

[26] Flügel gives *mulāzamat rajl*, which is a legal term, and does not seem to belong to grammar. The Beatty MS is not clear, but suggests *mulāzamah wa-ḥall*, which might also be translated as "invariable and free to change."

[27] The Beatty MS omits "and light."

[28] The word given as "double" is not clearly written in the Beatty MS.

[29] This title is in the Beatty MS, where it is not clearly written. Flügel omits it.

[30] The Flügel text gives instead *Al-Tathnīyah* ("Forming the Dual").

[31] This word translated "declined" may be either *mu'rab* or *mu'arrab*. It might also mean "Arabicized," but here probably means "declined."

[32] For the word translated as "current," Flügel gives *yajzā*, implying substitution, whereas the Beatty MS has *yajrā*, giving the idea of being in use.

[33] The word translated as "associates" probably means "pupils." Although the name "Ibn Qādim" is not given as a separate title in the Arabic, as is the case with the two names which follow, these three were probably the pupils.

[A.D. 866]. When he did administer the caliphate he sent a messenger, who coming to him [Ibn Qādim] when he was an aged shaykh in his home, said, "I am a messenger of the Commander of the Faithful." He [Ibn Qādim] replied, "There is no Commander of the Faithful in Baghdād," meaning that they were seeking to appoint one. Then he [the messenger] said, "To the contrary, al-Mu'tazz has started to rule."

As al-Mu'tazz disliked him [Ibn Qādim] because of his harsh discipline, he feared the impulsiveness [of the caliph]. Accordingly, after saying to his family, "Peace be unto you," he set forth and did not return to them. This was during the year two hundred and fifty-one [A.D. 866]. Among his books there were:

Sufficiency, about grammar;[34] The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Abridgment of Grammar.

Salamah ibn 'Āṣim

Salamah ibn 'Āṣim, surnamed Abū Muḥammad, was an associate (pupil) of al-*Farrā'*, being a scholar of al-Kūfah. He was reliable in his quoting and an authority on grammar. He quoted all of the books of al-Farrā', without deviating from him, and died while conversing with him.[35] Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Vexed (Al-Malūl), about grammar.[36]

Al-*Ṭuwāl*

He was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. No book of his is known. Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, "Al-Ṭuwāl was keen in analyzing Arabic, Salamah had a good memory for quoting books, while Ibn Qādim had a good grasp of causes (defects)."[37]

[34] The Beatty MS leaves a space for this title; it was not filled in.

[35] At this point the Beatty MS has, badly written, what seems to be "died while conversing with him," whereas Flügel gives "Salamah died."

[36] The Beatty MS has *al-malūl* ("vexed"); Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 260, has *al-maslūk* ("passable"); while Flügel gives *al-ḥulūl*, which has many meanings, but here may either refer to what is necessary or inherent, or else to solving and making open.

[37] The word translated freely as "analyzing" is *bi-ilqā;* it is omitted by Flügel. The last word of the sentence is *'ilal*, which means both "causes" and "defects."

Account of Abū ʿAmr al-*Shaybānī*

The name of Abū ʿAmr was Isḥāq ibn Mirār—with an *i* after the *m*—al-Shaybānī. Abū ʿAmr was a protégé and teacher among the families of the Banū Shaybān Tribe and named after them because of their patronage or, as is also said, because of his presence among them and his tutoring of their children.

He quoted with a broad knowledge of language and poetry and was reliable in passing on traditions, having heard many things. Collections of the poems of all the tribes were obtained from him. He also had sons and grandsons who quoted his books. One of his sons was:

ʿ*Amr* ibn Abī ʿAmr

He [ʿAmr ibn Abī ʿAmr] quoted him [Abū ʿAmr al-*Shaybānī*] and learned from him, composing books about language. Among the books of ʿAmr ibn Abī ʿAmr there were:

Horses; Languages (Vernaculars); Rare Forms; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Strange in the Compositions.[38]

It is said that *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal used to persist in attending the session of Abū ʿAmr al-*Shaybānī*, taking down from him many of his traditions.[39] The judge Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Hāshimī* said:

ʿ*Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Qurshī passed down the tradition from al-*Ḥazunbal*, who said, "'*Amr* ibn Abī ʿAmr told us saying, 'When my father collected the poems of the Arabs, there were over eighty tribes. Everything that a tribe composed and made available for the people he copied in a manuscript, placing it in the mosque at al-Kūfah, until he had written over eighty manuscripts in his own handwriting.'"

Abū ʿAmr al-*Shaybānī* reached the age of one hundred and ten. He died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Yaʿqūb ibn al-*Sikkīt* said:

Abū ʿAmr died when he was one hundred and eighteen years old, but he kept on writing with his own hand until he died. Sometimes he used to borrow my book, although at that time I was only a boy who was learning from him and writing what was in his books.

[38] Last title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[39] The session was probably a class and the notes were written from dictation.

Ibn *Kāmil* said, "Abū 'Amr died on the day on which also died Abū al-'*Atāhīyah* and Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī*, during the year two hundred and thirteen [A.D. 828/29]." Among his compiled books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth, which was quoted by '*Abd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal from his father Aḥmad and in turn from Abū 'Amr; Rare Forms Known by the Jīm (the J); the large book, Rare Forms, in three manuscripts; The Palm; The Camel; The Disposition of Man; Letters;[40] Commentary on the book "Eloquent Style."

Account of al-*Mufaḍḍal* al-Ḍabbī

Abū al-'Abbās al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'lā ibn 'Āmir ibn Sālim ibn Abī al-Rizāl[41] was from the Banū Tha'labah ibn al-Sīd ibn Ḍabbah Tribe.[42] According to what is written in the handwriting of al-*Yūsufī*, he was called Ibn Abī Ḍabbī, and, in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*, he was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

It is said that he joined the revolt of *Ibrāhīm* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan and that, although [the Caliph] al-*Manṣūr* defeated him, he pardoned him, so that al-*Mahdī* took him into his service. For [the Caliph] al-Mahdī he compiled the anthology of poetry entitled *Al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, containing one hundred and twenty-eight poems. These poems have been added to, selected, and rearranged before and behind, according to the ways they have been quoted. The correct version was handed down by Ibn al-*A'rābī*, the manuscript beginning with [a poem of] Ta'abbaṭa Sharran [*Thābit* ibn Jābir]:

Oh, habitual time of grief, how great with thee are
passion and sleeplessness
And the knocking [on the memory] of a ghost
of [former] fearfulness.[43]

[40] This title and the one which follows are in the Flügel edition, but not the Beatty MS.

[41] The Beatty MS suggests al-Rizāl. Flügel gives Ibn Rammāl, and Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 210, gives a different list of names.

[42] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 117; "Tha'laba," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 735.

[43] This is a free translation. See Mufaḍḍal, *Die Mufaddalijāt* (Thorbecke), p. 1 n., and Mufaḍḍal, *Al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (Lyall), p. 25.

Al-Mufaḍḍal died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Ikhtīyārāt, which we have mentioned;[44] Similes (Proverbs); Prosody; The Meaning of Poetry; Expressions.[45]

Account of Ibn al-*A'rābī*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ziyād al-A'rābī. I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, "I watched the class (sesssion) of Ibn al-A'rābī, which about a hundred people were attending. When he was asked questions and they studied (read) with him, he gave answers without using a manuscript (book)." He went on to say, "I was present with him for about ten years and never saw a book in his hand." He died at Surra Man Ra'ā (Sāmarrā) when he was over eighty years of age.

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] also said, "He dictated to the people what was deserving.[46] Never was anyone seen with a more abundant knowledge of poetry than he had." Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] said, "He was the most accomplished of men. He learned from al-*Qāsim* ibn Ma'n and heard (attended the lectures of) al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Muḥammad [al-Ḍabbī]." It was related that he was the stepson of al-Mufaḍḍal, to whom his mother was subject.

I read what was written in the handwriting of al-*Kūfī* as follows:

Tha'lab said, "I heard Ibn al-A'rābī say during the year two hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 839/40], 'I was born during the night when Abū *Ḥanīfah* died.' He [Ibn al-A'rābī] died in the year thirty-one [A.H. 231: A.D. 846] when he was eighty years, four months, and three days old."

Information about al-*Qāsim* ibn Ma'n: I mention him of necessity in this place because Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-A'rābī learned from him. He was al-Qāsim ibn Ma'n ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd, whom [the Caliph] al-*Mahdī* appointed as a judge. *Wakī'* said:

[44] The anthology entitled *Al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt.*
[45] Not found in the Beatty MS.
[46] There is a variation in the texts.

Al-Qāsim was one of the most intelligent of men in all realms of culture. He had a fine vigor, discussing the Ḥadīth with its scholars, doctrine with its scholars, poetry with its scholars, history with its scholars, theology with its scholars, and genealogy with its scholars.[47] As he met with Abū *Ḥanīfah* someone said to him, "Do you like to be one of the young men attached to Abū Ḥanīfah?" He replied, "People can't meet with anyone in a way more profitable than meeting with Abū Ḥanīfah."

Ibn al-A'rābī died during the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46]. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms, which was quoted by a group [of scholars] among whom were al-*Ṭūsī*, *Tha'lab*, and others—some say there were twelve and some say nine quotations (transcriptions); Al-Anwā'; Description of the Palm; Horses; Praise of the Tribes; The Meaning of Poetry; Explanation of Similes (Proverbs); Plants; Pronunciations (Dialects); Genealogy of Horses; Rare Forms of the Inhabitants of Dabīr; Rare Forms of the Banū Faq'as;[48] Flies, which I saw copied in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*; Plants and Herbs.[49]

Ibn al-A'rābī quoted some linguistic authorities among the Arabians, including al-*Ṣamūtī*, al-*Kalbī*, and Abū al-*Muḥabbib* al-Raba'ī.

Thābit ibn Abī Thābit

He was Abū Muḥammad Thābit ibn Abī Thābit. The name of Abū Thābit was Sa'īd or, according to what is written in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*, the name of Abū Thābit was Muḥammad. He was a philologist who met with the Arabian scholars of language, learning from them. He was one of the important scholars of al-Kūfah, who died ———. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of Man; Differentiation; Interdicting and Calling;[50] Disposition of the Horse; Prosody;[51] Wild Animals; Digest of Arabic.

[47] The Beatty MS and the Flügel text differ on this sentence.

[48] Dabīr is a Persian village. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 547. The name is clearly written in the Beatty MS, but Flügel gives al-Zubayrīyīn. For the Banū Faq'as Tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111.

[49] Lacking in the Beatty MS.

[50] This may refer to augury and prayer, but more likely to calling down blessings.

[51] Omitted in the Flügel text.

Ibn *Sa'dān*

He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān al-Ḍarīr, a teacher of the common people and a [Qur'ānic] reader according to the method of *Ḥamzah*, later choosing his own system. His origin and stock were confused, but he was born at Baghdād and belonged to the school [of language study] of al-Kūfah. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46], on the Day of 'Arafah [ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥajjah, the last Muslim month]. Among his books there were: [*Qur'ānic*] *Readings*; *Digest of Grammar*. He also wrote some definitions similar to *Al-Ḥudūd* of al-*Farrā'*, but the people did not care for them.

Hishām al-Ḍarīr

He was Hishām ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh, a friend of al-Kisā'ī.[52] He wrote some definitions (*ḥudūd*), a number of which I have seen copied in the handwritings of Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī* and other scholars, but they were not popular. Among his books there were:

The Abridgment; Analogy (Al-Qiyās).

Al-*Khaṭṭābī*

He was surnamed Abū Muḥammad, his [real] name being 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb al-Khaṭṭāb (the Marriage Maker). He was one of the grammarians of al-Kūfah, known as al-Khaṭṭābī. Among his books there were:

The large book of grammar; the small book of grammar; The Weak Letters in Grammar; The Bases and Categories of Grammar.

Al-*Sarkhasī*

His name was 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Abū Ṭālib. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*, saying that he was a neighbor of *Hishām* al-Ḍarīr and that he used to sit (teach) in the mosque of al-Tarjumānīyah. Among his books there was the large book about grammar, which is no longer to be found.

[52] He was almost certainly a pupil of al-Kisā'ī.

Ibn *Mardān* al-Kūfī

He was Abū Mūsā 'Īsā ibn *Mardān*. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī* telling that he learned and quoted from Abū Ṭālib.[53] Among his books there was *Comparison of the Origins of Grammar* (*Analogy According to the Principles of Grammar*).

Al-*Karnabā'ī* al-Anṣārī

His name was Hishām ibn Ibrāhīm al-Karnabā'ī.[54] He was from Karnabā and learned from al-*Aṣma'ī* and others who were from among the scholars of al-Kūfah. He was surnamed Abū 'Alī and among his books there were:

Reptiles; Wild Animals; The Disposition of Horses; Plants.[55]

Account of Ibn *Kunāsah*

He was Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā, whose birth was during the year one hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 740/41]. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*, saying that he was Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Asadī, one of the inhabitants of al-Kūfah. Although he went to live at Baghdād, he derived his knowledge from the leaders of al-Kūfah. He also met some persons who quoted the poets and language scholars of the Banū Asad Tribe, among whom there were *Iazī*,[56] Abū al-*Mawṣūl*, and Abū *Ṣadaqah*, all belonging to the Banū Asad. From these he learned the poetry of al-*Kumayt*.

Ibn Kunāsah was the son of the sister of *Ibrāhīm* ibn Adham, the ascetic. He died at al-Kūfah the third night of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month] during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23]. He was a poet, among whose books there were:

Al-Anwā'; The Meaning of Poetry; Plagiarisms of al-*Kumayt* from the Qur'ān[57] and Other Sources.

[53] Probably al-*Sarkhasī*, or perhaps al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah al-*Ḍabbī*.

[54] The Flügel text gives al-Kirmānī, but the Beatty MS has al-Karnabā'ī, which is evidently correct. For Karnabā near al-Ahwāz, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 268.

[55] Last title not in the Beatty MS.

[56] The Beatty MS has a name that looks like Ḥuwā, whereas Flügel gives Jazī, who was an authority on tribal poetry.

[57] The word in the Beatty MS is not clearly written, but seems to be something other than "Qur'ān."

Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārik

He was Abū 'Uthmān Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārik al-Makfūf, a protégé of *'Ātikah*, who was a protégé of [the Caliph] al-*Mahdī* and the wife of al-*Mu'allā* ibn Ayyūb ibn Ṭarīf. Al-Mubārik was a captive from Tukhāristān and one of the scholars of al-Kūfah. He quoted them and also quoted Abū *'Ubaydah* of al-Baṣrah. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of Man; Wild Beasts; Similes (Proverbs); Contradictions, quoted from Abū *'Ubaydah*; The Two Lands, Water, Mountains, and Seas—I saw a portion of it written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*.

Al-*Ṭūsī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sinān al-Taymī, who was learned in the traditions of the tribes and the poems of preeminent men. He met with the shaykhs of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, most of his classes and study being with Ibn al-*A'rābī*. He had a son named ———, who followed in his footsteps in learning and memorizing. Al-Ṭūsī was hostile to Ibn al-*Sikkīt* because they both learned from *Naṣrān* al-Khurasānī and, after his death, disagreed about his writings. He left no written works.

Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim ibn Sallām

He was Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, said to be the son of Sallām ibn Miskīn ibn Zayd, Zayd being a porter. Abū 'Ubayd used to dye his head and beard with red henna, showing dignity and a fine appearance. After serving as tutor to the sons of al-*Harāthamah*, he became the judge of Ṭarsūs at the time of *Thābit* ibn Naṣr ibn Mālik, remaining with him and his son until he went to the district of *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir.

He was good and pious, modest and sound in judgment. He quoted Ibn al-*A'rābī*, Abū *Ziyād* al-Kilābī, al-*Umawī*, Abū 'Amr al-*Shaybānī*, al-*Kisā'ī*, and al-*Farrā'*, as well as some of the scholars of al-Baṣrah, among whom there were al-*Aṣma'ī*, Abū *'Ubaydah*, and Abū *Zayd*.[58] Whenever he wrote a book he presented it to *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, who bestowed great wealth upon him.

[58] Probably Sa'īd ibn Aws al-Anṣārī.

He died during the year two hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 838/39] at Makkah, while he was on the pilgrimage, on the point of starting for Baghdād. This was after he had composed the books which he wrote. I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Naḥwī* as follows:

I heard '*Alī* ibn Muḥammad ibn Sadaqah of al-Kūfah tell what *Ḥammād* ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm said, namely, "Abū 'Ubayd asked, 'Did you show my book, *The Strange in Composition*, to your father?' When I replied 'Yes,' he told me that there were in it two hundred incorrect letters. Then Abū 'Ubayd said, 'Two hundred incorrect letters are not very many for a book of this sort.'"[59]

Among the books of Abū 'Ubayd there were:

The Strange in Composition; The Strange in the Ḥadīth; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; Poets; The Shortened and the Lengthened; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Masculine and Feminine; Genealogy; Tales (News); The Training of the Judge; The Number of Verses in the Qur'ān; Oaths and Vows; Menstruation; Ceremonial Purity; Interdiction and Bankruptcy; Properties (Possessions); Similes in Use (Current Proverbs);[60] What Abrogates and Is Abrogated [in the Qur'ān]; Excellencies of the Qur'ān.

He also wrote some other legal books. Some of the associates of Abū 'Ubayd who quoted him and learned from him were:

'*Alī* ibn al-'Abd al-'Azīz
He died during the year two hundred and eighty-seven [A.D. 900].

Thābit ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥabīb
He was a protégé of '*Alī* ibn Rābaṭah, and quoted all of his [Abū '*Ubayd*'s] books.

Al-*Mash'arī*
His name was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wahb and he related, "I heard Abū 'Ubayd say, 'This book is dearer to me than ten gold

[59] The father of Ḥammād, *Isḥāq* ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, was the great expert for music and poetry at the caliph's court.

[60] This title and the two which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

coins (*s.*, *dīnār*).'" He continued, "Three times I asked for an explanation and he said, 'Truly it is dearer to me than ten thousand gold coins.'" He referred to *The Strange in Composition*, which according to what is reported has one thousand sections with one thousand two hundred verses as examples of poetry.

Naṣrān, the Teacher of Ibn al-Sikkīt

It is said that Ya'qūb ibn al-*Sikkīt* learned from him, as he was his teacher. Naṣrān said, "I studied the poetry of al-*Kumayt* with Abū Ḥafṣ '*Umar* ibn Bukayr." The books of Naṣrān were preserved (memorized) by Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-*Ṭūsī* heard them [read aloud].

Account of Barzakh al-'*Arūḍī*

Barzakh[61] memorized quotations, but was very untruthful in relating information about one person or another. *Yūnus* [ibn Ḥabīb] the grammarian said that Barzakh was not the best quoter, but he was the biggest liar. He was attached to al-*Faḍl* ibn Yaḥyā and a scholar of al-Kūfah, according to what I have read in the *Accounts of the Scholars of al-Kūfah*, written in the handwriting of Abū al-*Ṭayyib*, the brother of al-Shāfi'ī. Among his books there were:

Prosody, both the large and the small [books]; Building Words, which I saw on parchment; Refutation of al-*Khalīl*, Showing What Is Mistaken in "Kitāb al-'Arūḍ" (Book of Prosody); Explanation of the Strange; The Meaning of Prosody, according to letters with numerical value;[62] Prosody, the medium-size book.

Account of al-*Sikkīt* and His Son Ya'qūb

According to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*:

When al-*Kisā'ī* died, the associates (pupils) of al-*Farrā'* met together and asked him to teach them, saying "You are the most learned among us." Although he refused, they persisted with the request until he accepted. Then he needed to know their genealogies, so as to seat each one of them in accordance with the place due him. One of the persons whom he

[61] The Beatty MS has Nazraḥ, but Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 366 and the Flügel text give Barzakh, which is probably correct.

[62] This title and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

asked to state his lineage was al-Sikkīt. When he said, "What is your genealogy?" he replied, "I am from Khūzistān, may Allāh be good to you, from the village of Dawraq in the district of al-Ahwāz." Then al-Farrā' stayed at home for forty days, without appearing to any of his friends. When he was asked about this he replied, "Glory to Allāh, I am too bashful to see al-Sikkīt, for when I asked him about his lineage, although much of it was base, he told me the truth about it."[63]

Truly he was a learned man.

Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, "Ya'qūb ibn al-*Sikkīt* was accomplished in a variety of sciences." His father was a good man, one of the associates (pupils) of al-Kisā'ī, well versed in the Arabic language. He [the son Ya'qūb] said, "I know more about grammar than my father does, but my father knows more than I do about poetry and language."

Ya'qūb was surnamed Abū Yūsuf. He was one of the scholars of Baghdād who drew upon those of al-Kūfah for learning. He was tutor to the sons of [the Caliph] al-*Mutawakkil*, about whom he had anecdotes.[64] He was acquainted with the grammar of the scholars of al-Kūfah, as well as with Qur'ānic science and poetry. He met with the Arabians acquainted with language, learning from them and writing in his books what he heard them say.[65] He had his share of modesty and piety. It is said that al-Mutawakkil assigned an allowance to him until he died, during the year two hundred and forty-six [A.D. 860/61].

Ya'qūb had a son named *Yūsuf*, who was a court companion to [the Caliph] al-*Mu'taḍid*, to whom he was personally attached. Among his [Ibn al-Sikkīt's] books there were:

Pronunciations (Dialects); Logic;[66] Decoration; Investigation; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; the large book, Categories; Differentiation (Al-Farq);[67] Saddle and Bridle;

[63] Khallikān, IV, 294, tells this story about the son Ya'qūb rather than the father al-Sikkīt. A comparison of dates makes it clear that the account in *Al-Fihrist* is the correct one. For the village of Dawraq, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 618.

[64] This phrase may be "he had with him historical traditions."

[65] He probably met with tribesmen who knew their Bedouin poetry and explained the vernacular expressions in their tribal dialects.

[66] Flügel gives *Correction of Logic.*

[67] In the Beatty MS this title is repeated later in the list.

Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Creeping Things; Voices; Contraries; Trees and Plants; Wild Beasts; The Camel; Rare Forms; the large book, The Meaning of Poetry; the small book, The Meaning of Poetry; Plagiarisms of Poets and What They Agree Upon; Similes (Proverbs);[68] Permutation and Substitution [in grammar]; The Dual, the Undeclinable, and the Surnamed; Days and Nights; What Occurs in Poetry and What Is Removed from It.

Al-*Ḥazunbal*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Āṣim al-Tamīmī, a scholar and quoter, who quoted the book *Plagiarisms* of Ibn al-*Sikkīt*.

Account of Abū '*Aṣīdah*

He was Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Nāṣiḥ, a scholar of al-Kūfah, who was quoted by *Qāsim* al-Anbārī. When [the Caliph] al-*Mutawakkil* wished to give orders for the selection of tutors for his two sons, al-*Muntaṣir* and al-*Mu'tazz*, he delegated the matter to *Ītākh*. Then Ītākh entrusted the affair to his secretary, who sent for al-*Ṭuwāl*, al-*Aḥmar*, Ibn *Qādim*, Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd [Allāh Abū '*Aṣīdah*], and other men of learning, summoning them to a meeting. When Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd arrived, he sat at the far end of the group, so that the man sitting next to him asked, "Why don't you move up higher?" He replied, "Here is the place left for me."

When they had assembled, the secretary said to them, "If you will join in discussion, we shall determine your degree of scholarship, so as to make a selection." Then among them there was quoted a verse of Ibn *Ghalafā'*:

> Leave me alone, verily my wrong doings and intentions were mine,
> But what I spent was wealth.

They said, "Wealth is in the nominative case, as though it were the subject with 'what.'" Then they remained silent until Aḥmad [Abū 'Aṣīdah] at the far end of the gathering said, "So much for the parsing, but what is its meaning?" He said, "It means, 'Your blame

[68] This title and the three which follow are not in the Beatty MS, and the last title is omitted by Flügel.

should not be for me, because although I exhausted [my] wealth, honor was not lost. With regards to wealth, it is no disgrace to exhaust it.'"

Then a servant came to him from the upper end of the gathering and, taking him by the hand, led him to a higher position, saying "This is not your proper place." Whereupon he replied, "When I am in a company I prefer to be raised to a higher place, rather than to be in a gathering where I am sent to a lower seat." Accordingly, he was chosen [to be a tutor], together with one other, who was Ibn *Qādim*. Among the books of Abū Ja'far [Abū 'Aṣīdah] there were:

The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Additions to "Ma'āni al-Shi'r" (The Meaning of Poetry) by Ibn al-*Sikkīt*, with a Correction of It; Sources of Historical Tradition and Poetry.[69]

Account of al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah

Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salamah ibn 'Āṣim was a philologist and scholar of al-Kūfah and also an expert penman. At first he was in the entourage of al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān, meeting Ibn al-*A'rābī* and other scholars. He corrected *Kitāb al-'Ayn* of al-*Khalīl* and the errors in it, thus composing a book of his own. Al-Mufaḍḍal died ———. Among his books there were:

The Excellent in the Study of Language and What Emerges from It: The Hamzah (ʾ), the Hā' (H), the 'Ayn (ʿ), the Khā' (Kh), and Ghayn (Gh), and the Ḥā' (Ḥ); Enlightening Souls about the Meaning of the Qur'ān, in more than twenty sections;[70] The Meaning of the Qur'ān, one part; Etymology; The Excellent, about the things in which the populace makes errors; The Lands, Sowing, Plants, Palms, and Varieties of Trees; The Disposition of Man; The Instrument of the Scribe; The Shortened and the Lengthened; The Lute (Al-'Ūd) and Instruments of Entertainment;[71] Introduction to the Science of Grammar; Making Clear the Likeness; The Script and the Pen; Refutation of al-*Khalīl* and Correction of the Mistakes, Inconsistencies, and Errors in "Kitāb

[69] The last title is not in the Beatty MS.

[70] "In more than twenty sections" is lacking in the Beatty MS.

[71] "The lute" is not in the Beatty MS.

al-'Ayn"; The Excellent Book of the Communities of the Tribes; Apparition (Insanity);[72] What a Scribe Needs; The Perfumed; Al-Anwā'.

Ṣa'ūdā'

He was one of the scholars of al-Kūfah, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Hubayrah al-Asadī, surnamed Abū Sa'īd. He was one of the scholars of grammar and language who belonged to the school of al-Kūfah. He was attached to *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz. Among his books there were:

Summary of What Is Used by a Scribe—I saw it written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Ḥafyānī,[73] corrected by 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; his epistle to 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz, about the ideas of Abū *'Ubayd* al-Qāsim ibn Sallām which the Arabs refuted and those with which they agreed; his epistle about handwriting and what is used for sharpening and nibbing a pen.

Account of *Tha'lab*

According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*, he was Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zayd ibn Sayyar Abū al-'Abbās Tha'lab. In the handwriting of Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muqlah it is stated that Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā [Tha'lab] said, "I saw [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn* when he came from Khurāsān, during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20]. He had come from the Iron Gate on his way to the Palace of al-Ruṣāfah, the crowds being lined up as far as al-Muṣallā."[74] He went on to say, "My father was carrying me on his arm, and when al-Ma'mūn passed by he raised

[72] This title and the ones which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

[73] This name is not written clearly enough to be sure of its spelling or to include it in the Biog. Index. The two titles which follow are omitted in the Beatty MS.

[74] The place names refer to sites in the old city of Baghdād on the West Bank of the Tigris. The Iron Gate (Bāb al-Ḥadīd) was a city gate near a bridge. The Palace of al-Ruṣāfah was built by the Caliph al-Manṣūr for his son, al-Mahdī, being completed A.D. 775. The Muṣallā was a well-known place, evidently used for prayer, while the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-Shām) mentioned at the end of the account, was the double gate on the west side of the round city of al-Manṣūr. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 204, and Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique*, pp. 47, 89, 102, 153, 155, 170.

me up on his arm, saying to me, 'This is al-Ma'mūn.' It was during the year four [A.H. 204: A.D. 819/20], but I have remembered it to this hour. At that time I was four years old."

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] also said:

I began to take an interest in Arabic studies, poetry, and language during the year sixteen [A.H. 216: A.D. 831]. When I was twenty-five years old I became skilled in Arabic, memorizing all of the books of al-*Farrā'*, until not a single letter escaped me. I was more concerned with grammar than with other things, until I knew it accurately and became intent on poetry, rhetoric, and strange forms. I associated with Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-*A'rābī* for about ten years.[75]

Abū al-'Abbās [also] said:

I remember one day when *Aḥmad* ibn Sa'īd was with me. I was at his home with a group [of scholars], among whom there were al-*Sukkarī*[76] and Abū al-'*Āliyah*. While I was with him, he reminded us of a poem by al-*Shammākh*. When they started to discuss its meaning and raised questions about it, I replied without hesitation, while Ibn al-A'rābī was listening. After we had dealt with the greater part of the poem, Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd turned to him [Ibn al-A'rābī] and showed him how surprised he was because of me.

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab] died during the year two hundred and ninety-one [A.D. 903/904], being buried in the vicinity of his house near the Damascus Gate. Among his books there were:

What is Guarded (Preserved) in Grammar, which he wrote in the form of definitions (*ḥudūd*); Disagreements of the Grammarians; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Favored, an abridgment of grammar; How the Populace Errs in Speaking; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Meaning of Poetry; The Diminutive; What Is Declined and What Is Not Declined; What Is Grammatical and What Is Not Grammatical; Exceptions; Similes (Proverbs); Oaths and Calamities; Stopping and Starting; The Derivation of Expressions from Legends (Historical Traditions); Spelling; The Medium, which I have seen; The Excellent Book of the Strange

[75] The last two sentences occur in the Beatty MS but not in the Flügel text.

[76] This name is garbled in the Beatty MS, but Flügel is evidently correct in giving al-Sukkarī. The translation is a free one. Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd was probably Ibn Shāhīn of al-Baṣrah, who like Ibn al-A'rābī was older than Tha'lab.

in the Qur'ān; Questions; Definition of Grammar; Exposition of the Statement of Ibnat al-Khus [*Hind*]; Eloquent Style.[77]

Abū al-'Abbās [Tha'lab][78] also left discourses which he dictated to his pupils in his classes. They included something about grammar, language, [historical] traditions, the meaning of the Qur'ān, and poetry. A group [of pupils] quoted the things which they had heard and discussed with him. Among them were Abū Bakr ibn al-*Anbārī*, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Yazīdī*, Ibn *Durustūyah*, and Ibn *Muqsim*. Abū al-'Abbās also edited some of the poems of the great masters and other men, such as al-*A'shā*, al-*Nābighatān*,[79] *Ṭufayl*, al-*Ṭirimmāḥ*, and others. Among his pupils (associates) there were:

Abū *Muḥammad* 'Abd Allāh the Syrian

He was a member of the school of al-Kūfah. Among his books there was *Collected Questions*.

Also:

Ibn al-Ḥā'ik

His name was *Hārūn*, his origin being Jewish, from al-Ḥīrah. He was a pupil (young man) of Abū al-'Abbās [*Tha'lab*] of outstanding ability and learned in the grammatical studies of al-Kūfah.

He had discussions with al-*Mubarrad*, and it is related that one day, while he was conversing with him, al-Mubarrad said to him, "I notice that you are full of understanding, but at the same time free from pride." Ibn al-Ḥā'ik replied to him, "Oh, Abū al-'Abbās, it is [because of] you that Allāh has provided our bread and livelihood." Then Abū al-'Abbās [al-Mubarrad] said to him, "In spite of [receiving] your bread and livelihood, you would be proud if you had a proud nature."[80] Among his books there were:

[77] This title is not in the Beatty MS. The other titles are taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel text.

[78] The Beatty MS has Ibn al-'Abbās, which is evidently a mistake.

[79] For al-Nābighatān ("the two Nābighahs"), see al-*Nābighah* al-Dhubyānī and al-*Nābighah* al-Ja'di in the Biog. Index.

[80] Al-Mubarrad evidently cared for Hārūn as an apprentice before Hārūn studied with Tha'lab.

The Weak Letters in Grammar; "The Strange" of al-*Hāshimī*[81]—there is a difference of opinion about it, some say that al-Hāshimī, whose name is ———, wrote it from [the dictation of] Tha'lab, others say that al-Hāshimī wrote it while close to Tha'lab and [therefore] it is considered that Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm was its author.[82]

Account of Abū Muḥammad *Qāsim* al-Anbārī and His Son, Abū Bakr

Abū Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashshār al-Anbārī was an inhabitant of al-Anbār, who met with *Salamah* [ibn 'Āṣim] and similar associates of al-*Farrā'*. He was in touch with a group of linguistic scholars and was also acquainted with historical traditions. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of the Horse; The Disposition of Man; Similes (Proverbs); The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Strange in the Ḥadīth.

Abū Bakr [Ibn al-*Anbārī*], His Son

Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim learned from his father and from Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn 'Ubayd [Abū '*Aṣīdah*], also gaining a knowledge of grammar from Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab*. He was superior to his father and more learned, having extreme brilliance and understanding, excellence of genius, and rapidity of memory. In addition to these things and observance of the virtues, he was known to be free from impropriety and weakness, being proverbial for readiness to extemporize and for agility of repartee. Most of his dictation was without any notes or book.

He did not die from old age, but passed away close to the age of fifty.[83] He died during the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939/40] in Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month], being buried in his own home. Among his books there were:

[81] Flügel gives al-Hishāmī. Evidently Hārūn wrote a commentary about this book, *The Strange*, by a disciple of Tha'lab.

[82] Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm may have been al-Hāshimī. A marginal note in the Beatty MS says, "The truth is that al-Hāshimī was a pupil of al-Mubarrad and that he wrote the book from [dictation by] him."

[83] The Arabic is *dūn*, which can mean "before," "after," or "near." As Ibn Khallikān says he was born A.D. 885 and the Beatty MS qualifies the word with *kathīr* ("very"), a reasonable translation seems to be "close to the age of fifty."

The Enigmatic in the Meaning of the Qur'ān, which he did not finish; Contraries in Grammar; The Bright; The Training of Scribes, which he did not finish; The Sufficient, about grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Clear in (about) Grammar; Refutation of the Questions of Ibn *Shanabūdh*; The Strange in the Ḥadīth, which he did not finish; Spelling; The Lām (The L); Stopping and Starting; The Hā' (the H) in the Book of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Al-Sab' al-Ṭuwāl, which he edited;[84] the large book, The Clear in Grammar; The Alif (The A); Al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt;[85] The Poetry of al-*Rā'ī*, which he edited; Refutation of Whoever Disagrees with the Version of the Qur'ān of *'Uthmān*.

Abū Bakr [Ibn al-*Anbārī*] also compiled a number of anthologies of the poetry of the Arab masters of style. They included the poetry of *Zuhayr*, al-*Nābighah* [al-Dhubyānī], [al-*Nābighah*] al-Ja'dī, al-*A'shā*, and others in addition to them. He also gave lectures about language, grammar, and historical traditions, which a group of the scholars coming to him heard him deliver. Abū Sa'īd al-*Dabīlī* and others were among them.

Abū 'Umar al-*Zāhid*

He was Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Hāshim al-Mutarriz, known as al-Zāhid (the Ascetic), a pupil (associate) of Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab*. I heard a group of scholars magnifying his reputation and dealing with his genealogy in an exaggerated way. He was extreme in opposing and taking sides against 'Alī, for whom be peace. He lived on the street of Abū al-'Anbar, and died during the year forty-five [A.H. 345: A.D. 956/57], when he was eighty-six years old.[86] Among his books there was *Al-Yāqūt*, about language.[87]

Account of This Book [*Al-Yāqūt*] and How It Became Sound (Accepted as Authentic)

[84] These were the seven long sūrahs of the Qur'ān, sūrahs 2 through 8. The five titles which follow are not found in the Beatty MS.

[85] The anthology of al-*Mufaḍḍal*.

[86] The Flügel text gives eighty years old. The translation follows the Beatty MS. The street of Abū al-'Anbar in Baghdād was probably near the 'Anbar Bridge and the street of al-'Anbar on the West Bank. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 304.

[87] *Al-yāqūt* can mean "jewel," but usually means "ruby."

I read [what was written] about him [al-*Zāhid*] in the handwriting of Abū al-Fatḥ *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad the grammarian, who was truthful, inquiring, and searching:

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid was an associate (pupil) of Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab*. He began to dictate this book, *Kitāb al-Yāqūt*, on Thursday, during the last night of al-Muharram [the first Muslim month] in the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38], in Jāmi' al-Madīnah in the city of Abū Ja'far,[88] extemporizing without book or notes.

He continued with the dictation, session after session, until he came to the end. I wrote down what he dictated as session followed session, after which he wished to make additions, adding more than he had already dictated. Thus he extemporized another *Yāqūt*, to which supplement Abū Muḥammad al-*Ṣaffār* gave special attention, with assiduous service, re-reading the book for Abū 'Umar. It was from him that I obtained the additions. Then the group [of pupils] came together for a reading in his presence, given by Abū Isḥāq al-*Ṭabarī*. He called this version *The Summing Up* (*Al-Fadhlakah*). He [al-Ṭabarī] read it for him, the group listening to him.

Then even after that he added to it, so that I, ['Ubayd Allāh] collecting in my [copy of the] book all of these additions, started to read the book to him on Tuesday, three nights before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah [the eleventh Muslim month] during the year three hundred and twenty-nine [A.D. 940/41]. I finished [reading] it in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [the fourth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 943]. While I was reading I had with me all of the transcriptions; the manuscript of Abū Isḥāq al-*Ṭabarī*, the manuscript of Abū Muḥammad al-*Ṣaffār*, the manuscript of Abū Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-*Quṭrabbulī*, and the manuscript of Abū Muḥammad al-*Ḥajjājī*.[89] As I was reading to him, he gave me more additions, but finally we agreed about the entire text from start to finish.

Then, even after that, he gave extemporaneously some more "jewels" [additions to *Al-Yāqūt*] and supplements, further expanding the book, with Abū Muḥammad *Wahb* giving special attention to these additions

[88] Jāmi' al-Madīnah was the "Mosque of the City." The city of Abū Ja'far was the Round City of Baghdād, built by the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-*Manṣūr*. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 33–36.

[89] These were evidently pupils who helped their master to compile his book. None of them became especially famous.

and to serving him. Then he gathered the group [of pupils] together and promised that Abū Isḥāq al-Ṭabarī would correct the book in his presence. This, moreover, would be the final editing to establish the book as authentic for him, with no further additions. This version was called *Al-Mijrā'īyah*.[90] The group gathered together on Tuesday, the fourteenth night of Jumādā' al-Ūlā' [the fifth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 943] at his house on the Street of Abū al-'Anbar, where he dictated to those present what I copied down.

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid [al-*Zāhid*] said:

This version, which Abū Isḥāq al-Ṭabarī has made unique, is the final rendering. So hear it and, after that, if any one quotes me from this transcription and version, but does not give my wording even to the extent of one letter, he will misquote me. For this has [resulted] from hour after hour[91] of the reading of Abū Isḥāq [al-*Ṭabarī*] to the rest of the people, while I myself was listening, letter after letter.

Abū al-Fatḥ ['*Ubayd* Allāh] said, "He began with this version on Tuesday, the fourteenth night of Jumādā' al-Ūlā' during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 943].

Among the books of Abū 'Umar [al-*Zāhid*] there were:

Commentary on the book "Eloquent Style" (Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ);[92] Beauty of "Eloquent Style"; Al-Marjān; about "Al-Kalamāt" (The Phrases), which al-*Ḥaḍramī* wrote and he [al-Zāhid] plagiarized from him, transcribing the book which was a composition of al-Ḥaḍramī;[93] The Acrostic (Al-Muwashshaḥ); Hours; Day and Night; Approval; Tithings; Counsel; Classification; Commentary on "The Names of the Poets";

[90] This word is not clear in the Beatty MS. It seems to be either *mijrā'īyah* ("paying respect"), or *mujzā'īyah* ("enriching" or "satisfying"). Flügel has *al-baḥrānīyah* ("pure stock").

[91] The translation follows Flügel, who gives *sā'ah ba'd sā'ah* ("hour after hour"). The Beatty MS has *shā'ah ba'd shā'ah* ("publicizing after publicizing").

[92] This title is not in the list of books by *Tha'lab* in the Beatty MS. It comes last in the list given by Flügel. Yāqūt [*Irshād*, VI (2), 153] says, "It is said to be the composition of al-Ḥasan ibn Dā'ūd al-Raqqī, which was ascribed to Tha'lab, but was his transcription." Suyūṭī (*Bughyat*, p. 173) says it was ascribed both to al-Ḥasan al-Raqqī and Ibn al-*Sikkīt*. Two titles following, *al-marjān* can mean "coral," "small pearl," "life," or "the soul."

[93] In the Flügel text the *m* is omitted from this name, and the name is badly written in the Beatty MS. The person meant is probably Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-*Ḥaḍramī*, who was a famous reader of the Qur'ān and an expert on colloquial words and phrases.

The Tribes; The Concealed and the Hidden; The Apple;[94] Falsity of "Al-Mustaḥsan" (The Approved); Introductions (Gateways); Revealing "Introductions"; Rare Forms; Falsity of "Al-Jamharah" and a Refutation of Ibn *Durayd*; Falsity of "Kitāb al-'Ayn"; What the Arabians Disapprove Of, from what Abū *'Ubayd* [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām] quoted and composed; Speed.[95]

It is said that along with his [knowledge of] colloquialisms he was a poet, and from his poetry there is:

> If the Rāfiḍ from Damascus completes his disgrace,
> He will hide himself with his right hand.
> But if he comes to you feigning an innocent face,
> The rejection will appear on his forehead.[96]

This poem suffices to show his ignorance.

[94] Flügel gives *Al-Tuffāḥah* ("The Apple"), but the word given in the Beatty MS could equally well be *Al-Naffāḥah* ("The Perfumed," or "The Agreeable") or *Al-Thafājah* ("The Foolish").

[95] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS. The order of the other titles follows the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel version.

[96] This poem is omitted by the Beatty MS. The word *rāfiḍ* may mean "rejected," "abandoned," or refer to one of the Rawāfiḍ heretics; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 34.

In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, the names and accounts of a group of scholars of grammar and language, who combined both schools [those of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]*[1]

Ibn *Qutaybah*

He was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah of al-Kūfah, where he was born. He was called "al-Dīnawarī" because he was the judge of al-Dīnawar. Although Ibn Qutaybah was an ardent member of the school of al-Baṣrah, he was connected with the two schools, speaking in his writings about the scholars of al-Kūfah. He was accurate in what he quoted, being an authority on language, grammar, strange forms in the Qur'ān, the meaning of poetry, and the law. He was a prolific composer and author, whose numerous works were in demand. His birth was at the time of the new moon of Rajab [the seventh Muslim month] and he died during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84]. Among his books there were:[2]

The Great Book of the Meaning of Poetry (Kitāb Maʿānī al-Shiʿr al-Kabīr), comprising twelve books (chapters): The Horse, forty-six sections; The Camel, sixteen sections; The Scab, ten sections; The Mange, twenty sections; Regions (Dwellings), ten sections; Winds, thirty-one sections; Lions and Wild Beasts, seventeen sections; Reptiles,

[1] See Flügel, in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 579.

[2] Different sources give different titles for his books. For some of his well-known works referred to in this translation, see the Bibliography.

fourteen sections; Oaths (Faith) and Calamities, seven sections; Women and Amatory Poetry, one section; Youth and Old Age, eight sections;[3] Mistakes (Taṣḥīf) of the Scholars, one section.

The Sources of Poetry ('Uyūn al-Shi'r), which comprises ten books (chapters): Ranks; Worthy Deeds; Meaning; Chains of Poetry (Necklaces); Good Qualities; Praises; Means of Transportation; Sacred Places; Witnesses; Jewels.

The Sources of Information ('Uyūn al-Akhbār), comprising ten books (chapters): The Sultan; War; Dominion; Dispositions; Learning; Asceticism; Brothers; Needs; Nourishment; Women.[4]

Legal Instruction (Al-Tafqīh), three sections of which book I have seen, filling nearly six hundred sheets in Bark handwriting.[5] As it lacked some two sections, I inquired about the book from a group of the people of al-Jabal, who thought that it was extant [in complete form], longer than the books of al-*Bandanījī* and better than his works.

Also among his books there were:

The Training of the Scribe (Secretary); Poetry and the Poets; Horses; Compendium of Grammar; Differences in the Ḥadīth; Inflection (Declension) in the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Al-Anwā'; Comparison of the Arabs and Persians; The Difficult to Solve; Things Known; Correction of the Error of Abū *'Ubayd* [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām] in "The Strange in the Ḥadīth"; Compendium of Law; Questions and Answers; Learning (Al-'Ilm), nearly fifty sheets; Gambling and Betting with Arrows;[6] Small Compendium of Grammar; Refutation of the Mushabbihah; Tradition and What Is Reported;[7] Register of the Secretaries (Dīwān al-Kuttāb); [Literary] Gems of Pearl; The Disposition of Man; Grades and Virtues from "The Sources of Poetry"; Guides of Prophecy; Disagreements in the Interpreting Ḥadīth; The

[3] The Flügel edition has *Genealogy and Milk*.

[4] On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, "Book, *The Strange in the Ḥadīth*, which I have seen."

[5] "Bark" may refer to a district of al-Yaman by that name or may be "Tark" (Turkish).

[6] "Gambling and Betting with Arrows" is a game called in Arabic *ḍarab bi-al-qidāḥ wa-al-maysir*. Arrows are cast down so as to count in certain ways, according to the marks on these arrows.

[7] This title and those which follow are in the Flügel edition but not in the Beatty MS. The title *Dīwān al-Kuttāb* might also be *Dīwān al-Kitāb*. For the Mushabbihah, in the previous title, see the Glossary.

Wisdom of Proverbs; Drinks; The Manners of Society; The Strange in the Ḥadīth.[8]

Abū Ḥanīfah al-*Dīnawarī*

He was Aḥmad ibn Dā'ūd from among the people of al-Dīnawar, who learned from the scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, but derived most of his knowledge from Ibn al-*Sikkīt* and his [own] father.[9] He was skilled in many sciences, among which there were grammar, philology, geometry, arithmetic, and the sciences of astronomy.[10] He was accurate in connection with what he quoted and related, and known for reliability. Among his books there were:

Plants, valued by scholars for its composition; Eloquent Style; Al-Anwā'; Al-Qiblah wa-al-Zawāl;[11] Calculation of Cycles; Refutation of Lughdah al-*Iṣbahānī*;[12] An Examination of Indian Mathematics; The Cities (Regions), a large book; Addition and Subtraction (Summing Up and Dividing); Algebra and Equation; Rare Forms of Algebra; Wills; Poetry and the Poets; How the Populace Errs in Speaking; Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl (Legends in the Ṭiwāl Meter).[13]

Abū al-*Haytham* al-Rāzī

He was mentioned by al-*Sukkarī*, but nothing more is known about his life. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā', which I saw written in the handwriting of al-Sukkarī, about twenty leaves; Basis of Language.[14]

[8] On the margin of the Beatty MS there is written, "*The Book of the Strange in the Ḥadīth;* he made improvements in it."

[9] The Flügel edition has "son" instead of "father," but the Beatty MS, as translated, is probably correct.

[10] The Flügel edition has "India" instead of "astronomy," which is taken from the Beatty MS.

[11] *Al-qiblah* is the direction to be faced in prayer, but here may have a more technical astronomical connotation. *Al-zawāl* usually means the going down of the sun, but may also signify the disappearance of the sun. See "Ḳibla," *Enc. Islam*, II, 985–89.

[12] Flügel evidently follows Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 127 n. 2, in giving the word *raṣd* ("observation"), but the Beatty MS is much more likely to be correct in giving "Lughdah." See Biog. Index, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-*Iṣbahānī*, who was called Lughdah.

[13] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS. *Ṭiwāl* indicates "long."

[14] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS. The title preceding it is given incorrectly by Flügel.

Al-*Sukkarī*

He was Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-'Alā' al-Sukkarī. I have copied his genealogy from [what was written in] the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-*Kūfī*. He had an excellent knowledge of language, genealogy, and historical events. He was also sought after for his penmanship, because of its accuracy. He died———. Among his books there were: Wild Beasts—he made improvements in its composition; Plants, a small portion of which I saw written in his own handwriting.

Al-Sukkarī also compiled an anthology of the poems of the masters, with selections from the tribes and from such poets as composed verse: *Imru'* al-Qays, al-Nābighatān,[15] *Qays* ibn al-Khaṭīm, *Tamīm* ibn Ubayy ibn Muqbil, in addition to the poems of al-Luṣūṣ and the poems of Hudhayl,[16] *Hudbah* ibn Khashram, al-*A'shā*, *Muzāḥim* al-'Uqaylī, al-*Akhṭal*, *Zuhayr*, and others besides them. He also dealt with the poetry of Abū *Nuwās*, commenting on its meaning and strange forms. This [anthology] was nearly a thousand leaves in length. I saw it written in the handwriting of al-*Ḥalwānī*, who was close to Abū Sa'īd [al-Sukkarī].
Water Sources and the Desert (Al-Manāhil wa-al-Qawwā)—I saw it written in his own handwriting;[17] Tents for Migrating (Current Verses).

Al-*Ḥāmiḍ*

He was Abū Mūsā Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥāmiḍ, who was a friend of *Tha'lab*, having a special connection with him. He learned from the scholars of al-Baṣrah, being noted for accuracy of penmanship and good technique for correctness. He was a scribe,[18] among whose books there were:

[15] Al-Nābighatān ("the two Nābighahs") were al-*Nābighah* al-Dhubyānī and al-*Nābighah* al-Ja'di.

[16] As "the poems of" precedes both al-Luṣūṣ and Hudhayl, but not the other names, these two words probably refer to tribes or groups rather than individual poets. *Al-luṣūṣ* means "robbers," Hudhayl is a well-known tribe; see "Hudhail," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329.

[17] The Beatty MS is followed in the translation of this title. Flügel has *al-qurrā* ("villages") instead of *al-qawwā* ("desert"). The title which follows is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[18] The Arabic word might mean that he owned a book store, as well as copying manuscripts, but the most likely meaning is that he was an apprentice of Tha'lab, who transcribed manuscripts, as well as writing some books of his own.

The Disposition of Man; Plants; Wild Beasts, which I saw copied in the handwriting of his sister's son, *Zakarīyā'*; Abridgment of Grammar.

Al-*Aḥwal*

He was Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dīnār[19] al-Aḥwal, a scholar of language and poetry, as well as a copyist. Among his books there were:

Calamities; Weapons; What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Meaning; Fa'ala wa-Af'ala; Similarities.[20]

He also edited the poetry of *Dhū* al-Rummah and other poets.

Ibn al-*Kūfī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Zubayr al-Asadī al-Kūfī, a learned man who had an accurate penmanship and quoted from a collection of books. He was truthful in giving reports and keen in analysis. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry and Disagreements of the Scholars about It—I saw a small part of it; Necklaces and Single Gems in Language and Poetry.[21]

Ibn *Sa'dān* Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān ibn al-Mubārak

He was a collector of books, an accurate penman, and reliable in making quotations. Among his books there were:

Horses, which I have seen and it was delightful; The Letters of the Qur'ān.[22]

His son, *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'dān, wrote a large book, [*Qur'ānic*] *Readings*, and a book *Abridgment of Grammar*.

Al-*Ma'badī*

His name was Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He quoted *'Alī* ibn Thābit, who quoted Abū *'Ubayd* [al-Qāsim ibn Sallām]. His penmanship was in demand and he was one of the scholars who were famous and trusted.

[19] Ibn Dīnār is omitted in the Beatty MS, but the rest of the name is included.

[20] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[21] The second title is not in the Beatty MS.

[22] This title and the account of his son, which follows, are not included in the Beatty MS.

Al-*Karmānī*

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Karmānī was preeminent in a knowledge of language and grammar. As he had a good handwriting and was accurate in copying, he was sought after by the people for his penmanship. He transcribed [manuscripts] for pay. Among his books there were:

What al-*Khalīl* Neglected in "Kitāb al-'Ayn" and What He Mentioned as Obsolete, Used, and Unused, and What He Left Out; Compendium of Language; Grammar, which he did not finish; Summary of Grammar.[23]

Al-*Fazārī*

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb ibn Sulaymān ibn Samurah ibn Jundab al-Fazārī was a scholar and was accurate as a calligrapher.

Abū al-*Qāsim* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Isḥāq al-Zajjājī[24]

He was a grammarian, among whose books there was *Al-Qawāfī*.

Ibn *Wadā'*

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Wadā' ibn al-Ziyād ibn Hānī al-Azadī, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was learned and accurate in his penmanship, which was sought after, so that for his penmanship he received pay.

Al-*Namarī*[25]

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh, among whose books there were:

The Shining, about colors; The Meaning of "Al-Ḥamāsah";[26] Adornment.

Al-*Tirmidhī* al-Kabīr (the Elder, the Greater)[27]

His name was ———.

[23] Last title omitted in the Beatty MS.

[24] This scholar is omitted by the Beatty MS.

[25] The Beatty MS omits this paragraph about al-Namarī.

[26] The reference may be to the anthology of this title by Abū *Tammām*, who died A.D. 850.

[27] The Flügel edition has al-Ramadhī, but the Beatty MS makes it clear that the correct name is al-Tirmidhī.

Al-*Tirmidhī* al-Saghīr (the Younger, the Lesser)
His name was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad.

Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm[28]
He was grammarian who was the teacher of Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab*. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan and, although his penmanship was in demand, he did not compose any books.

Ibn *Fāris*[29]
Among his books there was the book *Al-Ḥamāsah*.

Al-*Ḥulwānī*[30]
He was Abū Sahl, whose name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Āṣim al-Ḥulwānī. It is said that he was close to Abū Sa'īd al-*Sukkarī*, quoting his books and learning from him. Although he was one of the scholars, he had an extremely bad handwriting. Among his books there was *Jinni-Possessed Men of Letters*.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Khawlānī* Ibn Mihrawayh[31]
Among his books there was *Race Horses*.

Al-*Munkhalī*

Al-*Yashkurī*

Al-*Ṭalḥī*

Ibn *Shāhīn* Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd ibn Shāhīn

'*Alī* ibn Rabī'ah al-Baṣrī[32]
Among his books there was *What the Arabs Have Said and the Populace Enlarged Upon*.

[28] In the Flügel edition the name given above, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, is omitted, and the name *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm is confused with al-*Tirmidhī* al-Saghīr.

[29] This name and the following sentence are not in the Beatty MS.

[30] In the Beatty MS the name al-Ḥulwānī is clearly given, but Abū Sahl is omitted, as well as the title of the book.

[31] The Beatty MS omits this name, giving only Ibn Mihrawayh.

[32] This name and book are not in the Beatty MS.

Ibn *Sayf*

His name was Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sayf al-Sijistānī, who was surnamed Abū Bakr and was one of the scholars.

Al-*Aḥmadī*[33]

He was Abū al-Ḥasan, whose name was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. He went from Baghdād to Egypt, being attached to Ibn *Ḥinzābah*. His handwriting was good and accurate.

Aḥmad ibn Sahl[34]

His book was *Choice of the Way*.

Al-*Jarmī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Abī Ḥumaydah al-Makkī

He was known as Ibn Abī al-ʿAlā', and was a scholar whose handwriting was sought after because of its precision. He was also a historian.

Abū *Dimās*[35]

Among his books there was *Al Ḥamāsah*.

Account of Ibn *Kaysān*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kaysān. "Kaysān" is "treachery" (*ghadr*), his name in the vernacular of the Banū Saʿd Tribe. Kaysān was a grammarian, but not a skilled one. Abū al-Ḥasan [the son of Kaysān] was an excellent man who combined the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah], deriving knowledge from both of them. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth, about four hundred leaves; The Proof; Truths; The Selected; The School of Thought; Stopping and Starting;

[33] Flügel gives al-Asadī. The sentence following also differs from the Beatty MS.
[34] This name and book are lacking in the Beatty MS.
[35] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

Spelling; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Al-Shādhānī, about grammar;[36] Masculine and Feminine; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Declensions (Conjugations); Abridgment of Grammar; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, known as The Tens (Delights, Conversations);[37] Definition of the Verb and Object; Questions concerning the School of Thought of the Grammarians and the Points about Which the Scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah Differ; The Sufficient in Grammar.

Lughdah al-*Iṣbahānī* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh

He was born at Iṣbahān, but came to the settled districts, where he received instruction from the same person with whom Abū Ḥanīfah al-*Dīnawarī* studied. Among his books there were:

Refutation of the Poets; Logic; The Weak Letters of Grammar; The Abridgment, about grammar; The Attributes (Descriptive Words); The Soft and the Cheerful; Naming; Commentary on the "Book of Meaning" of al-*Bāhilī*; Dissolution (Refutation) of the Weak Letters of Grammar.

Ibn al-*Khayyāṭ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr al-Khayyāṭ

He was an inhabitant of Samarqand who came to Baghdād, where he met with Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sarī al-*Zajjāj*, with whom he had a controversy. He drew upon the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

The Large Book of Grammar; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Sufficient (The Veil);[38] The Abridgment.

Naftuwayh (Niftawayh)

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Urfah ibn Sulaymān ibn Mughayrah ibn Ḥabīb ibn al-Muhallab al-'Atakī al-Azdī. He learned from *Tha'lab* and al-*Mubarrad* and heard [the lectures of] *Muḥammad* ibn al-Jahm, *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Isḥāq ibn Salām, and the associates of al-*Madā'inī*.

[36] In this title, al-Shādhānī is probably al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān*.

[37] The word "tens" may be *'ishrah* ("enjoyments"), but much more likely is a plural of *'asharah*, referring either to certain verses of the Qur'ān, or to the rosettes which separate the passages. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 129 bottom, 130 top.

[38] This title is given in a different form in Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 19; the title which follows is omitted by the Beatty MS.

His mother was a descendant of Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Murrī al-*Ṭaḥḥān*, the historian, and his birth was during the year two hundred and forty-four [A.D. 858/59]. He had a virtuous character, was an excellent teacher, and drew upon both schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah].

His class was in the Mosque of the People of Anbār[39] in the early mornings. He was in agreement with the [legal] sect of *Dā'ūd*[40] in which he was a leader. He died the sixth of Ṣafar [the second Muslim month] during the year three hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 935], being buried the day after his death at the Kūfah Gate. Ibn al-*Barnhādan* prayed for him. Among his books there were:

History; Abridgments; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Sufficient in Grammar; Receiving Full Payment, about contracts;[41] Similes (Proverbs); Testimonials, Al-Qawāfī and a Refutation of Whoever Thinks that the Arabs Derive Words, One from the Other; Refutation of Whoever Upholds the Creation of the Qur'ān; Refutation of al-*Mufaḍḍal* [ibn Salamah] in Connection with His Criticism of al-*Khalīl*; Salt;[42] Nouns (Origins); The Arabs Speak According to Nature Rather than Education.

Al-*Ja'd*

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān al-Ja'd, an associate of Ibn *Kaysān*, who derived knowledge from both schools [al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Spelling; Masculine and Feminine; Abridgment of Grammar; Prosody; The Disposition of Man; Differentiation; The Alfāt (The A's).[43]

[39] A mosque in Baghdād south of the Kūfah Gate, or southwest gate of the Round City, on the West Bank of the Tigris. The people of Anbār were clerks of the land tax office. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 57, 61.

[40] The sect called al-Zāhirīyah, founded by Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Khalaf. He may have taught law, which was often scheduled before sunrise, when the pupils' minds were alert.

[41] The Flügel text has a variation, which is probably wrong.

[42] This title and the two which follow are not found in the Beatty MS.

[43] The last title is not in the Beatty MS.

Al-*Khazzāz*

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn [al-Ḥasan] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Sufyān al-Khazzāz, who was a tutor in the home of Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā. He had a good handwriting and was one of the grammarians who derived information from both schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. It was he who wrote the book *The Meaning in the Qur'ān* for ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Abridgment, about the Arab sciences; The Meaning of the Qur'ān;[44] The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Ample, about the science of language; Accounts of the Leading Men among the Judges (Rulers), which he wrote for Abū al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Abī ʿAmr; Concubines, Given as Pledges and [Coming] Willingly;[45] Feasts of Souls, about the mention of learning; Ramaḍān [the Fast] and What Is Said about It.

Al-*Bandanījī*

His name was al-Yamān ibn Abī al-Yamān al-Bandanījī. He was a blind poet, as well as a scholar of language, who fell in with Ibn al-*Sikkīt* and other scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. Among his books there were:

Instruction in Law; The Meaning of Poetry; Prosody.

Al-*ʿUmarī*[46]

He was judge of Takrīt and among his books there were:

Commentary on the Pre-Islāmic Seven and What Was Strange in Them; Commentary on the "Maqṣūrah" of Abū Bakr Ibn *Durayd*.

[44] This title is repeated further down on the list in the Arabic, though not in the translation.

[45] This title is taken from the Beatty MS, which seems to give *Al-Sarārī al-Rahīnāt al-Mashā'iyāt*. This strange title is probably incorrect. Flügel gives a very different title, which is probably not the original.

[46] This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS. Takrīt is on the Tigris. The Pre-Islāmic Seven are the famous odes, "Al-Muʿallaqāt." The "Maqṣūrah" was a poem in praise of his patrons in Fars, who gave Ibn Durayd generous financial support.

Abū al-*Haydhām* al-ʿUqaylī

His name was Kilāb ibn Ḥamzah and he was an inhabitant of Ḥarrān. He lived among the nomads, but it is said that he was educated, entering into city life at the time of al-*Qāsim* ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, whom he praised. He was learned, a poet, and had a handwriting for which there was a demand. He mixed the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah] and among his books there were:

Compendium of Grammar; Al-Arākah;[47] How the Populace Errs in Speaking.

Al-*Ushnāndānī*[48]

He wrote a book, *The Meaning of Poetry*, and has already been mentioned.

Ibn *Luzah* al-Karkhī[49]

He was one of the scholars of al-Jabal, whose name was Bundār ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Luzah was his nickname. Bundār was surnamed Abū ʿAmr. He mixed the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry; Commentary on the "Book of Meaning" of al-*Bāhilī*;[50] Compendium of Language, a portion of which I have seen; Wild Beasts.

Ibn *Shuqayr*

Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Shuqayr the Grammarian was said by the shaykh Abū *Saʿīd*, to whom may Allah show mercy, to have drawn upon the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine.

[47] Probably a proper name; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 182.

[48] This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS.

[49] The Beatty MS has al-Karjī.

[50] Flügel adds "al-Anṣārī." The last title is not in the Beatty MS. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note, "He met Ibn al-*Sikkīt* and others besides him."

Al-*Mufajja'*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufajja',[51] [whose name was] Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, a scribe of al-Baṣrah who fell in with *Tha'lab*, learning from him and other scholars. He was a Shī'ī poet, who wrote a poem entitled "Resemblances" in which he eulogized *'Alī*, for whom be peace. He and Abū Bakr ibn Durayd lampooned one another. Among his books there were:

The Interpretation, about the meaning of poetry, which included Definition of Declension (Definition of the Arabians), Definition of Praise, Definition of Vigor; Dream and Discernment; Spelling; Pack Animals (Al-Maṭāyā'); Trees and Plants; Declension (The Arabians); The Riddle.

He also wrote:

The Properly Prepared (Al-Musta'idd), about oaths; Poems of Brigands (Javelins); Booths for Meetings; The Strange in the Poetry of *Zayd* al-Khayl.[52]

Al-*Akhfash* al-Ṣaghīr[53]

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash, the grammarian. He was greatly vexed when questioned about some matter of grammar, but he remembered historical traditions. He died during the year three hundred and fifteen [A.D. 927/28]. Among his books there were:[54]

Al-Anwā'; Formation of the Dual and the Plural; Locusts.

Al-*Hunā'ī*

His name was 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He came from Egypt but belonged to the school of al-Kūfah, though he also drew upon the scholars of al-Baṣrah. He was known as

[51] The Beatty MS inserts "ibn," which must be an error. The translation of titles of books follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be more correct than the Flügel text here.

[52] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

[53] He was called al-Ṣaghīr or al-Aṣghar, meaning "younger" or "lesser," to distinguish him from others of this name.

[54] All of the titles are omitted in the Beatty MS.

al-Dawsī, Daws being an Arab tribe.[55] His writings can be obtained in Egypt, where they are in demand. Among his books there were:

The Basic of Strange Forms, similar to "Kitāb al-'Ayn," but with a different arrangement. He originally composed this work about strange Arab words and vernaculars based upon the alphabet of twenty-eight letters, which are alif, bā', tā', thā', and the rest of the letters. He also wrote Al-Munaḍḍad (Strung Together), about language; Al-Farīd (The Unique).[56]

Dūmī[57]

He was one of the grammarians living close to our own time. His name was 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Za'farānī, surnamed Abū Aḥmad. Among his books there were:

Al-Qawāfī; Pronunciations (Dialects).

The Names of Persons from a Number of Regions Whose Names and Biographies Are Not Based on Research[58]

Ibn *Khālawayh*

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad[59] ibn Khālawayh learned from a group [of scholars] such as Abū Bakr ibn al-*Anbārī* and Abū 'Umar al-*Zāhid*. He was a pupil of Abū *Sa'īd* al-Sīrāfī and mixed the teachings of the two schools [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]. He died at Aleppo in the service of the Banū Ḥamdān during the year three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81].[60] Among his books there were:

[55] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 291.

[56] First he wrote his long book, *Al-Munaḍḍad*, and then condensed his material as *Al-Mujarrad*, not mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*. The Beatty MS omits *Al-Farīd*.

[57] Flügel calls him 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far. The title *Pronunciations* (*Dialects*) is given by Flügel but lacking in the Beatty MS.

[58] This probably means that the author learned about these scholars, who lived near his own time, by personal contact and word of mouth rather than merely by study of books. See also Flügel, in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 581.

[59] The Beatty MS gives "ibn Muḥammad," which seems to be an error.

[60] The Beatty MS omits the date. Sa'd al-Dawlah was the member of the Ḥamdān dynasty ruling at Aleppo when he died.

Etymology; The Phrase, about grammar;[61] Reviving Language; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Inflection (Declension) in Thirty Sūrahs of the Qur'ān; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; The Alfāt (The A's); The Subject;[62] Lays [an Arabic form of the negative].

Abū *Turāb*

This man tried to correct *Kitāb al-'Ayn* of al-*Khalīl*, but a group of scholars refuted his revisions. Among his books there were:

Bringing to Terms (I'tiqāb), about language; Correction of al-Khalīl, in connection with what was neglected and used.

Abū al-*Jūd*

He was al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Ramaḍān al-'Ajlānī, a grammarian living close to our time, and a scholar of the school of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

Abridgment for Students; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Differentiation.

The Brother of Ibn Ramaḍān

He was known as *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ramaḍān. Among his books there were:

The Names of Fermented Drinks and Their Extracts;[63] Retreat (The Direction Away from Makkah).

Al-*Kashshī*

He came from the regions of Khurāsān and, although he was able in composition, it is not known with whom he studied or to what period he belonged. Among his books there were:

Fa'altu wa-Af'altu, According to the Mu'jam Letters,[64] a large work of extreme excellence; Declensions (Conjugations), which was also large—I have seen it.[65]

[61] The Beatty MS gives the vowel signs indicating the word *al-jumal*, which when referring to grammar signifies a phrase or aggregate of words.

[62] This title and the one following are omitted in the Beatty MS.

[63] This evidently refers to forms of liquor made from such materials as palm trees and grapes. The title which follows is omitted by the Beatty MS.

[64] This probably means letters marked with diacritical points.

[65] "I have seen it," seems to be the meaning of a phrase written in faint letters under the line in the Beatty MS.

Mikhnaf

I know nothing about him except this, that his books were:

Explanation of Grammar; Declension (Conjugation).[66]

Al-*Muhallabī* Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad

He lived in Egypt. In Egypt there was another one known as Ibn *Wallād* and still another known as al-*Rajjānī*.[67] Al-Muhallabī wrote:

Explanation of the Weak Letters in Grammar; Abridgment of Grammar.[68]

Abū *Mushir*

He was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Marwān ibn Yasīrah, a grammarian, among whose books there were:

Compendium, about grammar; Abridgment; Account of Abū *ʿUyaynah* Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿUyaynah al-Muhallabī.

Al-*Qummī*

Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad al-Qummī wrote the books:

Forming the Hamzah; The Weak Letters.[69]

Abū al-*Fahd*

Al-*Zajjāj*, with whom he studied the *Book* of *Sībawayh* for a second time, said to him, "Oh, Abū Fahd, you did better the first time than you did the second!" Among his books there was *The Exposition*, about grammar.

Al-*Azdī*

Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

Speech; Disagreement.[70]

[66] Last title omitted in the Beatty MS.

[67] Both of these grammarians were evidently named Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad and lived in Egypt.

[68] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

[69] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

[70] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

Al-*Harawī*

He was from Persia and among his books there were:

Declension (Conjugation); The Explanation.[71]

Al-*Miṣṣīṣī*

Nothing else is known about him except that his books were:

Healing, about language; The Exposition.[72]

Al-*Washshā'*

Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq al-A'rābī al-Washshā' was a man of letters and a master of literary style. He was also a grammarian and a teacher in a school for the common people. His books composed about historical traditions, poems, and short verses were in demand. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; Compilation of Grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Differentiation; The Disposition of Man; The Disposition of the Horse; The Triple.[73]

The books which he wrote about belles-lettres and historical traditions were:

Account of the Ṣāḥib al-Zanj;[74] The Shining, about lights and bright things; Yearning for Fatherlands; the large book, Definitions of Elegant Forms; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj); Accounts of Those Who Affect Elegance; Remedy for Love (Remedy to Appease Pain); The Gilded; The Acrostic (Al-Muwashshah); The Chain of Gold.

Ibn al-*Marāghī*

He was Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Hamdānī, later called al-Marāghī. He was a teacher at the time of the regime of Abū Manṣūr,[75] as well as a memorizer of traditions. He was also a grammarian, eloquent in style, and a historian concerned with extreme examples of generous nobility and freedom. Among his books there were:

[71] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

[72] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

[73] Perhaps this refers to letters with three dots or to the script of that name.

[74] '*Alī* ibn Muḥammad, leader of the black slave rebellion in the Persian Gulf area, A.D. 870–83.

[75] Al-*Qāhir*, who became the 'Abbāsid caliph A.D. 932.

Rejoicing, in the form of "Kitāb al-Kāmil" [by al-*Mubarrad*]; Supplying the Things Neglected by al-*Khalīl*.[76]

Al-*Marāghī* Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī

He was one of the inhabitants of al-Marāghah. He was prevented from prolonging his stay at al-Mawṣil. He equaled Abū al-ʿAbbās[77] in intelligence, being learned and religious. He studied under al-*Zajjāj*. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; Exposition and Interpretation of the Arguments of *Sībawayh*.

Al-*Bakrī*

He was known as Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Abī Ghassān al-Bakrī. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of Grammar; Differentiation.[78]

ʿ*Urām*

He was Abū al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad, a foolish man to whom some gave the name of "The Court Companion Grammarian." He wrote some epistles, hit and miss, about banter and diversion for a group [of friends].

Al-*Zajjāj*

His name was Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, the tutor of the sons of *Nāṣir* al-Dawlah.[79] Although I met him at al-Mawṣil, I do not know of any book of his.

Al-ʿ*Awwāmī*

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, the grammarian and judge. He was a friend of mine, known as "the Judge." He died ———. Among his books there was *Corrections and Clarifications*, about grammar.

[76] This title is omitted by the Beatty MS.
[77] Probably al-*Mubarrad* Abū al-ʿAbbās.
[78] Omitted in the Beatty MS.
[79] The ruler of al-Mawṣil, A.D. 929–68.

A Man Known as Ibn *'Abdūs*

His name was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Kūfī and he was a grammarian. Among his books there were:

Measure of Poetry by Meter; The Proof, about the weak letters in grammar; The Meaning of Poetry.

Al-*Wafrāwandī*

His name was Yūnus ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Wafrāwandī and he was a grammarian among whose books there were:

Healing, about the weak letters of grammar; Fulfillment, about the science of prosody.

Al-*Diymartī*

He was Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, one of the inhabitants of Iṣbahān, from a village named Diymart. Among his books there were:

Correction of Pronunciations (Dialects); The Happening (Misfortune), about "Al-Kāmil";[80] Commentary on "Al-Ḥamāsah."

Abū al-*'Abbās*[81]

He was Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Marzabān. Among his books there were:

The Encompassing, about the sciences of the Qur'ān, in twenty-seven sections; Al-Ḥamāsah; Account of *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, may there be peace for them.

Abū al-*Ḥasan* Ibn al-Warrāq[82]

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh and among his books there were:

The Weak Letters of Grammar; The Guidance, a commentary on the "Abridgment of Grammar" of Abū 'Umar al-*Jarmī*.

[80] This was probably the great book of al-*Mubarrad*. The next title is omitted by Flügel. *Ḥamāsah* ("Valor") was the title of numerous anthologies, the most famous of which was that of Abū *Tammām* Ḥabīb ibn Aws.

[81] This paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS.

[82] The Flügel text gives a different name and different titles. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

Abū *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥallāb[83]

No book of his is mentioned.

Ibn *Jinnī*

He was Abū al-Fatḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī, the grammarian, whose birth was before the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42], and who died on a Friday evening of Ṣafar [the second Muslim month] during the year three hundred and ninety-two [A.D. 1001/1002].[84] Among his books there were:[85]

The Explanation, a commentary on the poetry of Abū al-Ṭayyib al-*Mutanabbī*; Pursuit, about Arabic; Al-Mu'rab [word that can be declined] (*or* Al-Mu'arrab [a word that is Arabicized]); Comprehension; The Shining; Distinction between Special and Common Words; Prosody and al-Qawāfī; A Collecting of the Fundamentals of Declension (Conjugation); Stopping and Starting; Pronunciation of Words with Hamzah; Masculine and Feminine; Commentary on the Triple Elegies and Visionary Poem of al-Sharīf al-*Riḍā*; Meaning of the Verses of al-Mutanabbī; The Difference between Special and Common Words.

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Namarī*[86]

No composition of his is recalled.

Bardawayh

There is no mention of a composition of his.

Old Books with Traditions of the Grammarians

Traditions (Accounts) of the Grammarians: by al-*Najīramī*; by Abū *Sa'īd* al-Sīrāfī; by al-*Marzubānī*, the great quoter [borrower

[83] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

[84] The date is omitted in the Beatty MS, which helps to prove that the manuscript was transcribed before the end of the tenth century.

[85] Only the first title is in the Beatty MS, but on the margin some extra titles have been added, probably by a scribe of the eleventh century. These titles do not coincide either with those of the Flügel edition, given in the translation, or the ones given in Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 322, except in a few instances.

[86] This paragraph and the following paragraph about Bardawayh are lacking in the Beatty MS.

from other authors]; by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-*Tārīkhī*.[87]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: This is the end of what we have written in the chapter about grammarians and scholars of language, up to the time of the Saturday after the appearance of the moon, during the month of Shaʿbān [the eighth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987]. We pray Allāh for the long existence for what we have composed for Him and for our remaining in health, security, and sufficiency. For with His graciousness He [Allāh] will bring this to pass and His favor will inspire us, causing us to obey Him, with His generosity. For Allāh is sufficient for us, giving assurance of care. May Allāh bless the bounties of His creation, Muḥammad and [the members of] his family.

Naming of the Books Composed about the Strange in the Ḥadīth[88] The Strange in the Ḥadīth: by Abū *ʿUbaydah*; al-*Aṣmaʿī*; al-*Naḍr* ibn Shumayl; *Quṭrub*; Ibn al-*Aʿrābī*; Abū *ʿAdnān*; Ibn *Qadīm*;[89] Abū *Zayd*; *Salamah*; al-*Athram*; Abū *ʿUbayd*; *Fistuqah* Ṣāḥib al-Karāsī; al-*Sulamī*; al-*Ḥāmiḍ*; Ibn *Qutaybah*; [also] Corrections of the Mistakes of Abū ʿUbayd, by Ibn Qutaybah. The Strange in the Ḥadīth: by Ibn al-*Anbārī*; Ibn *Durayd*; Abū al-*Ḥusayn* al-Qāḍī (the Judge) ibn Abī ʿUmar; Ibn *Kaysān*; al-*Jaʿd*; al-*Ḥaḍramī*, [who] composed [in cooperation] with Abū ʿUmar al-*Zāhid*; Ibn *Rustam* al-Ḥarbī;[90] Ibn *Durustūyah*;

[87] This paragraph is contained on p. 87 ll. 17, 18, of the Flügel edition. It is not in the Beatty MS. As books which would have been recent in the author's time are called "old," it seems clear that this passage was inserted some time after the Beatty MS was transcribed. The paragraph which follows, however, is taken from the Beatty MS, which is more complete than ll. 19, 20, in the Flügel edition. This statement is important, as it gives the date when Chap. II was completed and shows that at that time the author asked for continuing good health.

[88] These books were evidently written about unusual colloquialisms in the Ḥadīth. All of the names of these authors are in the Biog. Index. This passage is in the same handwriting as the rest of the Beatty MS and was probably added to Chap. II as an appendix.

[89] Omitted in the Beatty MS. The author who follows is probably Abū *Zayd* Saʿīd ibn Aws.

[90] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-*Kindī*. The Strange in the Qur'ān, by 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām al-*Dīnawarī*.[91]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: The book of al-Sulamī, who was al-Ḥusayn ibn Ayyāsh al-*Sulamī*, was quoted by Abū 'Umar *Hilāl* ibn al-'Alā' ibn 'Umar ibn Hilāl al-Raqqī al-Bāhilī. Then from Hilāl it was quoted by Abū al-Qāsim al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sādir al-Wāsiṭī.[92]

Naming of the Books Composed about Rare Forms

Rare Forms: according to Abū *'Amr* ibn al-'Alā'; by Abū 'Amr al-*Shaybānī*, three editions, large, small, and medium; of Abū *Zayd*;[93] of al-*Aṣma'ī*; of al-*Kisā'ī*, three renderings; of Ibn al-*A'rābī*, quoted from him by twelve persons; of al-*Farrā'*, quoted by *Salamah*, Ibn *Qadīm*, and al-*Ṭuwāl*; of al-*Liḥyānī*; of Abū *Miṣḥal*; of Abū Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*; of Abū *Ziyād* al-Kilābī; of Abū Shunbul al-'*Uqaylī*; *Dahmaj* al-Naṣrī; of al-*Umawī*; of al-*Athram*; of al-Zubayrīyūn,[94] according to Ibn al-*A'rābī*; of Ibn al-*Sikkīt*; of Abū al-*Maḍraḥī*;[95] of Abū al-*Yaqẓān*, which I have seen written in the handwriting of Ibn *Sa'dān*; of al-*Tawwazī*,[96] [surnamed] Abū Muḥammad; [also] the book of Abū Isḥāq al-*Zajjāj*, about rare forms.

The Names of Books Composed about al-Anwā'

Al-Anwā': by al-*Aṣma'ī*; by Abū *Muḥallim*; by *Quṭrub*; by Ibn al-*A'rābī*; by al-*Mubarrad*; by Ibn *Qutaybah*; by Abū Ḥanīfah al-*Dīnawarī*; by al-*Zajjāj*; by Ibn *Durayd*; by al-*Wahbi*; by al-*Marthadī*; by al-*Waki'*; by Ibn *'Ammār*; by Abū Ghālib Aḥmad ibn Salīm al-*Rāzī*; by *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb.[97]

[91] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

[92] This short paragraph is in the Beatty MS, but omitted by the Flügel edition.

[93] Probably Abū *Zayd* Sa'īd ibn al-Aws.

[94] This probably refers to members of the family of one of the famous men called al-Zubayr; see Biog. Index, *Zubayr* and *Zubayrī*. Flügel, however, gives a different form and the name is not clearly written in the Beatty MS.

[95] The Beatty MS has al-Maḍrajī, probably an error.

[96] This name is unclear in Flügel.

[97] The last two authors are omitted in the Beatty MS.

The Third Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Nadīm, *known as Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Warrāq.*[1]

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the historians, genealogists, and students of historical traditions and literature;*[2] *three sections. The first section with accounts of the historians, genealogists, and students of biography and historical traditions, with the names of their books. The second section with accounts of the secretaries, correspondents, and administrators of the revenues,*[3] *with the names of their books. The third section, with accounts of the men of letters, court companions, singers, buffoons, and clowns, with the names of their books.*

The First Section

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have read the following, written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-*Kūfī*

[1] This title is on a special page of the Beatty MS. Added to it are the following inscriptions: "Transcribed from his model and his handwriting." "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allāh's] servant, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq." "It is the third chapter." The Glossary should be consulted for explanation of many of the terms, names of sects, and book titles mentioned in this chapter.

[2] Instead of "literature" (*al-ādāb*), given in the Beatty MS, the Flügel version has "verses" (*al-āyāt*).

[3] These categories refer to men in the government offices.

"The first person to write a book about calumnies was *Ziyād* ibn Abīh. When he and his lineage were slandered, he wrote it for his son, saying, 'Get the better of the Arabs with this and they will leave you alone.'"

The Names and Accounts of the First Authorities from Whom a Knowledge of Heroic Deeds, Genealogies, and Anecdotes Was Derived[4]

Daghfal

According to what is written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Yazīdī*, he was al-Ḥujr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kinānī, Daghfal being a nickname. He was called Daghfal al-Dhuhlī.[5] He was the genealogist Daghfal ibn Ḥanzālah al-Sadūsī, who was alive at the time of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, but he never heard him speak. When he joined [the Caliph] *Mu'āwiyah* there came to him *Qudāmah* ibn Ḍarrār al-Quray'ī. Daghfal gave him [Qudāmah] his genealogy until he reached the father who begot him. Then he said, "The sons of Ḍarrār are two, one of whom is a poet and the other a hermit. Which one of the two are you?" He [Qudāmah] replied, "I am the frivolous poet. You have hit upon my genealogy and all that concerns me, so now tell me when I shall die." He [Daghfal] said, "I can't do that." The Shurāt (Shurāh) killed Daghfal. He had no compositions.

The Genealogist al-*Bakrī*

He was a Christian who was quoted by *Ru'bah* ibn al-'Ajjāj as saying, "With learning there are want, degradation, and importunity."

Lisān al-Ḥumarrah

His name was *Wiqā'* ibn al-Ash'ar, surnamed Abū Kilāb. He was a genealogist, the most proud and haughty among the people.

[4] This title is translated freely.

[5] This sentence is written on the margin of the Beatty MS. For the tribe of Dhuhl, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 114, 117.

'*Ubayd* ibn Sharyah

He belonged to the Jurhum Tribe[6] and to the period of *Mu'āwiyah*. He reached maturity at the time of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, but he never heard him speak. He went to [the Caliph] Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, who asked him about the traditions of the past, as well as about the Arab and Persian[7] kings, and the reasons for the babel of tongues and the divisions of the peoples in the land. When he [Mu'āwiyah] summoned him to come from Ṣana'ā' al-Yaman, he did what Mu'āwiyah commanded him, 'Ubayd ibn Sharyah, to do, namely to collect records (poems) and genealogy. 'Ubayd lived until the time of [the Caliph] '*Abd* al-Malik ibn Marwān. Among his books there were:

Similes (Proverbs); The Kings and Traditions of the Peoples of the Past.

The Names of the Persons Who Were Quoted by '*Ubayd* ibn Sharyah

Al-*Kayyis* al-Namirī and his son *Zayd* ibn al-Kayyis, al-*Lisayn* al-Jurhumī, and '*Abd* Wadd al-Jurhumī.

'*Alāqah* ibn Karsham al-Kilābī

He was a member of the Banū 'Āmir ibn Kilāb Tribe, who lived at the time of [the Caliph] *Yazīd* ibn Mu'āwiyah and had a knowledge of chronicles and the traditions of the Arabs. He was also one of the scholars from whom they learned of heroic deeds. Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah included him with those who kept him company in the evenings. Among his books there was *Similes* (*Proverbs*), about fifty leaves in length. I have seen it.

Ṣuḥār al-'Abdī

He was one of the Khawārij, named Ṣuḥār ibn al-'Abbās, a genealogist and preacher of the period of *Mu'āwiyah* ibn Abī Sufyān. Like *Daghfal* he knew about historical traditions. Ṣuḥār

[6] For the Jurhum Tribe, see "Djurhum," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1066.

[7] Instead of "Persian" this might be "foreign."

belonged to the party of *'Uthmān*[8] and was a member of the 'Abd al-Qays Tribe.[9] He quoted two or three of the sayings (*ḥadīth*) from the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.[10] Among his books there was (*Similes*) *Proverbs*.

Al-*Sharqī* ibn al-Qaṭāmī

He was surnamed Abū al-Muthannā al-Kalbī. His real name was al-Walīd ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was a genealogist and quoter of historical traditions, genealogies, and records (poems). According to what is written in the handwriting of al-*Yūsufī*, "He was a liar."

It is quoted from al-*Aṣma'ī* that one of the traditionalists told him, "I said to al-Sharqī, 'What did the Arabs recite in their prayers for the dead?' He answered, 'I do not know.'" Then he [the traditionalist] went on to say to him, "They used to recite this verse:

> Neither timid nor the son of cruelty wert thou;
> Be at peace until the Creator sends His Messenger."

He also said, "If I am with him on Friday, there is conversation with him in the sanctuary (mosque)."[11] A poem, "Strange Forms," was written by al-Sharqī.

Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī

Ibn al-*Kawwā'*

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr. He belonged to the Banū Yashkur Tribe and was a genealogist and a scholar. He was also one of the Shī'ah and an adherent of *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace. It is said that when they challenged [the knowledge of] Ibn al-Kawwā' as a genealogist, *Maskīn* al-Darāmī said:

> Come to the sons of al-Kawwā', who make decisions
> By their judgment of men's genealogies.

[8] The party loyal to the third caliph; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 176, 177.

[9] For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 196.

[10] The pious phrase is not found in the Beatty MS.

[11] The wording of this passage, with its quotation, should be compared with the account in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 268. The messenger in the couplet is the Quickener, sent by Allāh to summon the dead on the Day of Resurrection.

Al-*Ṣughdī*

His name was Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Imrān, but he was called al-Ṣughdī because his father lived for a long time in al-Ṣughd. He knew a great deal about the historical tales concerning the Prophet, for whom may there be peace. Among his books there was *The Power (Glory) of Persons Given to Vanities.*

Mujālid ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Umayr ibn Hamdān

He was surnamed Abū 'Umayr. Al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī quoted him, making additions. He recounted historical traditions but, although he heard the sayings of the Prophet, he was weak among the traditionalists. He died during the year one hundred and forty-four [A.D. 761/62].

Sa'd al-Qaṣīr

He was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah Tribe and a genealogist from whom al-*'Utbī*[12] learned about the historical traditions, heroic deeds, and poems of his own people.

'Īsā ibn Da'b Abū al-Walīd 'Īsā ibn Yazīd ibn Bakr ibn Da'b

He belonged to the Kinānah and the Banū al-Shuddākh Tribes.[13] He had relatives at al-Baṣrah and his brother was *Yaḥyā* ibn Yazīd. Their father was also an authority for the historical traditions and poems of the Arabs. He himself was a poet, but the chief ability of the Da'b family was in connection with historical traditions.

Al-*Qurqubī*

His name was Zuhayr ibn Maymūn al-Hamdānī, surnamed Abū Muḥammad. He was a grammarian and [Qur'ānic] reader. When Zuhayr was asked, "From where did you learn about grammar?" he replied, "We heard about it and learned it from the companions of Abū al-Aswad [al-*Du'alī*]." He was also learned in genealogy, historical traditions, and the chronicles (wars) of mankind. He died in the year one hundred and fifty-five [A.D. 771/72].

[12] Probably Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh.

[13] For these tribes see "Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017–18.

Account of *'Awānah*

He was 'Awānah ibn al-Ḥakam ibn 'Iyāḍ ibn Wazr ibn 'Abd al-Ḥārith al-Kalbī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥakam, one of the scholars of al-Kūfah, who was a quoter of historical traditions and acquainted with poetry and genealogy. He was eloquent in style, although blind.

According to what Hishām ibn al-*Kalbī* quoted from him, 'Awānah said:

'*Utbah* ibn al-Nahhās al-'Ijlī preached to us saying, "What is the summum bonum? Allāh, Glorified and Exalted, said in His Book [the Qur'ān], 'Nothing remains alive at death, except the honor of him who praises the Creator.'"

Then he ['Awānah] said:

I rose up in front of him exclaiming, "Allāh, to Whom be glory and praise, did not say that, for it was said by '*Adī* ibn Zayd." He ['Utbah] replied, "By Allāh, I did not think that this was from other than the Book of Allāh, Glorified and Praised, but blessed is the saying of 'Adī ibn Zayd."

When he ['Utbah] came down from the pulpit, there was brought to him a woman of the Khawārij to whom he said, "Oh, enemy of Allāh, why do you revolt against the Commander of the Faithful [the Caliph], do you not respect the word of Allāh, to Whom be glory and praise: 'Foreordained for us [men] are slaying and combat, whereas for women the dragging of skirts.'" She replied, "Oh, enemy of Allāh, your ignorance of the Book of Allāh and your neglect of Allāh's truth have caused me to revolt."[14]

'Awānah died during the year one hundred and forty-seven [A.D. 764/65]. Among his books there were:

History; The life of *Mu'āwiyah* and the Banū Umayyah—this book was said to have been written by *Minjāb* ibn al-Ḥārith, but the truth is that it was written by 'Awānah.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allāh [al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī] ibn Muqlah: "Abū al-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said, '[The Caliph] al-*Walīd* ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik collected

[14] The woman was a fanatic of the Khawārij, who refused to accept certain of the early caliphs. She made fun of the way in which the preacher quoted verses which did not belong to the Qur'ān. Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 94.

the records, poems, historical traditions, genealogies, and dialects of the Arabs and turned over the collection to *Ḥammād* and *Jannād*.'"

Account of *Ḥammād*

He was Abū al-Qāsim Ḥammād ibn Sābūr ibn al-Mubārak ibn 'Ubayd. Sābūr was nicknamed Abū Laylā. He was one of the captives from Daylam captured by Ibn *'Urwah* ibn Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā'ī, who gave him to his daughter, *Laylā*, whom he served for fifty years. When she died he was sold for two hundred silver coins (s., *dirham*). *'Āmir* ibn Maṭar al-Shaybānī purchased him and then set him free. It is said that Abū Laylā was named Maysarah.

Ḥammād, who may have made mistakes about one thing after another, was a quoter of historical traditions, poems, and genealogies during the days of al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He lived until the year one hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 772/73], which was the year of his death. He was a companion of al-*Mahdī*[15] and he related, "I sang good poetry for al-Walīd, but he demanded something more popular (corrupt). When I sang that he enjoyed it so much that I knew it was a success. Then [in later years] I sang popular verses for al-Mahdī, but he asked me for something good, with literary excellence.[16] Thus I know that it went well with them both."

Ḥammād was born during the year seventy-five [A.D. 694/95]. When he died *Muḥammad* ibn Kunāsah eulogized him:

> Thou hast gone beyond the fleeting sleep,
> Past on hast thou, until fate has brought thee to an end.
> Had caution saved thee from perishing,
> Caution would have rescued thee from what befell thee.
> May Allāh be merciful to thee, my brother Abū Qāsim,
> For there is no impurity [mingled] with his purity.[17]
> For thus doth time waste away,
> Its wisdom perish and its traces vanish.

We have not seen any book of Ḥammād's, but men quoted him and composed books according to him.

[15] Al-Walīd was a light-hearted Umayyad caliph at the end of the dynasty. Al-Mahdī was an able 'Abbāsid caliph, whom Ḥammād knew as a prince.

[16] The Arabic word translated "literary excellence" is *al-faḥl*.

[17] Compare this couplet with Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 140.

Account of *Jannād*

He was Abū Muḥammad Jannād ibn Wāṣil al-Kūfī, a protégé of the Banū Asad Tribe, said to have been surnamed Abū Wāṣil. Although he was not learned in grammar and made many errors in speech, he knew more than the other people about the poetry and chronicles of the Arabs.

I read something written in the handwriting of Abū al-*Ṭayyib*, the brother of al-Shāfi'ī, who said:

When Jannād and *Isḥāq* ibn al-Jassās came to Abū '*Irār* al-'Ijlī, the Arabian, who was a master of literary style, Jannād said to him, "Hear something which I have worked on and do it justice." He replied "Speak!" Jannād, accordingly, said:[18]

If thou dost not comprehend what death is,
Behold the Convent of Hind, how its graveyard is outlined.

Then Isḥāq said:

Thou seest the wonder of things ordained by Allāh,
Among them pledges of death, constrained by His omnipotence.

Abū 'Irār continued:

Houses thou seest, their locks above their dwellers,
With a group of visitors, but the visitor is not spoken to.

Abū *Isḥāq*

He was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Asmā' ibn Khārijah al-Fazārī, a good and excellent man, except that his traditions were full of errors. He died at al-Maṣṣīṣah in the year one hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 804]. Among his books there was a book about biography and the holy war . . .[19] and *Al-Sīr*, about historical events and traditions. Abū 'Amr *Mu'āwiyah* ibn 'Amr al-Azdī quoted him. This Abū 'Amr died at Baghdād during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31].

[18] This same anecdote is given in Chap. II, sect. 1, near n. 39, with the account of Abū '*Irār*.

[19] Flügel omits this sentence and the Beatty MS garbles the final words, which are indicated by an ellipsis here.

Account of Ibn *Isḥāq* Ṣāḥib al-Sīr[20]

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār,[21] who was defamed without reason. It is said that the charge was made to the governor of al-Madīnah that he took women unawares. The governor, therefore, ordered that he should be brought before him. As he [Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq] had beautiful hair, he fastened up his head.[22] Then he beat him with lashes and prohibited him from sitting in the rear of the mosque.[23]

He had a handsome appearance and quoted *Fāṭimah* bint al-Mundhir [ibn Zubayr], the wife of *Hishām* ibn ʿUrwah. This [gossip about her] reached Hishām, but he denied it saying, "When did he ever enter into her presence or hear her speak?"

It is said that poetry was composed for him, being brought with the request that it should be included in his book of biography. As he did include it, his book contained some verses which disgraced it among persons who quoted poetry. The errors in genealogy presented in his book and derived from the Jews and Christians, whom he called in his book "People of the First Knowledge" and "Possessors of Tradition," weakened and falsified his writing. He died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 768]. Among his books there were:

The Caliphs, quoted by al-*Umawī*; Al-Sīrah (The Biography)[24] and the Beginning and the Wars—*Ibrāhīm* ibn Saʿd and al-*Nufaylī* quoted it.

The Name of al-*Nufaylī*

He was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Numayr al-Nufaylī. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/49] at Ḥarrān. He was surnamed Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

[20] *Ṣāḥib al-sīr* means "author of the biographies." Flügel gives the more usual form, *al-sīrah* ("biography").

[21] The Beatty MS has Yashār, which is probably a mistake, as Khallikān, II, 677, and Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 247, give Yasār.

[22] Flügel gives *waqaf* ("stopped") whereas the Beatty MS has a word which must be incorrectly written but might be meant for *dhaqan*, which refers to striking the back of the head near the neck.

[23] The women sat in the rear of the mosque.

[24] This was the famous biography of the Prophet. For the English translation, see the bibliography in Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*. See p. xxv of Isḥāq's introduction for the poetry in *Al-Sīrah*.

Najiḥ al-Madanī

He was Abū Ma'shar, whose name was Najiḥ al-Madanī, a protégé and scribe of princes of the Banū Makhzūm Tribe.[25] He was a freedman and one of the traditionalists, acquainted with the Ḥadīth and biography [of the Prophet]. He died during the reign of al-*Hādī* in the year seventy [A.H. 170: A.D. 785/86]. Among his books there was *Raids* [early wars of Islām].

Abū *Mikhnaf*

He was Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd ibn Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym al-Azdī. *Mikhnaf* ibn Sulaym was one of the associates of *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace. He quoted the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, and also the Companions. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Apostasy (Al-Riddah); The Invasion of Syria; The Invasion of al-'Irāq; [Battle of] the Camel; [Battle of] Ṣiffīn; The People of Nahrawān and the Khawārij; Raids (Al-Ghārāt [early wars of Islām involving plunder]); Al-*Ḥārith* ibn Rāshid and the Banū Nājiyah;[26] The Assassination of *'Alī*, for Whom May There Be Peace; The Execution of *Ḥujr* ibn 'Adī; The Slaying of *Muḥammad* ibn Abī Bakr and of al-*Ashtar* and *Muḥammad* ibn Abī Ḥudayfah; Al-Shūrā[27] and the Assassination of *'Uthmān*; Al-*Mustawrid* ibn 'Ullafah; The Slaying of al-*Ḥusayn*, for Whom May There Be Peace; The Death of *Mu'āwiyah*, the Reign of al-*Yazīd*, the Battle of al-Ḥarrah,[28] and the Fortifications of Ibn al-*Zubayr*; Al-*Mukhtār* ibn Abī 'Ubayd; *Sulaymān* ibn Ṣurad and 'Ayn al-Wardah.[29]

Marj Rāhiṭ, the Election of *Marwān*, and the Slaying of al-*Ḍaḥḥāk* ibn Qays; *Muṣ'ab* and His Province, al-'Irāq; The Slaying of *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; The Slaying of *Sa'īd* ibn al-'Āṣ; The Story of Yā Ḥumayrā'[30] and the Slaying of Ibn al-*Ash'ath*; *Bilāl* al-Khārijī; *Najdah*

[25] See "Makhzūm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 171.

[26] See Mas'ūdī, IV, 418–19; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 146–47.

[27] A board appointed by the Caliph 'Umar to choose his successor; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 178.

[28] The Beatty MS has al-Ḥīrah, but probably al-Ḥarrah is correct, as it was the region near al-Madīnah where Ibn al-Zubayr was defeated, A.D. 683.

[29] Better known as Ra's al-'Ayn in northeast Syria, where Sulaymān ibn Ṣurad was killed; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 731.

[30] A nickname for *'Ā'ishah*. This word is not clear in the Beatty MS.

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and Abū *Fudayk*;[31] The Story of the Azāriqah; The Story of Rustuqbādh;[32] *Shabīb* al-Ḥarūrī[33] and *Ṣāliḥ* ibn Musarraḥ; *Muṭarraf* ibn al-Mughīrah; Al-Jamājim[34] and the Disposal of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-*Ash'ath*; *Yazīd* ibn al-Muhallab and His Murder at al-'Aqr;[35] *Khālid* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī and *Yūsuf* ibn 'Umar, the Death of *Hishām*, and the Reign of al-*Walīd* ibn Yazīd; *Zayd* ibn 'Alī, for Whom Be Peace; *Yaḥyā* ibn Zayd; Al-*Ḍaḥḥāk* al-Khārijī.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khazzāz, that:

The scholars have said that Abū *Mikhnaf* excelled others in connection with al-'Irāq, for its historical traditions and invasions; al-*Madā'inī* in connection with Khurāsān, India, and Persia; and al-*Wāqidī* in connection with al-Ḥijāz and the biography [of the Prophet]. They shared together in a knowledge of the invasion of Syria.

Abū al-Faḍl *Naṣr* ibn Muzāḥim

He was a perfume seller of the Banū Munqar Tribe, who belonged to the generation of Abū *Mikhnaf*. *Muzāḥim* [his father] was the son of *Sayyār* al-Minqarī. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Raids [early wars of Islām]; [Battle of] Ṣiffīn; [Battle of] the Camel; Execution of *Ḥujr* ibn 'Adī; The Slaying of al-*Ḥusayn* ibn 'Alī, May There Be Peace for Both of Them [father and son].

Isḥāq ibn Bishr

He was one of the scholars of biography and historical traditions, among whose books there were:

The Beginning; The Apostasy; [Battle of] the Camel; The Invasions;[36] The Banners; The Zamzam Well; [Battle of] Ṣiffīn.

[31] The texts are garbled, but as these men were comrades, this rendering is probably correct.

[32] In the Beatty MS this word is written as Rushnuqbādh, but it can also be written as Rustaqubādh; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 778; III, 227.

[33] This name comes from the rebel center, Ḥarūrā'; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 246.

[34] Dayr al-Jamājim ("Monastery of the Skulls") was the scene of a battle when the peasants rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of al-'Irāq; see Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 431, 443; Mas'ūdī, V, 304 ff.

[35] A village southwest of Babylon; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 695.

[36] This title is in the Beatty MS but not in the Flügel text.

Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Asadī al-Tamīmī

He was one of those who were interested in biography and historical traditions. Among his books there were:

The large book, The Conquests and the Apostasy; The Camel and the Experiences of *'Ā'ishah* and *'Alī*, for Whom Be Peace.

Sayf was quoted by *Shu'ayb* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ———.

'Abd al-Mun'im ibn Idrīs ibn Sinān ibn ibnat Wahb ibn Munabbih[37]

He died during the year two hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 842/43]. He was blind at the end of his life but lived to be over one hundred years old. Among his books there was *The Beginning*.

Ma'mar ibn Rāshid

He was from al-Kūfah, a scholar of biography and historical tradition, quoted by *'Abd* al-Razzāq. Among his books there was *Raids* [early wars of Islām].

Laqīṭ al-Muḥāribī

He was Abū Hilāl Laqīṭ ibn Bakīr al-Muḥāribī of al-Kūfah, from the Banū Muḥārib ibn Khafṣah Tribe, one of those who quoted learning and composed books. He was a man of bad character and a poet, who lived until the year one hundred and ninety [A.D. 805/806]. Among his books there were:

Al-Samūr (Swift Camels); Spearmen and Robbers; Information about the Jinn.

Abū al-*Yaqẓān* the Genealogist

It was reported by al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Fahm from al-*Dimashqī* that al-*Zubayr* quoted al-*Madā'inī* as saying:

Abū al-Yaqẓān was Suḥaym ibn Ḥafṣ, Suḥaym being a nickname, as his true name was 'Āmir ibn Ḥafṣ. Ḥafṣ had a son named Muḥammad, who was his eldest child. Now Ḥafṣ was a Negro, exceedingly black and so known as "the Black." Abū al-Yaqẓān said that for fifteen days his mother called him 'Ubayd Allāh (Little Slave of Allāh).

[37] The form *ibnat* means "daughter of." *Wahb* ibn Munabbih was one of the early converts to Islām.

Thus al-Madā'inī said:

If you say that Abū al-Yaqẓān passed on a tradition to us, he is truly Abū al-Yaqẓān. But if you say Suḥaym ibn Ḥafṣ, or 'Āmir ibn Ḥafṣ, or 'Āmir ibn Abī Muḥammad, or 'Āmir ibn al-Aswad (the Black), or Suḥaym ibn al-Aswad, or 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Āmir, or Abū Isḥāq, it is also Abū al-Yaqẓān.

He had a knowledge of historical traditions, genealogies, heroic deeds, and scandals, and was accurate in what he quoted about them. He died during the year one hundred and seventy [A.D. 786/87]. Among his books there were:

Intermingling of Tamīm [Clans], One with Another; Historical Traditions of the Tamīm; The Genealogy and Historical Traditions of Khindif; The Great Book of Genealogy, which included the genealogy of Iyād, Kinānah, Asad ibn Khuzaymah, al-Hawn ibn Khuzaymah, Hudhayl ibn Mudrikah, Quraysh, Banū Ṭābikhah, Qays 'Aylān, Rabī'ah ibn Nizār, Taym ibn Murrah, and other genealogies in addition to these;[38] Rare Forms, which I saw written in the handwriting of Ibn *Sa'dān*.

Khālid ibn Ṭalīq ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān ibn Ḥusayn al-Khuzā'ī

He was a historian, who quoted the genealogists, and a proud, conceited man. [The Caliph] Al-*Mahdī* appointed him as judge of al-Baṣrah, where his pride reached the point that when prayer was offered he stood in his place, even if he stood alone. When somebody said to him, "One individual is straight in a row [at prayer],"[39] he replied to him, "The row is straight because of me." Among his books there were:

Heroic Deeds; Al-Muzawwajāt (Married Women) (*or* Al-Muzawwijāt [Women Who Make Matches]); Suits to Defend Nobility; The Proof.

Al-*Zuhrī*

His name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī, and he was one of the persons interested in biography. Among his books there was *The Invasions of* Khālid *ibn al-Walīd*.

[38] For these tribes, see "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643; "Iyād," II, 565; "Ḳais 'Ailān" (Qays 'Aylān), II, 652. See also Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 18, 104, for Kinānah; p. 115 for Khuzaymah; p. 108 for Hudhayl; p. 189 for Rabī'ah ibn Nizār; p. 123 for Taym ibn Murrah. The Quraysh was the tribe of the Prophet. The Beatty MS omits al-Hawn ibn Khuzaymah.

[39] The row formed by one man is straight.

Ibn Abī *Maryam*

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Saʿīd ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī Maryam, a genealogist and historian among whose books there were:

Genealogy; Heroic Deeds; Nawāfil of the Arabs.

Account of Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib [al-*Kalbī*]

He was Abū al-Naḍr Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib. In the handwriting of al-*Kūfī* [his genealogy is written]: "Muḥammad ibn Mālik ibn al-Sā'ib ibn Bishr ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn Imru' al-Qays ibn ʿĀmir ibn al-Nuʿmān ibn ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbd Wudd ibn ʿAwf ibn Kinānah ibn ʿUdhrah ibn Zayd al-Lāt ibn Rufaydah ibn Kalb." He was one of the scholars of al-Kūfah acquainted with exegesis, historical traditions, and chronicles of the people, outstanding among them as a genealogist. He had a son named al-ʿAbbās, who quoted him.

It is said that *Sulaymān* ibn ʿAlī [governor of al-Baṣrah] promoted Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib from al-Kūfah to al-Baṣrah, where he gave him a place in his court. He appointed him to dictate the exegesis of the Qur'ān to the public. But when he reached a verse in "Sūrah Barā'ah"[40] and explained it differently from what was accepted, the people said, "We won't write down this interpretation." Then Muḥammad [ibn al-Sā'ib] replied, "By Allāh, I won't dictate a single letter until the interpretation of this verse is written down as Allāh revealed it!" So the dispute was referred to Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī, who said, "Write down what he says and submit to it."

Hishām ibn Muḥammad [Ibn al-*Kalbī*] said:

My father said to me, "I learned about the genealogy of the Quraysh[41] from Abū *Ṣāliḥ*, Abū Ṣāliḥ having acquired it from '*Aqīl* ibn Abī Ṭālib." Then he said, "I learned about the genealogy of the Kindah Tribe from Abū al-*Kannās* al-Kindī, who knew more about it than anyone else. I learned about the genealogy of the Maʿadd ibn ʿAdnān Tribe from al-*Najjār* ibn Aws al-ʿAdwānī, who from what I saw and what I heard about him had the best memory of them all. I learned about the genealogy

[40] Sūrah 9 of the Qur'ān, also called "Al-Tawbah."

[41] For the tribal names in this paragraph, see "Ḳuraish" (Quraysh), *Enc. Islam*, II, 1122; "Kinda" (Kindah), II, 1018; "Iyād," II, 565; "Maʿadd," III, 58. For the Rabīʿah, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 189; Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, Index, for references.

of the Iyād Tribe from *'Adī* ibn Waththāb al-Iyādī, who knew more than anyone else about Iyād."

Hishām also said, "I learned about the genealogy of the Rabī'ah Tribe from my father and from *Khirāsh* ibn Ismā'īl al-Ijlī."

Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib said, "Once *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan asked me about the name of *Sukaynah*, the daughter of al-*Ḥusayn*, for whom be peace. I replied, 'Umaymah.' Then he said 'You have hit it right.'" Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib died at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and forty-six [A.D. 763/64]. Among his books there was *Exegesis of the Qur'ān* (*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*).

Account of Hishām al-*Kalbī* (*or* ibn al-*Kalbī*)

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, the secretary of al-*Wāqidī*, said, "He was Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib ibn Bishr, a scholar of the genealogy, historical traditions, chronicles, faults, and battles of the Arabs. He derived his knowledge from his father and from a group of persons who quoted traditions."

Isḥāq al-*Mawṣilī* said, "Whenever I saw three men appearing, three others were coming too. For if al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī appeared, Hishām al-*Kalbī* was there; *'Allawīyah* was there if *Mukhāriq* turned up; Abū *Nuwās* was on hand if Abū al-*'Atāhiyah* appeared."[42]

Hishām died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. The books which he composed are the following, mentioned according to the sequence recorded in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan, [called] Ibn al-*Kūfī*:

His Books about Treaties

Treaty of *'Abd* al-Muṭṭalib and Khuzā'ah;[43] Treaty of al-Fadhūl and Qissat al-Ghazāl; Treaty of Kalb and Tamīm; Light-Armed Raiders (Al-Mughīrāt); Treaty of the Conversion to Islām among the Quraysh.[44]

[42] Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī was the foremost court musician. In regard to the other names in this paragraph, al-Haytham and al-Kalbī were experts for anecdotes and tribal traditions, 'Allawīyah and Mukhāriq were popular singers, while Abū Nuwās and Abū al-'Atāhiyah were leading poets. They all lived at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his immediate successors.

[43] See "Khuzā'a" (Khuzā'ah), *Enc. Islam*, II, 984.

[44] For submission of the Quraysh, see Isḥāq, *Life of* Isḥāq, p. 553.

His Books about Heroic Deeds, Aristocratic Families, Competitions for Nobility, and Girls Buried Alive[45]

Contests for Nobility (Al-Munāfarāt); Aristocratic Families of the Quraysh; Virtues of Qays ʿAylān; Girls Buried Alive; Aristocratic Families of Rabīʿah; Surnames; The Sermon of ʿAlī, for Whom May There Be Peace;[46] The Nobility of *Qusayy* ibn Kilāb and His Children during the Pre-Islāmic Period and Islām; Nicknames of the Quraysh; Nicknames of the Banū Tābikhah; Nicknames of the Qays ʿAylān; Nicknames of the Rabīʿah; Nicknames of the Yaman; Faults; Nawāfil, which comprises Nawāfil of the Quraysh,[47] Kinānah, Asad, Tamīm, Qays, Iyād, and Rabīʿah; Naming of Those of ʿĀd, Thamūd, al-ʿAmālīk (the Amelekites), Jurhum, and the Banū Isrāʾīl (Children of Israel) among the Arabs Who Rendered Extra Favors;[48] The Story of al-Hijris and the Names of Its Tribes; also, Nawāfil of Qudāʿah and the Yaman.

Among the Books of Hishām [al-*Kalbī*]

Appeal of *Ziyād* to *Muʿāwiyah*; Account of *Ziyād* ibn Abīh; Crafts of the Quraysh; Disputes (Contests); Transmitting Stories (Conversations, Recounting of Tales); Reproaches; Insurrections; Kings of the Tribes;[49] Kings of Kindah; Aristocratic Families of the Yaman; The Tubbaʿ Kings of the Yaman;[50] Divisions of the Offspring of Maʿadd;[51]

[45] Flügel gives *al-mawudāt* ("girls buried alive"), which seems correct, as the Arabs buried daughters alive when too many of them were born in one family. On the other hand, the word in the Beatty MS appears to be *al-mawridāt*, which means "ways to watering places."

[46] The translation follows Flügel, which gives *khuṭbah* ("sermon") or *khiṭbah* ("betrothal"). The word might also be *khaṭb* ("calamity"), which appears to be the form in the Beatty MS. Flügel gives the epithet "may Allāh honor his presence."

[47] For this and the tribes which follow, see *Enc. Islam:* "Ḳuraish" (Quraysh), II, 1122; "Kināna" (Kinānah), II, 1017; "Asad," I, 474; "Tamīn," IV, 643; "Ḳais-ʿAilān" (Qays), II, 652; "Iyād," II, 565; "ʿĀd," I, 121; "Thamūd," IV, 736; "Djurhum" (Jurham), I, 1066; "Ḳuḍāʿa" (Qudāʿah), II, 1093. For Rabīʿah, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 93, 280, 502 n. 1.

[48] This translation is taken from the Beatty MS; Flügel gives a different form.

[49] The Kings of the Tribes (*Mulūk* al-*Ṭawāʾif*), when referring to Asia, as a rule signifies the tribal kings of Persia in Hellenistic times; see Glossary. Here the term may refer to tribal chiefs among the Arabs, such as those mentioned by Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 78–86.

[50] See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 60, 85.

[51] For the tribes mentioned in this title and the ones which follow, see "Maʿadd," *Enc. Islam*, III, 58; "Nizār," III, 939; "Al-Azd," I, 529; "Djadīs," III, 992, for Ṭasm and Jadīs.

Scattering of the Offspring of Nizār; Scattering of al-Azd; Ṭasm and Jadīs; He Who Has Recited a Verse of Poetry and Been Nicknamed for It;[52] The Women of the Quraysh Who Are Known.

His Books with Accounts of the Forefathers

Traditions of *Adam* and His Offspring; ʿĀd, the Beginning and the End;[53] The Scattering of ʿĀd; Companions of the Cave [Sūrah 18]; Ascension of *ʿIsā*,[54] for Whom Be Peace; Elders[55] of the Children of Israel; The Forefathers (Ancients); Proverbs of Ḥimyar;[56] The Retribution (Life) of al-*Ḍaḥḥāk*;[57] Language of the Birds; Ghazīyah;[58] Languages (Vernaculars) of the Qur'ān; Persons Who Have Lived to an Advanced Age; Idols; Arrows for Fortune Telling (Arrows for Gambling); Teeth of the Slaughtered Animal; Religions of the Arabs.

Judgments (Regimes) of the Arabs; Charges (Wills) of the Arabs; Swords; Horses; Things Buried; Stallions among the Horses of the Arabs; Court Companions; Wealth (Song); Diviners (Priests); Jinn; *Chosroes* Taking Arab Hostages (Chosroes Taking Arab Pledges); What the Pre-Islāmic Period Accomplished and Contributed to the Regime of Islām; Ibn *ʿAttāb* Rabiʿ When He Was Asked about the Strange; *ʿAdī* ibn Zayd al-ʿIbādī; Al-Daws;[59] *Bayhas* and His Brothers; *Marwān* al-Qaraẓ.

His Books about How Islām Was Close to the Regime of the Pre-Islāmic Period

The Yaman and the Rule of *Sayf*;[60] The Deputations;[61] Wives of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[62] Marriages of Arab Couples; *Zayd* ibn Ḥārithah, Beloved of the Prophet, May Allāh

[52] The last two titles are omitted in the Beatty MS.

[53] See Qur'ān 7:65–72 and " 'Ad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 121.

[54] This evidently refers to Jesus. The Beatty MS does not include the pious phrase.

[55] As the form is unusual, this may not be correct.

[56] See "Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310.

[57] Probably Ibn Qays.

[58] A tribal name; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 177.

[59] For this tribal name see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 291.

[60] Almost certainly *Sayf* ibn Dhī Yazan, who freed the Yaman from Abyssinia, A.D. 575.

[61] See Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 627.

[62] The blessings for the Prophet here and two titles further are omitted in the Beatty MS.

Bless Him and Give Him Peace; The Naming of Whoever Spoke a Verse or Was Mentioned in One; The Adornment, about traditions of the poets; He Who among the Quraysh Gloried in His Maternal Uncles; He Who Migrated and His Father;[63] Accounts of the Jinn and Their Poems; The Introduction of *Jarīr* [the poet] to al-*Ḥajjāj* [the governor of al-'Irāq]; Account of '*Amr* ibn Ma'dī Karib.

His Books about the Historical Traditions of Islām

History; History of the Traditions of the Caliphs; Descriptions (Qualities) of the Caliphs; The Ones Who Pray.

His Books about the Historical Traditions of the Countries

The large book, The Countries; the small book, The Countries; The Naming of Whoever in al-Ḥijāz was from the Encampments of the Arabs; Division of the Two Lands; The Rivers; Al-Ḥīrah;[64] Manār of al-Yaman;[65] The Four Wonders; Arab Fairs; The Regions; Al-Ḥīrah and Naming of the Churches and Houses, and the Genealogy of the 'Ibād.[66]

His Books with Traditions of the Poetry and Battles (Ayyām) of the Arabs

Listing of the Names of the Men and Women in the Poetry of *Imru'* al-Qays, with Their Genealogies and the Names of the Regions, Mountains, and Waters; Whoever Recited a Verse of Poetry after Which He Was Nicknamed;[67] Al-*Mundhir*, King of the Arabs; Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā';[68] The Battles of Fazārah and the Conflicts of the Banū Shaybān;[69] The Conflicts of al-Ḍabāb and Fazārah; The Battle of

[63] This evidently refers to a man who went from Makkah to al-Madīnah with the Prophet; perhaps it refers to the Prophet himself.

[64] Al-Ḥīrah was a Nestorian town east of Babylon in Byzantine times.

[65] Stones erected by King Abrahah to help his troops find their way. It was also a nickname of the king; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1496.

[66] The people of al-Ḥīrah were called the 'Ibād; Flügel gives 'Ibādīyīn. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 82, 312; "Al-Ḥīra," *Enc. Islam*, II, 314; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 375.

[67] Not in the Beatty MS.

[68] The stallion and mare of two chiefs who were responsible for a war; for the story, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 90; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XVI, p. 24 l. 11.

[69] See "Fazāra," *Enc. Islam*, II, 93; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 117, 155, 171, 210; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 345.

Sunnayq;[70] Al-Kilāb, Which Was [about] the Battle of Nashshāsh;[71] The Battles of the Banū Ḥanīfah;[72] The Battles of Qays ibn Tha'labah;[73] The Battles (Ayyām); *Musaylimah* the Imposter and *Sajāḥ*.[74]

His Books about Traditions and Stories

The Four Youths; Storytelling (Evening Conversation); The Traditions (Legends); Short Poems (Pieced Garments); Ḥabīb the Perfumer;[75] Wonders of the Sea.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]:

Kitāb al-Nasab al-Kabīr (The Large Book of Genealogy) [by Ibn al-*Kalbī*] Contains the Genealogy Of:[76]

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Muḍar	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 20
Kinānah ibn Khuzaymah	"Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017
Asad ibn Khuzaymah	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 110
Hudhayl ibn Mudrikah	"Hudhail," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329
Banū Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm	"Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 644 middle
Taym al-Ribāb	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111
'Ukl	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 113
'Adīy	Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 73, 228, 296
Thawr Aṭḥal	Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 306
Muzaynah Ḍabbah	"Ḍabba," *Enc. Islam*, I, 884
Qays 'Aylān	"Ḳais-'Ailān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 652
Ghaṭafān	"Ghaṭafān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 144
Bāhilah	"Bāhila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 576
Ghanīy	"Ghanī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 140

[70] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 171.

[71] For the tribal term al-Kilāb, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 13, 95. For the battle of Nashshāsh with the Banū Numayr, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XII, p. 38, and Part XV, p. 65 bottom. See also Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 783.

[72] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 207, 209.

[73] See references in Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Tables alphabétiques, p. 559.

[74] Musaylimah was a false prophet who opposed the development of early Islām, and Sajāḥ was a soothsayer, whom he married.

[75] This was probably the character in a story rather than a real person.

[76] For convenience, the translator's references are given in a second column after the tribal names, rather than in footnotes. Additional references can be found with the notes of the Flügel edition.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Sulaym	"Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518
ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah	"ʿĀmir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 329
Murrah ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah	"ʿĀmir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 329
Al-Ḥārith ibn Muʿāwiyah	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 239
Naṣr ibn Muʿāwiyah	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 177; Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 42
Saʿd ibn Bakr	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 177
Thaqīf	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 183
Muhārib ibn Khaṣafah	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 41
Fahm	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 162
ʿAdwān	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 162
Rabīʿah ibn ʿĀmir	Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 178, 179; Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, pp. 42, 46
Iyād	"Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565
ʿAkk	"ʿAkk," *Enc. Islam*, I, 240
ʿAlī	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 285
Genealogy of al-Yaman:	
Kindah	"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1018
Al-Sakūn	"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1019
Al-Sakāsik	"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1019
ʿĀmilah	"ʿĀmila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 326
Judhām	"Djudhām," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1058
Qādim	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 250
Khawlān	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 227
Maʿāfir[77]	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 227
Madhḥij	"Madhḥidj," *Enc. Islam*, III, 82
Ṭayyiʾ ibn Madhḥij	"Ṭaiy," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623
Banū Madhḥij ibn Kaʿb	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 53
Musliyah	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 241
Ashjaʿ	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, pp. 39, 40
Rahāʾ	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 52; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 242
Ṣudāʾ	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 52; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 242
Janb	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 52; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 242

[77] Written as Maʿāqir in the Beatty MS.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Ḥakam ibn Sa'd al-'Ashīrah	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 52; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 242
Zubayd	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 245
Murād	"Murād," *Enc. Islam*, III, 726
'Ans	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 52
Al-Ash'ar	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 50
Udad	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51
Hamdān	"Hamdān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 246
Al-Azd	"Al-Azd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 529
Al-Aws	"Al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523
Al-Khazraj	"Khazradj," *Enc. Islam*, II, 938
Khuzā'ah	"Khuzā'a," *Enc. Islam*, II, 984
Bāriq	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 54
Ghassān	"Ghassān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 142
Bajīlah	"Badjīla," *Enc. Islam*, I, 558
Khath'am	"Khath'am," *Enc. Islam*, II, 924
Ḥimyar	"Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310
Quḍā'ah	"Ḳudā'a," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1093
Balqayn	"Al-Ḳain," *Enc. Islam*, II, 644
Al-Namir ibn Wabarah	"Wabār," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1073; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 113, 240
Lahab	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 288
Sulaym	"Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518
Dim	[Clearly written in the Beatty MS, but not identified]
Balīy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51
Mahrah	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51; "Mahra," *Enc. Islam*, III, 138
'Udhrah	"'Udhra," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 988
Salāmān	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51
Ḍabbah ibn Sa'd	Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 111, 117; "Ḍabba," *Enc. Islam*, I, 884
Juhaynah	"Djuhaina," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1060
Nahd ibn Zayd	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 320

What Was a Single (Unmixed) Genealogy [Contained] in the Large Genealogy[78]

[78] In the Arabic text the words "Book (chapter), the genealogy of" come before the names of most of these tribes, but these extra words are omitted in the translation.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Quraysh	"Ḳuraish," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1122
Ma'add ibn 'Adnān	"Ma'add," *Enc. Islam*, III, 58
Descendants of al-'*Abbās*	Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 289, 297
Abū *Ṭālib*	Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 111
Banū 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf	Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 111, 189
Banū Nawfal ibn 'Abd Manāf	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 54
Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Quṣayy	"Asad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 474; "Ḳusaiy," II, 1158
Banū 'Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy	"Ḳusaiy," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1158
Banū Zuhrah ibn Kilāb	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 59
Banū Taym ibn Murrah	"Taim b. Murra," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 622
Banū 'Adīy ibn Ka'b ibn Lu'ayy	Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 16, 84; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Sahm ibn ——— 'Amr ibn Huṣayṣ	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 73; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Banū 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Fihr	Mas'ūdī, IV, 121, 124
Banū Muḥārib ibn Fihr	Mas'ūdī, IV, 122[79]

Other Books of His [Ibn al-*Kalbī*]

Children of the Caliphs; Female Ancestors (Mothers) of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[80] Mothers of the Caliphs; Weeping (Al-'Awā'il);[81] Naming of the Sons of '*Abd* al-Muṭṭalib; A Compendium of Collecting, quoted by [*Muḥammad*] ibn Sa'd; Surnames of the Ancestors of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace.

Account of al-*Wāqidī*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī, a protégé of the Aslam family, which descended from Sahm ibn

[79] The Flügel edition inserts a title which is evidently out of place. It is "*The First Kilāb and Second Kilāb*, which were two battles (*ayyām*) among the battles of the Arabs." See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XI, p. 63, and Part XII, p. 153.

[80] The Beatty MS lacks this pious phrase, and also that following "the Prophet" in the last title of this list.

[81] This title may also be *Al-Ghawā'il* ("Misfortunes"). Flügel has a variation, *Al-'Awāqil* ("The Intelligent").

Aslam.[82] He was a Shī'ī, his way of belief being good, demanding piety.[83]

It was he who quoted that *'Alī*, for whom be peace, was one of the miracles of the Prophet, may Allāh grant him peace, as the rod was to *Mūsā* (Moses) and the raising of the dead to *'Īsā* (Jesus). [He also quoted] other historical traditions.[84]

He was an inhabitant of al-Madīnah, who moved to Baghdād, where he served [the Caliph] al-*Rashīd*[85] as judge of the 'Askar al-Mahdī Quarter.[86] He was learned in connection with the wars and the biography [of the Prophet], the invasions, the contradictory ideas of scholars about the Ḥadīth, as well as for the law, judgments, and historical traditions.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have read the following in an ancient handwriting:[87] "After his death Al-Wāqidī left behind six hundred cases of books, each case a load for two men. He had two young men slaves, who wrote for him day and night. Previously there had been sold to him books costing two thousand gold coins (s., *dīnār*)."

His secretary, *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'd, said:

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Wāqidī told me that he was born during the year one hundred and thirty [A.D. 747/48]. He died Monday evening, the eleventh of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the last Muslim month], during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23] when he was seventy-eight years old. He was buried in the Cemetery of al-Khayzurān; *Muḥammad* ibn Samā'ah prayed for him.[88]

[82] For this tribal name, see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 1567; Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 512.

[83] Cf. "al-Wāḳidī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1105, for the final statement about the Shī'ī belief of this author.

[84] This paragraph follows the Beatty MS, which varies from the Flügel text.

[85] Flügel gives al-*Ma'mūn*.

[86] This quarter is better known as al-Ruṣāfah. It is in the northeast part of Baghdād, where between A.D. 770 and 775 the Caliph al-*Manṣūr* built a palace for his son, al-*Mahdī*. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 293; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 42, 189.

[87] *Bi-khaṭṭ 'atīq* is the phrase given in Arabic. It probably means "an ancient handwriting," although it might refer to the handwriting of a man named 'Atīq, such as the contemporary of al-Nadīm, 'Atīq ibn Khalaf. See Ziriklī, Part IV, p. 362.

[88] Muḥammad ibn Samā'ah offered the principal prayer at the funeral. The cemetery was on the East Bank of the Tigris, north of the Ruṣāfah Quarter of Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 191, 226.

Among his books there were:[89]

History, Raids, and Deputations; Historical Traditions of Makkah; The Generations [of Islām];[90] The Invasion of Syria; The Invasion of al-'Irāq; [The Battle of] the Camel; The Slaying of al-*Ḥusayn*;[91] The Biography [of the Prophet]; Marriage of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Repulsion and al-Dār;[92] The War of Aws and Khazraz;[93] [The Battle of] Ṣiffīn; The Incident of the Abyssinians and the Elephant;[94] The Death of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; The Marriages; Al-Saqīfah[95] and the Acknowledgment (Ba'ah) of Abū *Bakr*; Mention of the Call to Prayer.[96]

The Life and Death of Abū Bakr; The Claims of the Quraysh and the Anṣār to the Land Tax Collection, the Establishment by *'Umar* of the Registers and Classification of the Tribes, with Their Ranks and Genealogies; The Desired, concerning a knowledge of the raids [wars of early Islām][97] and the errors of men; The Birth of al-*Ḥasan* and al-*Ḥusayn* and the Slaying of al-Ḥusayn, for Whom Be Peace; Minting Gold Coins (s., Dīnār) and Silver Coins (s., Dirham); History of the Legal Authorities; Al-Ādāb (Literary Pursuits); the large book of history; Errors of the Ḥadīth; The Sunnah, the Jamā'ah, the Evil of Passion, and Refraining from Rebellion.[98]

Disagreements. It dealt with the disagreements of the people of al-Madīnah and al-Kūfah about the right of preemption of adjoining property, payments of alms and gifts, assignment of one's house for one's

[89] For publications of the most famous works of al-Wāqidī, see the Bibliography.

[90] The first generation was that of the Companions of the Prophet, the second that of their children, and so on.

[91] Flügel gives "Al-*Ḥasan*, for whom may there be peace."

[92] Al-Dār refers to the house of the Caliph *'Uthmān*, where the struggle took place in A.D. 656 in which 'Uthmān was killed; see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, p. 37; " 'Othmān B. 'Affān," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1010.

[93] A tribal war in the early seventh century. See "al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523; Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 33.

[94] The battle when the Abyssinians with their elephant were defeated south of Makkah, A.D. 571; see Qur'ān 105:1.

[95] This was the sun shelter of the Banū Sā'idah at al-Madīnah where Abū Bakr was chosen to be the first caliph; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 104.

[96] Flügel gives "the Qur'ān," whereas the Beatty MS has *al-adhān* ("the call to prayer").

[97] Flügel gives "the Qur'ān" here also, but the Beatty MS has *al-maghāzī* ("raids").

[98] The sunnah comprises the sayings and precedents of the Prophet, the *jamā'ah* refers to the loyal Muslim community.

lifetime, transfer of one's property to a recipient for his lifetime, trusts, lending, merchandise, split-profit investment, appropriation of property with consent of the owner, partnership,[99] penalties and witnessings, according to the method of legal books still extant.

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, Secretary of al-Wāqidī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, one of the associates of al-*Wāqidī*, whom he quoted. He composed his books from the writings of al-Wāqidī. He was reliable, trustworthy, and learned in connection with the historical traditions about the Companions of the Prophet and their successors. He died during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. Among his books there were:

Historical Traditions of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[100] the large book, Al-Ṭabaqāt (Generations, Groups), which included historical traditions about the Prophet and the generation of the Companions who were inhabitants of al-Madīnah, the generation of the inhabitants of Makkah and, after that, the generations of al-Ṭā'if, al-Yaman, al-Yamāmah, al-Baḥrayn, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, al-Shām, al-Jazīrah, Miṣr (Egypt), al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), Wāsiṭ, al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon-Seleucia), Baghdād, Khurāsān, al-Rayy, Hamadhān, Qūm, al-Anbār, and the generations of the women. [Muḥammad] ibn Sa'd compiled this book from the books of al-*Wāqidī*, al-*Kalbī*, al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī, and al-*Madā'inī*.

He also had some other books:

The small book, Generations; Horses.

Among the Associates (Pupils) of al-Wāqidī There Was Also *Ismā'īl* ibn Majma'[101]

He died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions of the Prophet, His Raids (Wars) and Military Units.*

Account of al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī

He was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Haytham ibn 'Adī al-Thu'lī, an authority for poetry, historical traditions, faults, virtues, heroic

[99] Flügel gives "stealing" instead of "partnership." It is difficult to translate these ancient legal terms into modern English.

[100] This title is in Flügel but not the Beatty MS, while the compilations which follow are in the Beatty MS but not the Flügel text.

[101] This paragraph is omitted in the Flügel text.

deeds, and genealogy. He was accused of not having distinguished lineage. He recited [a poem] to *Di'bil*, satirizing [*Aḥmad*] Ibn Abī Duwād, al-Haytham feigning defeat with the [following] satire:

I questioned my father, for my father was acquainted
With traditions of the settled regions and the desert wastes,
I said to him, "Is Haytham from 'Adī?"
He answered "As truly as *Aḥmad* is Ibn Abī Duwād."
If Haytham is of those whose lineage is pure,
Then Aḥmad is undoubtedly from Iyād.
But when Iyād was presiding over the people,
The deity was angered against mankind.[102]

He died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 822/23] at the home of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl.[103] Among his compiled books there were:

Faults; Those Who Have Lived to an Advanced Age; The Aristocratic Families of Quraysh; The Government (State); The Aristocratic Families of the Arabs; The Fall of *Adam*, the Dispersion of the Arabs, Their Encampments and Settlements; Encampments of the Arabs in al-Sawād and Khurāsān; Genealogy of Ṭayy;[104] Confederacy (Covenant) of Kalb and Tamīm, Confederacy of Dhuhl, Confederacy of Ṭayy and Asad; the small book, Faults; the large book, Faults; Faults of Rabī'ah; Historical Traditions of Ṭayy, Its Settling the Two Mountains, and the Confederacy (Covenant) of Dhuhl and Thu'al;[105] Praise of the People

[102] Al-Haytham was a scholar, Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād was a judge, and Di'bil was a poet. The translation is taken from the Beatty MS, which is clearer than Flügel. In this little poem, al-Haytham apparently defends his own aristocratic lineage and makes fun of the judge, whose ancestral tribe of Iyād suffered disgrace. This tribe at one time presided over the shrine at Makkah, but it was forced to migrate to al-'Irāq, where it was defeated and driven into Syria, losing its importance. See "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565.

[103] Fam al-Ṣilḥ was at the mouth of the Ṣilḥ River, where the vizier al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl had a house in which al-Haytham died. The Caliph al-*Ma'mūn* also had a palace there; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, pp. 413, 917. There are marginal notes in the Beatty MS, but they are illegible and not part of the original text.

[104] For the tribes, see *Enc. Islam:* "Ṭaiy," IV, 623; "Kalb B. Wabara," II, 688; "Tamīm," IV, 643; "Asad," I, 474. See also Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 280 for Rabī'ah; Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 114, 117, for Dhuhl; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51, for Thu'al.

[105] The two mountains are Ajā and Salmā south of Ḥā'il. See "Ṭaiy," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 125.

of al-Shām;[106] History of Persia and the Banū Umayyah; Banquets of the People of al-Shām.

The Nomads; Account of *Ziyād* ibn Umayyah; Which of the Protégés Married Arabs; Al-Shabāb (Youth, Youths);[107] The Compendium (The Mosque); The Deputations; The Names of the Prostitutes of the Quraysh during the Pre-Islāmic Period and the Names of Those to Whom They Gave Birth; The Land Allotments of al-Kūfah; The Governors of al-Kūfah; The Women; Al-Nukd (Scantiness, An Ill-Tempered Man); Superiority of the People of al-Kūfah over Those of al-Baṣrah; the large book, History of the Nobility; the small book, History of the Nobility; Generations (Categories) of Authorities for the Law and the Ḥadīth; Nobility; Seals (Signet Rings) of the Caliphs; Ashrāf al-Kuttāb [noblemen who were government secretaries];[108] Guards (Guarding) of the Caliphs.

Bodyguards of the Caliphs; Judges of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; Officers of the Bodyguards of the Governors of al-'Irāq; Meeting Places [for pilgrims, fairs, and so on]; The Governors (Umarā') of Khurāsān and al-Yaman;[109] History of the Caliphs; Land Tax (Al-Kharāj);[110] Summer Campaigns; Al-Khawārij; Rare Forms; Who among the Companions Quoted the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[111] Naming of the Authorities for the Law and the Ḥadīth; History According to Years; Record of Jewels; Traditions of al-Ḥasan, for Whom Be Peace,[112] and His Death; One Who Converses at Night (Al-Samīr) (*or* Invocation [Al-Samīz]); Historical Traditions of Persia; Affairs (Sermons) of the Two Cities, Makkah and al-Madīnah; Miscellaneous Poems of the Arabs; Al-*Muḥabbar*;[113] The Place of Death of *Khālid* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, of al-*Walīd* ibn Yazīd, and of *Khalaf* ibn 'Abd Allāh.[114]

[106] These last three titles in the list are omitted in the Beatty MS.

[107] The title may be *Invective* ("*Al-Sibāb*"). Flügel gives what might be *The Arrow* ("*Al-Nushshāb*") or *The Archer* ("*Al-Nashshāb*").

[108] This title and the one following are not in the Flügel text.

[109] This title and the two which follow are not in the Flügel text.

[110] This might also be *Al-Jarrāḥ* ("Surgeon") or *Al-Khurāj* ("Abcess"), but these medical terms are unlikely.

[111] The Beatty MS lacks this pious phrase.

[112] This title shows slight variations between the Beatty MS and the Flügel edition, as do several others which follow.

[113] This was probably al-*Muḥabbar* ibn Iyās ibn Marhūb, a noble of Khurāsān during the early Islāmic period, but the consonants given in the Beatty MS might also be used to form numerous common words.

[114] Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh was killed at al-Ḥīrah, and the Caliph al-Walīd died at Bakhrā' south of Palmyra, but the place of Khalaf's death has not been identified.

Among Those Who Learned from al-*Haytham* and Composed Books

Abū *'Umar* al-'Umarī,[115] whose name was Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar, and among whose books there were:

Adulterers among the Noblemen[116] and Mention of the Arab Youths and What Occurred between the Two Groups, and Mention Also of the Illegitimate (Adopted) Sons of the Pre-Islāmic Period; Women, written in the handwriting of al-Sukkarī.

Account of Abū al-Bakhtarī the Judge

He was Abū al-*Bakhtarī* Wahb ibn Wahb ibn Kathīr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Zama'ah ibn al-Aswad ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Quṣayy. It is said that *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq], for whom may there be peace, was married to his mother, who was one of the inhabitants of al-Madīnah.

He was a legal authority, historian, and genealogist. Hārūn [al-*Rashīd*] appointed him as judge of the 'Askar al-Mahdī [Quarter of Baghdād].[117] Later he removed him, making him the governor of the city of the Apostle, for whom be peace [al-Madīnah], succeeding *Bakkār* ibn 'Abd Allāh, and assigning to him the finances in addition to the judiciary. Then he was removed and came to Baghdād, where he died. He was weak in his knowledge of the Ḥadīth. Among his books there were:

Standards (Flags); Ṭasm and Jadīs;[118] Description of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[119] Virtues of the Anṣār;[120] the large book, Virtues, including all of the virtues; Genealogy of

[115] Flügel gives al-'Anbarī, which is an error. The Beatty MS has a correction on the margin.

[116] This perhaps means adulterers who were Pre-Islāmic noblemen or chiefs. The word "adulterers" (*al-zunāh*) might be "affluence" (*al-rafāh*).

[117] This quarter is better known as al-Ruṣāfah; see n. 86. In the following sentence, the phrase "for whom be peace" is not in the Beatty MS.

[118] Legendary tribes of Arabia. See "Ṭasm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 691.

[119] The pious clause and the similar phrase after Abraham are not in the Beatty MS.

[120] The Anṣār were citizens of al-Madīnah who gave their support to the Prophet.

Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm (Ishmael Son of Abraham), for Whom Be Peace, which includes a section with traditions and stories.

Account of al-*Madā'inī*

Al-*Ḥārith* ibn Abī Usāmah related, saying, "Al-Madā'inī was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sayf al-Madā'inī, a protégé of Samurah ibn Jundhab, or some say of Samurah ibn Ḥabīb ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manaf."[121] According to what *Muḥammad* ibn Yaḥyā quoted from al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Fahm as coming from him [al-Madā'inī], he said, "I was born during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 752/53]." He died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31].

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū Bakr ibn al-*Ikhshīd*: "Al-Madā'inī was a theologian, one of the young men of *Mu'ammar* ibn al-Ash'ath." He also said, "*Ḥafṣ* al-Fard, *Mu'ammar*, Abū *Shimr*, Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Madā'inī*, Abū Bakr al-*Aṣamm*, Abū *'Āmir*, and *'Abd* al-Karīm ibn Rūḥ—these six were apprentices (*ghilmān*) of Mu'ammar ibn al-Ash'ath."

It has been said, and I have also read it written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*, that al-Madā'inī died during the year two hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 839/40], when he was ninety-three years old, at the house of Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī*, to whom he was attached. His books as I recall them, according to what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-*Kūfī*, were as follows:

His Books about the Historical Traditions of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him

Women Ancestors (Mothers) of the Prophet;[122] Description (Quality)

[121] For these tribal names as given in the Beatty MS, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 50, 172.

[122] After this title and in other places where the Prophet is mentioned, the Flügel text adds the term *ṣal'am*, an abbreviation for the phrase "May Allāh bless him and give him peace."

of the Prophet; Historical Traditions of the Hypocrites;[123] Treaties of the Prophet; Naming of the Hypocrites about Whom There Was a Revelation in the Qur'ān, and Others besides Them; Naming of Those Who Molested the Prophet and Also Naming of the Mockers, Who Called the Qur'ān Falsehoods;[124] Emissaries (Missives) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Letters of the Prophet to the Kings;[125] Verses of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Land Allotments of the Prophet; Invasions of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Peace of the Prophet;[126] Sermons of the Prophet;[127] Other Treaties of the Prophet; The Raids [wars of early Islām]—Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-*Kūfī* asserted that he had a copy on eight pieces of parchment, written in the handwriting of 'Abbās al-*Yābis*.[128] He also stated that below this text there was another in two sections, composed by *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khazzāz.

Military Units of the Prophet; The Deputations, which included the deputations (envoys) of the Yaman, the deputations of Muḍar, and the deputations of Rabī'ah; Invocation of the Prophet; News (Awareness) of the Untrue; Wives of the Prophet; The Military Units; The Prophet's Agents for Alms; What the Prophet Forbade; The Pilgrimage (Ḥajjah) of Abū *Bakr*;[129] Sermons of the Prophet; Historical Traditions of the Prophet; The Seal and the Missives; Those for Whom the Prophet Wrote Letters and Safe Conducts (Trusts); The Properties of the Prophet, His Scribes, and Who among the Arabs Refused Alms from Him.

Accounts (Traditions) of the Quraysh

Genealogy and Historical Traditions of the Quraysh; Al-'*Abbās* ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; Account of Abū *Ṭālib* and His Sons; Sermons of '*Alī*, for Whom May There Be Peace; 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'*Abbās*; '*Alī*

[123] The word translated as "hypocrites" is *al-munāfiqīn*, which means persons who pretended to side with the Prophet, but plotted against him. See Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 247–70.

[124] For *yu'dhūn* ("molest"), see Qur'ān 9:61 and 33:57. For '*iḍīn* ("falsehoods"), see Qur'ān 15:91, and for *mustahzi'ūn* ("mockers"), see Qur'ān 2:14.

[125] See Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 652.

[126] *Ibid.*, p. 504.

[127] Instead of "sermons," this word may be "business" or "calamity."

[128] The Beatty MS gives this name; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 312 has Ibn 'Abbās al-Yābis, and the Flügel text a different name, which is almost certainly incorrect.

[129] This might be *Ḥujjat Abū Bakr*, referring to his claim or title to become the caliph. *The Sermons of the Prophet* has already been given once above. The title which follows it is not included in the Flügel text.

ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās; The Family of Abū al-ʿ*Āṣ*; The Family of Abū al-ʿ*Īṣ*; Information about al-*Ḥakam* ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ; ʿ*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Samurah; Ibn Abī ʿ*Atīq*; ʿ*Amr* ibn al-Zubayr; The Virtues of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥanafīyah; The Virtues of *Jaʿfar* ibn Abī Ṭālib; The Virtues of al-*Ḥārith* ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; The Virtues of ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Jaʿfar; *Muʿāwiyah* ibn ʿAbd Allāh; ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Muʿāwiyah; The Affair of *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās; Al-ʿ*Āṣ* ibn Umayyah; ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn ʿĀmir ibn Kurayz; *Bishr* ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam; ʿ*Umar* ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Maʿmar; Satire of *Ḥassān*[130] about the Quraysh; Virtues of the Quraysh; ʿ*Amr* ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ; *Yaḥyā* ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith; The Names of the Members of the Family of Abū *Ṭālib* Who Were Killed; Account of *Ziyād* ibn Abīh; Marriages of Ziyād and His Sons and Adopted Sons;[131] Replies—it includes replies of the Quraysh, replies of Muḍar, replies of Rabīʿah, replies of the protégés, and replies of al-Yaman.[132]

His [al-*Madāʾinī*'s] Books containing Traditions concerning the Marriages of the Nobility and Traditions concerning Women

The Dowry; Banquets; Marriages; Married Women and Refractory Wives;[133] Uncircumcised Girls (Al-Muʿbarāt); Dressers of Brides;[134] Those Riding behind [Their Husbands] (Al-Mutaradifāt) among the Quraysh; He Who Has Intercourse with Two Sisters, He Who Marries His Wife's Daughter, He Who Weds More than Four, He Who Marries a Magian (Zoroastrian); He Who Abhorred His Marriage; She Whose Husband Finishes with Her; She Who Was Prohibited from Marrying a Man, but Married Him; Who among the Nobles Married in the Kalb Tribe.

She Whom Her Husband Ridiculed (Lampooned); She Who Accused Her Husband and He Accused Her; Contradictions (Oppositions) of the Poets and Traditions about Women; Who among the Quraysh Married [Women of the] Thaqīf Tribe; The Fāṭimahs; He Who Described a

[130] Probably the poet, *Ḥassān* ibn Thābit.

[131] "Adopted sons" very likely refers to the sons of concubines.

[132] For Muḍar, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 20; for Rabīʿah, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 93; for both tribes, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 280, 502 n. 1.

[133] The Beatty MS omits "and refractory wives."

[134] The Beatty MS has *Dressers of Brides* ("*Al-Muqayyināt*") whereas Flügel gives *Singing Girls* ("*Al-Mughannīyāt*"). Other titles differ in the various versions; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

Woman and Flattered Her; Women of the Kalb Tribe; Women Colored by Cosmetics;[135] The Marriages of al-Farazdaq; The Virgin (First-Born); Which of the Women of the Caliphs Married.

His Books about Historical Traditions of the Caliphs

Naming of the Caliphs, Their Surnames,[136] and Their Lives; History of the Lives of the Caliphs; History of the Caliphs; Adornment (Distinguishing Attributes) of the Caliphs; the large book, Historical Traditions of the Caliphs, which included accounts of Abū *Bakr*, *'Umar*, *'Uthmān*, *'Alī*,[137] *Mu'āwiyah*, *Yazīd*, *Mu'āwiyah* [II], Ibn al-*Zubayr*, *Marwān* ibn al-Ḥakam, *'Abd* al-Malik [ibn Marwān], al-*Walīd*, *Sulaymān*, *'Umar* [II], *Yazīd* ibn 'Abd al-Malik, *Hishām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik, al-*Walīd* [II] ibn Yazīd, *Yazīd* ibn al-Walīd, *Marwān* [II], al-*Saffāḥ*, al-*Manṣūr*, al-*Mahdī*, al-*Hādī*, al-*Rashīd*, al-*Amīn*, with his civil war, al-*Ma'mūn*, al-*Mu'taṣim*;[138] Traditions of al-Saffāḥ; Training of the Sultan.

His Books about Historical Events

The Slaying of *'Uthmān* ibn 'Affān, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased;[139] The Apostasy; The Camel; The Raids; Al-Naharwān; Al-Khawārij; *Ḍābi'* ibn al-Ḥārith al-Burjūmī; *Tawbah* ibn Muḍarras; Banū Nājiyah, al-Mudabbar ibn Rāshid, and *Maṣqalah* ibn Hubayrah;[140] abridgment of "Al-Khawārij"; The Sermons of *'Alī* and His Letters to His Governors; *'Abd* Allāh ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī; *Ismā'īl* ibn Habbār.

'Amr ibn al-Zubayr; Marj Rāhiṭ;[141] Al-Rabadhah and the Slaying of *Khunays*; Account of al-*Ḥajjāj* and His Death; *'Abbād* ibn al-Ḥusayn;

[135] Flügel suggests *The Ancients* ("*Al-'Awā'il*"), but questions this interpretation, so that the Beatty MS is probably correct in giving *Women Colored by Cosmetics* ("*Al-'Awātik*").

[136] The Beatty MS has *al-kuttāb* ("secretaries") instead of surnames.

[137] The Flügel version adds, "may there be peace for them."

[138] See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 139, 193, 279, 297, for lists and dates for these names.

[139] This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[140] Al-Mudabbar ibn Rāshid is not clear enough in the different versions to be included in the Biog. Index. For this book, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part IX, p. 105.

[141] A battle near Damascus A.D. 634; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 150. In the title which follows, the Beatty MS gives Khunays, probably the Companion of the Prophet killed in the Battle of Badr. The name al-Rabadhah is probably the place of that name near al-Madīnah (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 748 bottom, 749), but there were other famous men named Khunays and at least one other Rabadhah on the way to al-Kūfah.

Ḥarrat Wāqim;[142] Ibn al-*Jārūd* at Rūstuqbādh (Rūshtuqbādh); The Slaying of '*Amr* ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ; *Ziyād* ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ashrāf ibn al-'Atkī; The Dissention and Slaying of '*Abd* al-Jabbār al-Azdī; *Salm* ibn Qutaybah and *Rūḥ* ibn Ḥātim; Al-*Musawwar* ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abbād al-Ḥabṭī and '*Amr* ibn Sahl; The Slaying of Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn *Hubayrah*; Battle (Yawm) of Sanbīl.[143]

His Books about the Invasions

The Invasion of al-Shām,[144] [during] the Time (Ayyām) of Abū *Bakr*:

First Record of al-Shām, Marj al-Ṣuffar, The time of Abū Bakr, Account of Buṣrā, Account of al-Wāqūṣah, Account of Dimashq (Damascus). The Time of '*Umar*: Account of Fiḥl, Ḥims (Homs), al-Yarmūk, Īliyā' (Jerusalem), Qaysarīyah (Caesarea), 'Asqalān, Ghazzah (Gaza), and Qubrus (Cyprus).

'*Amr* ibn Sa'd al-Ansārī. The Invasion of al-'Irāq,[145] The Death of Abū *Bakr*, Account of al-Jisr, Account of *Mihrān* and His Being Killed, The Battle (Yawm) of al-Nukhaylah, Account of al-Qādisīyah, al-Madā'in, Jalūlā', Nihāwand. Account of al-Baṣrah and Its Invasion including: Dastumīsān, The Rule of al-*Mughīrah* ibn Shu'bah, The Rule of Abū *Mūsā*, Account of al-Ahwāz, Account of Manādhir, Account of Nahr Tīrā, Account of al-Sūs (Susa, Shushan), Account of Tustar (Shushtar), Account of al-Qala'ah, Account of al-Hurmuzān, Account of *Ḍabbah* ibn Miḥṣin, Account of Jundī Sābūr (Shāpūr), Account of Ṣahratāj,

[142] A street in al-Madīnah where fighting occurred A.D. 682–83; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 252.

[143] An encounter in a village of Khuzistān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 157; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 818; Part III, p. 2203.

[144] Al-Shām seems to refer to Syria, rather than Damascus. In the same paragraph, Marj al-Ṣuffar is a plain 20 miles south of Damascus, and Buṣrā Eskī Shām is still further south. Al-Wāqūṣah is the valley where the defeated soldiers who fled from the Yarmūk, the decisive battle against the Byzantines, were overtaken. The Beatty MS gives al-Bāqūṣah, which is evidently a mistake; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 893. Fiḥl (Pella) was in Jordan. Al-Yarmūk is the battle referred to above. Īliyā' is Aelia Capitolina, the name given to Jerusalem by Hadrian. For accounts of the conquest of Palestine and Syria in English, see Hitti, *Arabs*, Chap. XII, and Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 165–265.

[145] The names which are not indicated by italics as those of men are the names of places where engagements took place during the Muslim invasions. These names can be found in Yāqūt, *Geog.* For the history, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 157–59; Balādhurī, *Origins*, pp. 403–20, 469–93.

Qaryat al-ʿAbdā,[146] Account of Surraq, Account of Mihrijānqadhaq,[147] Account of Māsabadhān, Account of Qalaʿat Surraq, Account of Rāmhurmuz, Account of al-Bustān.[148] Al-Asāwirah.[149]

The Invasion of Khurāsān. It includes the governorships of al-*Junayd* ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and *Rāfiʿ* ibn al-Layth ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyār and the conflict of reports about *Qutaybah* [ibn Muslim] in Khurāsān.

Rare Anecdotes about Qutaybah ibn Muslim in Khurāsān; The Administration[150] of *Asad* ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī; The Governorship of *Naṣr* ibn Sayyār; The Government; Breaking into India; The Governors of India; The Invasion of Sijistān; Fāris; The Invasion of al-Uballah;[151] Account of Armenia; Karmān; The Invasion of Kābul and Zabulistān;[152] The Castles and the Kurds; ʿAnmān (*or* ʿUmān); The Invasion of the Mountains of Ṭabaristān; Ṭabaristān during the Days of al-*Rashīd*; The Invasion of Egypt; Al-Rayy and the Affair of al-ʿ*Alawī*.

Account of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Zayd, How He Was Praised in Poetry, and His Agents; The Invasion of al-Jazīrah;[153] The Invasion of al-Bāmar; The Invasion of al-Ahwāz; The Invasion of al-Shām;[154] The Affair of al-Baḥrayn; The Invasion of Shahrak;[155] The Invasion of Barqah; The Invasion of Makrān; The Invasion of al-Ḥīrah; The Negotiation with (Consultation of) Nubia;[156] Account of *Sārīyah* ibn Zunaym; The Invasion of al-Rayy; The Invasion of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān.

[146] As this name cannot be identified, it may be meant for Qaryat ʿAbd Allāh near Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 85.

[147] It may be more correct to spell this place-name without the second *i*. For this location, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 745 l. 8.

[148] Flügel suggests al-Bustān, whereas the Beatty MS has al-Shīyān. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 611; III, 345.

[149] These were Persian horsemen who accepted Islām. The best-known group connected with al-Baṣrah, but there were others from Daylam. See Balādhurī, *Origins*, p. 441. Flügel gives this title incorrectly.

[150] The word in Arabic is usually translated "governorship" but, although his brother Khālid served as governor, it is not certain that he himself served in that capacity.

[151] A town near al-Baṣrah; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 154 map, 468.

[152] For Zabulistān, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 31 l. 9, and Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 116. The Beatty MS gives this name clearly.

[153] Al-Jazīrah was probably northern ʿIrāq. In the next title, Flügel omits this name and it is not written clearly in the Beatty MS, and so it is impossible to identify. Perhaps it is meant to be al-Bāmqarā in al-Jazīrah; see Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 149 l. 9.

[154] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

[155] A place near Iṣṭakhr invaded A.D. 643; see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 2697.

[156] Instead of Nubia, the word may be *al-nawbah*, a "crowd or circle of men."

His Books about Historical Traditions of the Arabs

Aristocratic Families; The Animals;[157] Nobles of the 'Abd al-Qays Tribe;[158] Historical Traditions of al-Thaqīf; He Who Was Named for His Mother; He among the Arabs Who Was Called by His Father's Name; Horses and Betting on Races; Building of the Ka'bah; The Defense of al-Madīnah, Its Mountains and Valleys.

His Books with Historical Traditions of the Poets and Others besides Them

Historical Traditions (Account) of the Poets; Which One of the Poets Was Named for His Mother; The Great Tribes; The Chiefs (Elders); Litigants; Who Suspended Hostilities or Raided; Who among the Arabs Borrowed from an Anthology, but Regretted It and Recited [His Own] Poetry; Makers of Similes (Word Pictures); He Who Described His Illness with Poetic Simile (He Who in His Sickness Illustrated with Poetry); Verses Which Had a Word as Reply (Verses Which Had in Reply Speech); Al-Najāshī;[159] He Who Stood at a Tomb and Made a Simile with Poetry; He Who Learned of the Death of a Man and Illustrated It with Poetry of Speech; Who among the Women Resembled Men; He Who Preferred Nomadic Ways of Speaking to Those of the Townsmen.

Those Who Recited Poetry Extemporaneously; Those Who Recited Poetry about Calamities (Those Who Recited Poetry about Timorous Beasts); Seeking Aid against the Poets; He Who Recited Poetry and Was Named for It; Who among the Poets Spoke in the Government; Preference of the Poets, One over the Other; Who Repented for (Regretted) Praise and Who Repented for (Regretted) Satire; Who Recited Poetry and Was Answered by Speech; Abū al-Aswad al-*Du'alī*; *Khālid* ibn Ṣafwān; The Lampooning of '*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān by al-Najāshī [*Qays* ibn 'Amr]; The Poem of *Khālid* ibn Yazīd about Kings and Events; Account of al-*Farazdaq*; Poem of '*Abd* Allāh ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān; Report of '*Imrān* ibn Ḥiṭṭān al-Khārijī;[160] Calamity.

[157] The Beatty MS has a word which seems to be *al-ḥayawān* ("animals"), although Flügel gives *al-ḥirān* ("obstinate").

[158] For the tribes, see " 'Abd al-Ḳais," *Enc. Islam*, I, 45; "Thaḳif," IV, 734.

[159] This probably refers to the poet *Qays* ibn 'Amr, rather than to the Emperor of Ethiopia, whose title was al-Najāshī.

[160] The word "al-Khārijī" and the two titles which follow are omitted by the Beatty MS.

Among His Composed Books

The Ancients; The Enslaved (Those Conquered by Love); Condoling; Competitions for Honor; Blaming One Who Is Absent (The Meal);[161] The Travelers; Tracking, Divination by Flight of Birds, Augury; Who among the Nobles Was of Unsound Mind;[162] Al-Marwah (Abundantly Watered) [also, the name of a mountain at Makkah]; Fools; Foolish (Al-Ṭaraṭūn); The Jewels; Singers (Al-Mughannīyūn) (*or* Muftīs [al-Muftīyūn]); The Poisoned (Al-Masmūmūn); He Used to Say; The Reproach of Envy; He Who Endows a Tomb (He Who Is Acquainted with a Tomb); The Horses (The Generation); He Whose Case Is Granted; Judges of the People of al-Madīnah; Judges of the People of al-Baṣrah.

Account of *Raqabah* ibn Maṣqalah; Heroic Deeds of the Arabs and Persians (Foreigners); Heroic Deeds of the People of al-Baṣrah and the People of al-Kūfah; Minting Money and Exchange; Account of *Iyās* ibn Mu'āwiyah; Information about the Companions of the Cave (Aṣḥāb al-Kahf);[163] Betrothal and Origin; Integrity of Property (Safety of Wealth); The Training of Brothers; Stinginess;[164] Short Poems (Al-Muqaṭṭa'āt) and Scatterings (al-Munhabirāt);[165] Account of Ibn *Sirīn*; Epistle to Ibn Abī *Duwād*; Rare Forms; Al-Madīnah; Makkah; The Dying, referring to those who die in youth; Pasture Lands and Waste Lands, including bad lands, lands parceled out and their tributes; Al-'Aqabah and al-Bardah;[166] Wishing; Cunning (Horses); Account of al-*Mukhtār*; Knowledge of Observations and Traces; Answers.

Account of *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khazzāz, a Friend of al-*Madā'inī*

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī* saying:

161 In the Flügel edition this title is in the preceding paragraph.

162 The word given by Flügel is almost certainly incorrect. In the Beatty MS it is not clearly written, but it seems to be *kharif* ("of unsound mind").

163 See Qur'ān 18:9–26. There is a note on the margin of the Beatty MS but it is not legible.

164 This might be *al-najl* ("offspring"), *al-nakhl* ("palm tree"), *al-bukhl* ("stinginess"), or several other choices.

165 The words given in the Flügel version seem to be wrong. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

166 The first word may be *al-'aqabah* (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 692) and the second *al-bardah* ("captive slave"), as translated. Or they may be *al-'uqbah* ("the substitute") and *al-burzah* (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 564). This title and the ones which follow in this translation are not found in the Beatty MS.

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Mubārak was a protégé of [the Caliph] al-*Manṣūr*, an inhabitant of Baghdād, with a large head, a long full beard, handsome features, and a large mouth. He was a stammerer, and the year before his death used red dye [on his hair]. When he was questioned about this he said, "It has reached me that when Munkar and Nakīr come to a dead person whom they see has dyed hair, Munkar says to Nakīr, 'Turn away from him.'"[167]

From a source other than what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī, "He quoted al-*Madā'inī* and al-*'Attābī*. His grandfather was named *Ḥassān* and was one of the boys of al-Yamāmah [brought as] captives to al-*Manṣūr* to work among the doorkeepers."[168]

Aḥmad [ibn al-Ḥārith] was a poet. Among his poems there was:

> I am a person who would not be seen knocking at the door,
> If the doorkeeper should be ill-tempered;
> Though I do not blame one wishing noble patronage,
> I do not seek the friendship of the disdainful and haughty.[169]

Most of his poetry was reproach of the chamberlain.

Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith died during Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the last month of the Muslim year], during the year two hundred and fifty-eight [A.D. 871/72]. His house was at the Kūfah Gate and he was buried in the cemetery there.[170] Some say that he died during the year fifty-six [A.D. 869/70]. Among the books which he composed there were:

Roadways and Kingdoms; The Names of the Caliphs and Their Secretaries and the Companions; Marine Wars during the Rule of the Banū Hāshim and Mention of Abū *Ḥafṣ*, the Master of Crete; The Tribes; Nobility; What the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace (Ṣal'am),[171] Prohibited; Sons of the Concubines; Rare Forms of Poetry;

[167] When these angels, Munkar and Nakīr, came to a grave, they cross-examined the dead. As Aḥmad stuttered, he wished to avoid this embarrassment. See "Munkar wa-Nakīr," *Enc. Islam*, III, 724.

[168] Yāqūt explains that the caliph purchased 200 boys from eastern Arabia so that he could select from among them some good doorkeepers. See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 407.

[169] Compare with the longer quotation, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 408.

[170] On the south side of Baghdād.

[171] The Beatty MS lacks this pious phrase. The Flügel text adds it here and four titles following, after mention of the Prophet.

Abridgment of "Tribal People" (Kitāb al-Buṭūn);[172] The Raids of the Prophet, May Allah Bless Him and Give Him Peace, His Army Ranks, and Mention of His Wives; The Eminent among the Sons of al-*Ḥārith* ibn Ka'b and Historical Traditions about Them during Pre-Islāmic Times;[173] Historical Traditions about Abū al-'*Abbās*; Accounts and Rare Forms (Historical Traditions and Rare Anecdotes); Constitution of the Postal Service;[174] Love Poetry (High in Rank); Milk Camels and Pledges.

Abū Khālid al-*Ghanawī*

Among his books there was *Historical Traditions and Genealogies of the Ghanī*.[175]

Account of Ibn '*Abdah*

He was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdah ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥājib al-'Abdī. The [real] name of '*Abdah* was 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abdah being a nickname. 'Abdah was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. His son Muḥammad was surnamed Abū Bakr.

He was one of the genealogists who were accurate, with excellent knowledge of the heroic deeds, historical traditions, and chronicles (*ayyām*) of the Arabs. He was in the continual service of the sultan. He died ———. Among his books there was the large book, *Genealogy*, which contained genealogies of the tribes, according to the example of the book of Hishām al-*Kalbī*. In addition to this he also wrote:

Abridgment of the Names of the Tribes; Sufficiency, about genealogy; Marriages of the Family of al-*Muhallab*; Genealogy of the Sons of Abū *Ṣufrah* and of al-Muhallab and His Sons; Ma'add ibn 'Adnān and Qaḥṭān;[176] Virtues of the Quraysh; Genealogy of the Banū Faq'as ibn

[172] In the Flügel and Yāqūt [*Irshād*, VI (1), 407] accounts these are two separate books, *Abridgment* and *Tribal People*. In the title which follows, the Beatty MS lacks the pious phrase.

[173] The Flügel edition lacks this title.

[174] This follows the translation in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 407, and is different from Flügel. The final title in this list is not in the Beatty MS.

[175] For Ghanī, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 164. The paragraph which follows is taken from the Beatty MS, which is more specific than the Flügel text.

[176] For these tribes, see "Ma'add," *Enc. Islam*, III, 58; "Ḳaḥṭān" (Qaḥṭān), II, 628; "Ḳuraish (Quraysh), II, 1122.

Ṭarīf ibn Asad ibn Khuzaymah;[177] The Mothers; Genealogy of al-*Akhnas* ibn Sharīq al-Thaqafī; Genealogy of the Kinānah;[178] Abū Ja'far [the Caliph] al-*Manṣūr*; The Nobility of Bakr and Taghlib—Their Horsemen, Their Battles, Their Virtues, and Their Characters;[179] Names of the Great Men among the Poets; The Brave.

Account of *'Allān* al-Shu'ūbī

He was 'Allān ibn ——— al-Shu'ūbī, whose origin was Persian. He was a quoter of traditions, who had a knowledge of genealogies, disputes, and competitions for honor. He was attached to the Barāmakah and also transcribed in the Bayt al-Ḥikmah for al-*Rashīd* and al-*Ma'mūn*. For the Barāmakah he wrote *Kitāb al-Maydān*, about the faults by which the Arabs were dishonored and the most apparent of their vices.[180] He also wrote a book, which he did not finish, entitled *Adornment* (*Al-Ḥalyah*), all trace of which is lost. I have read about this from what was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Shahīn* the historian. Among his books there was *Al-Maydān*, about the faults of the Quraysh, the industries of the Quraysh, and their forms of trade. It also included the faults of:[181]

[177] For the Banū Faq'as, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 32.

[178] See "Kināna" (Kinānah), *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017.

[179] See "Bakr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 60, and for Taghlib, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202.

[180] 'Allān was of Persian origin and belonged to the party of the Shu'ūbīyah, which opposed Arab supremacy. It was natural, therefore, for the viziers of the family of Barmak, who were of Persian origin and anxious to gain as much power as possible, to employ him to write about the faults and vices of the Arabs. In spite of this, however, the Arab caliphs, Hārūn al-*Rashīd* and his son, al-*Ma'mūn*, employed him to transcribe manuscripts in the royal research institute, Bayt al-Ḥikmah.

[181] Both the Beatty MS and Flügel place the word *mathālib*, which means "faults," "vices," "defects," before the name of each individual tribe. To simplify the translation, the word is omitted, except where the Beatty MS indicates by the use of heavy black letters that the faults of some new group of tribes are being listed. For convenience, references are given in a second column after the names of the tribes instead of in footnotes. Brackets are omitted around the references. For the Quraysh, which was the Prophet's tribe, see "Ḳuraish," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1122. In addition to the references given, there are also many references to the tribes in biographical and historical works, such as Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*; Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*; and Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Taym ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b	"Taim B. Murra," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 622
Banū Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā	"Asad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 474
Banū Makhzūm ibn Yaqazah ibn Murrah ibn Ka'b	"Makhzūm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 171
Sahm	Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 73, 76
Jamaḥ	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 73
Sāmah ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
'Abd al-Dar ibn Quṣayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 34
Walad Zuhrah ibn Kilāb	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 34, 64
Banū 'Adīy ibn Ka'b	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Sa'd ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Al-Ḥārith ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Khuzaymah ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
'Awf ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33
Asad ibn Khuzayman	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 31
Hudhayl ibn Mudradah	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 31
Banū Imru' al-Qays ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37
Banū Ṭābikhah ibn Alyās	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 31, 36
Dabbah ibn Udd	"Ḍabba," *Enc. Islam*, I, 884
Muzaynah ibn Udd	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36
'Adīy ibn al-Ribāb	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36
'Ukl	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36
Bal'am ibn Taym	"Bal'am," *Enc. Islam*, I, 16; cf. Num. 22 : 5

The faults of:

Tamīm	"Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643
'Amr ibn Tamīm	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37
Asad	"Asad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 474
Al-Lakhm	"Lakhm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 11
Al-Qayn	"Al-Ḳain," *Enc. Islam*, II, 644
Ma'rib	"Ma'rib," *Enc. Islam*, III, 280
Al-Ḥabiṭ	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37
Yarbū'	"Yarbū'," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1159
Banū Dārim	"Dārim," *Enc. Islam*, I, 924

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Al-Barājim	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 197; Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 37
Rabīʿah al-Jūʿ	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 37
Banū Saʿd ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 37
The faults of:	
Qays ʿAylān	"Ḳais-ʿAilān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 652
Ghanī	"Ghanī," *Enc. Islam*, II, 140
Bāhilah	"Bāhila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 576
Banū Sulaym ibn Manṣūr	"Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518
Numayr	"Numair," *Enc. Islam*, III, 951
ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 42
The faults of:	
Fazārah	"Fazāra," *Enc. Islam*, II, 93
Banū Murrah ibn Awf ibn Ghaṭafān	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 40
ʿAbs ibn Baghīḍ	"ʿAbs," *Enc. Islam*, I, 73
Thaqīf	"Thaḳif," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 734
The faults of:	
Rabīʿah	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 42
ʿIjl ibn Lujaym	"Idjl," *Enc. Islam*, II, 447
Taghlib ibn Wāʾil	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202
Banū Yashkur ibn Bakr	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 47
Al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ[182]	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 46; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202
Sadūs ibn Shaybān	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 48
ʿAnazah ibn Asad	"Anaza," *Enc. Islam*, I, 346
Taym Allāt ibn Thaʿlabah	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 52
Qays ibn Thaʿlabah	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 48
Ḥanīfah ibn Luhaym	"Ḥanīfa," *Enc. Islam*, II, 260
Banū Shaybān	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, pp. 48, 49
ʿAbd al-Qays	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 196

[182] The translation follows the Beatty MS, which on the whole is more correct than the Flügel version, but this name is spelled incorrectly by the manuscript.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
The faults of:	
Iyād, without divisions[183]	"Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565
The faults of:	
Al-Yaman	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 49; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 1034; "al-Yaman," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1155
Al-Aws	"Al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523
Al-Khazraj	"Al-Khazradj," *Enc. Islam*, II, 938
Quḍāʿah	"Ḳuḍāʿa," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1093
Ṭīy	"Ṭaiy," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623
Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb	"Ḥārith," *Enc. Islam*, II, 268
Al-Nakhaʿ	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 53
Khuzāʿah and Ghassān[184]	"Khuzāʿa," *Enc. Islam*, II, 984; "Ghassān," II, 142
Kindah	"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1018
Al-Asʿadūn	For the legendary Asʿad, see Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 29
Lakhm	"Lakhm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 11
Judhām	"Djudham," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1058
ʿAns	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 52
Murād	"Mūrad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 726
Al-Sakāsik	"Kinda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1019
Al-Qayn	"Al-Ḳain," *Enc. Islam*, II, 644
Nahd	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 51
Zubayd	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 254
Bajīlah	"Badjīla," *Enc. Islam*, I, 558
Hamdān	"Hamdān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 246
Ḥaḍramawt	"Ḥaḍramawt," *Enc. Islam*, II, 207
Ḥimyar	"Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310

[183] Evidently all of the subtribes shared the same vices, so the tribe was discussed as a whole. Flügel places the words "without divisions" after al-Yaman. The translation follows the Beatty MS, which is almost certainly correct.

[184] Although Flügel and the Beatty MS give Ghassān, this word is perhaps meant to be the name of the last great chief of the Khuzāʿah Tribe. He was called Abū Ghabshān, and was known for selling the custodianship of the holy shrine at Makkah. Other heroes were also called by the name Ghabshān; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 282; "Khuzāʿa," *Enc. Islam*, II, 984.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Among His Individual Books	
The Virtues of Kināna	"Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017
Genealogy of al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 46
Genealogy of Taghlib ibn Wāʾil	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 46
The Virtues of Rabīʿah	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 42
Competition for Honor	

Account of *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb

He was Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ibn Umayyah ibn ʿAmr. It is written in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*:

Abū al-Qāsim al-*Ḥijāzī*, author of *The History Supplement* (*Al-Tārīkh al-Mulḥaq*) said, "*Muḥammad* ibn ʿAbd al-Malik told me that Abū al-Qāsim *ʿAbd* al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāshimī stated, 'Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb was a protégé of ours. He was of the descendants of al-*ʿAbbās* ibn Muḥammad, the mother of Ḥabīb being our protégé also. Although the father of Ḥabīb was not known, his mother was.'"

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: He [Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb] was one of the scholars of Baghdād dealing with genealogy, historical traditions, language, poetry, and the tribes. He edited a portion of the poems of the Arabs and quoted Ibn al-*Aʿrābī*, *Quṭrub*, Abū *ʿUbaydah*, Abū al-*Yaqẓān*, and others. He was highly cultured; his books were accurate. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Elegant Book of Examples Based on Afʿala;[185] Genealogy; Good Fortune and Support; Subtribes and Families, about genealogy;[186] Double-Rhymed Poetry (Al-Muwashshaḥah); The Diverse and Harmonious in Genealogy; The Informant (Giver of News); The Possessed (The Possessor); The Strange in the Ḥadīth; Al-Anwāʾ; The Wooded (Planted with Trees); He Who Grants His Petition (He Who Answers

[185] In the first part of the title, the word *munammaq*, probably meaning "elegant" when describing a book, is in both the Beatty MS and Ḥajjī Khalīfah, I, 374. The last word, *afʿala*, may be an error meant to be *afʿāl* ("deeds," "actions").

[186] "About genealogy" is omitted in the Beatty MS. In the second title following, "in genealogy" is also omitted by the Beatty MS.

His Prayer),[187] written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*; The School of Thought (Al-Madhhab), with traditions of the poets and their generations (categories); Embellishment (Al-Dībāj); Contradictions of *Jarīr* and '*Umar* ibn Lajā';[188] Contradictions of Jarīr and al-*Farazdaq*; The Variegated (Al-Mufawwaf); History of the Caliphs; He Who Was Named for the Verse He Recited.

Adversaries of the Horsemen;[189] Nicknames of the Poets; Surnaming of the Poets; Intelligence; The Marks; Female Ancestors (Mothers) of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[190] Battles (Ayyām) of *Jarīr*, Mentioned in His Poetry;[191] The Mothers of the Leading Men among the Sons of '*Abd* al-Muṭṭalib; The Seeker after Knowledge; Horses, copied in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*; Mothers of the Seven (al-Sab'ah) of the Quraysh;[192] Plants;[193] The Blood Relationship between the Apostle of Allāh, for Whom May There Be Peace, and His Companions, Disregarding Relations on the Male Side; Nicknames of the Yaman, Rabī'ah, and Muḍar;[194] Nicknames, which comprised the nicknames of the tribes.

The large book, The Tribes and Their Battles (Ayyām), which he compiled for al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān. I saw the authentic manuscript at the house of Abū al-*Qāsim* ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Farrāt, made of paper and with more than twenty sections. As it was incomplete, it seemed as though there must have been originally about forty sections, with over two hundred leaves in each section. This manuscript also had a table of contents comprising the tribes and battles, written in the handwriting of

[187] "He" probably refers to an important person or to Allāh, and "his" to the suppliant.

[188] The word translated as "contradictions" is *naqā'iḍ*, which also may mean "injuries," or "satirical attacks." The translation follows the Beatty MS, which differs from Flügel in some places and seems to be the more correct version.

[189] Flügel gives *muqātil* ("adversaries," "combatants"), but the word might be *muqābil* ("opposite," "in front of").

[190] The Beatty MS omits the pious phrase given by Flügel after the Prophet.

[191] The word "battles" is omitted by Flügel.

[192] "The seven" may refer to generations, or to *Mu'āwiyah* and his six ancestors, or to the first seven Umayyad caliphs. Flügel gives al-Shī'ah (the Shi'ites), but the Beatty MS gives *al-sab'ah*.

[193] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

[194] Flügel gives the Namir instead of the Yaman. For the Yaman, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 49; "al-Yaman," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1155. See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 46, for Namir; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 42, for Rabī'ah; and Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 298–99, for Muḍar.

al-Sandī ibn ʿAlī al-Warrāq, on ṭalḥī,[195] about fifteen leaves, with a Turkish script. I shall mention the main points about this matter, but not the details, if Allāh so wills.

Khallād ibn Yazīd al-Bāhilī

He was one of those who quoted the historical traditions and poems of the tribes. There are no books of his that we know of.

ʿ*Umar* ibn Bukayr

He was an associate of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl, a scholar of historical traditions, a quoter of information, and a genealogist. It was for him that al-*Farrā'* wrote the book *Meaning of the Qur'ān*.[196] Among his own books there were:

Battle of the Ghawl; Battle of Ẓahr; Battle of Armān; Battle of al-Kūfah; Raiding of the Banū Saʿd ibn Zayd Manāh; Battle of Manābiḍ.[197]

Ibn Abī *Uways*

He was one of the scholars who quoted information about language, genealogies, and heroic deeds. He met with the Arabian masters of literary style and quoted what Abū Sahl *Saʿd* ibn Saʿīd passed on from the book of al-*Ḥaḍramī* about the strange forms.[198]

Ibn al-*Naṭṭāḥ*

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, who quoted al-*Ḥasan* ibn Maymūn. This man was the first person to write a book about the government, with its historical traditions. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ passed on information from *Ibrāhīm* ibn Zadān ibn Sinān al-Baṣrī. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ was also a scholar of historical traditions and genealogy, as well as a quoter of traditions about the biographies. Among his books there were:

[195] *Ṭalḥī* probably refers to a kind of paper. This is the word given by Flügel. The Beatty MS gives "Turkish."

[196] See the account of al-Farrā' in Chap. II, sect. 2, near n. 16.

[197] For these battles, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 211; III, 582, 826; IV, 322. For the Banū Saʿd, see Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 37.

[198] *Strange Forms in the Ḥadīth* ("*Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*") by Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī.

Ancestral Nobilities (Amjād) of the Arabs (*or* Subtribes [Afkhādh] of the Arabs); Aristocratic Families; Refutation of Abū *'Ubaydah*, in connection with his book "Embellishment" (Al-Dībāj); Genealogies of Azd 'Umān;[199] The Slaying of *Zayd* ibn 'Alī, May There Be Peace for Both of Them [father and son].[200]

Salmuwayh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Laythī

He was a quoter of historical traditions and genealogies, among whose books there was *The Government*, in which he quoted several [authorities].

Al-*Sukkarī*

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd and he was one of the genealogists. Among his books there was *Genealogies of the Sons of 'Abd* al-Muṭṭalib, a large work.

Abū al-*Faḍl* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib[201]

He was one of the biographers, among whose books there was *Historical Traditions of the Banū al-'Abbās Caliphs*, a large [book].

Ibn Abī Thābit al-Zuhrī

His name was 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Amrān al-*Zuhrī*, among whose books there was *Treaties* (*Covenants*).

'*Uyaynah* ibn al-Minhāl

He was surnamed Abū al-Minhāl and was one of those who quoted historical traditions, proverbs, and genealogies. Among his books there were:

Nomad Tents; Al-Mubāyanāt (Separations, Points of Difference, Intercedings); Similes (Proverbs); The Mirage.[202]

[199] See "al-Azd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 529.

[200] This pious phrase is not found in the Beatty MS.

[201] The title and short account which follows are given according to the Beatty MS. Flügel gives, as the title, "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib." "Al-Kātib" probably signifies that he was a government secretary.

[202] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

Al-*Rāwandī*

This man compiled a book, making corrections in it, about the historical traditions of the government. I saw a small part of the manuscript. He used to meet with members of the Rāwandīyah,[203] who were his pupils, [the pupils] obtaining from him information about the government. Among his books was *The Government*, which contained about two thousand leaves.

Ibn *Shabīb*

He was surnamed Abū Sa'īd and was 'Abd Allāh ibn Shabīb al-Rabī'ī of al-Baṣrah. He was a historian, among whose books there was *Historical Traditions and Traces*. *Tha'lab* quoted him.

Al-*Ghallābī*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ibn Dīnār al-Ghallābī, one of the scholars who quoted biographies, stories, accounts of raids, and other things. He was both accurate and trustworthy. Among his books there were:

The Slaying of al-*Ḥusayn* ibn 'Alī, for Whom May There Be Peace; The Battle of Ṣiffīn; [The Battle of] the Camel; Al-Ḥarrah;[204] The Assassination of the Commander of the Faithful '*Alī*, for Whom Be Peace; The Calamity (Al-Bawās) and 'Ayn al-Wardah;[205] The Generous; The Miserly.

A Group about Whom We Have Been Informed by What Is Written in the Handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*

We mention them in what follows; they were:

[203] These were members of a sect, who often demanded violently that the caliphs should be descendants of Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 49; Mas'ūdī, VI, 54–58; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 129–33. *The Government*, in the following sentence, probably was concerned with the regime of the 'Abbāsids.

[204] The volcanic plain east of al-Madīnah where 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr was defeated A.D. 683; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 191.

[205] This title is not clear in the Flügel version, but is well written in the Beatty MS. For Ra's al-'Ayn,which is the popular name for 'Ayn al-Wardah, and the calamity which occurred there, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 731; III, 764; Mas'ūdī, V, 216–21. The battle took place in A.D. 685/86.

Khirāsh ibn Ismā'īl al-Shaybānī al-'Ijlī

He was surnamed Abū Wa'r, and was one of the genealogists. Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib al-*Kalbī* learned from him. Among his books there was *The Historical Traditions of the Rabī'ah Tribe and Its Genealogy.*

Ibn *Zabālah*[206]

He was a historian and genealogist, among whose books there were:

Al-Madīnah and Its Historical Traditions; The Poets; Nicknames.

'*Ubayd* Allāh ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Warrāq

He was a historian, genealogist, and quoter of poetry. Among his books there were:

Arabic; Faith, Supplication, and Calamities.

Al-Naṣrī

He was al-*Ḥasan* ibn Maymūn of the Banū Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn Tribe, who was quoted by Muḥammad ibn al-*Naṭṭāḥ*. Among his books there were:

The Government; Heroic Deeds.

Khālid ibn Khidāsh ibn 'Ajlān, surnamed Abū al-Haythim

He was a protégé of the family of al-*Muhallab* ibn Abī Ṣufrah. He died during the year two hundred and twenty-three [A.D. 837/38]. Among his books there were:

Al-Azāriqah and the Wars of al-Muhallab; Historical Traditions of the Family of al-Muhallab.

Ibn '*Ābid*

Nothing more is known about him than this [his name]. Among his books there was *The Kings and Historical Traditions of the Nations.*

[206] The translation follows the Beatty MS for this paragraph. Flügel has the single title *Historical Traditions of al-Madīnah* instead of the three titles given. Flügel places these three titles in the list of books assigned to 'Ubayd Allāh, in the following paragraph. The Beatty MS omits the paragraph about 'Ubayd Allāh.

Mughīrah

He was Ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, among whose books there was *The Marriages of the Family of al-*Muhallab.

Ibn *'Ashām* al-Kilābī

His name was Ibn ———. He was a contemporary of Ibn *Kunāsah* at al-Kūfah, sharing with him a knowledge of historical traditions. Among his books there were:

Al-Nasīb (Genealogy, The Relative); Salt (Giving Suck [to form foster relationship]).

Abū al-*Mungham*

His name was ———. Among his books there was *Generations (Categories) of Poets.*

Al-*Khath'amī*

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh or 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad. Among his books there was *Poetry and the Poets.*

Manjūf al-Sadūsī

Among his books there was *Dismissed (Al-'Azl) (or Al-Ghazl* [a form of poetry]).

Among His Descendants [the descendants of *Manjūf*]

Ghuyūbah al-Sadūsī, whose name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Sufyān ibn Manjūf, surnamed Abū Muḥammad. He was a scholar of historical traditions, who quoted Abū *'Ubaydah*, dying some time after the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16]. Among his books there was *Heroic Deeds, Genealogies, and Battles (Ayyām).*

Al-*Walīd* ibn Muslim

He was a scholar of biography and historical traditions, among whose books there was *The Raids* [early wars of Islām].

Al-*Fākihī*

He was ———. Among his books there was *Makkah and Its Historical Traditions during the Pre-Islāmic Period and Islām.*

Yazīd ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī

He was a poet, mention of whom will be made.[207] Among his books there was *Al*-Muhallab, *Traditions about Him and His Offspring*.

Abū *Isḥāq*

He was Ismā'īl ibn 'Īsā al-'Aṭṭār of Baghdād, one of the biographers. He was quoted by al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Ulwīyah al-Qaṭṭān. Among his books there were:

The Subject [in grammar] (The Beginning); The Zamzam Well; Apostasy; The Invasions; [The Battle of] the Camel; [The Battle of] Ṣiffīn; Banners (Government Districts); Seditions.

Ibn Abī *Ṭayfūr*

His name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jurjānī and he was from among the people of Jurjān. Among his books there was *Doors of the Caliphs*, dealing with the persons whom the caliphs favor, whose counsel they seek, whose intelligence they respect, and upon whom they depend for help.

Ibn *Tammām* al-Dihqān

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Faḍl ibn Tammām al-Dihqān, who was by origin from al-Kūfah. Among his books there was *The Excellencies of al-Kūfah*.

Abū al-*Ḥassān* al-Ziyādī

He was Abū al-Ḥassān al-Ḥasan ibn 'Uthmān al-Ziyādī, who quoted al-*Haytham* ibn 'Adī and other scholars. He was a virtuous and honest judge, as well as a capable and high-minded genealogist. He himself wrote books and they were also compiled for him. He had an excellent and extensive library, and acquired material from the people. Both he and al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ja'd died at the same time during the year two hundred and forty-three [A.D. 857/58], when he was eighty-nine years and some months of age. Among his books there were:

The Raids of '*Urwah* ibn al-Zubayr; Generations (Categories) of Poets; Nicknames of the Poets; Fathers and Mothers.

[207] The name is mentioned in the second paragraph of Chap. III, sect. 3.

Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-*Zubayrī*

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muṣʿab [ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muṣʿab] ibn Thābit ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām al-Ḥijāzī. He lived at Baghdād. He was reliable in quoting and was a narrator of events. He was a paternal uncle of al-*Zubayr* ibn Abī Bakr. He was also a poet. His father, *ʿAbd* Allāh, was one of the wickedest of men, as he maligned the descendants of *ʿAlī*, for whom be peace. Records of his [ʿAbd Allāh] and of *Yaḥyā* ibn ʿAbd Allāh are well known.

Muṣʿab ibn ʿAbd Allāh died on Wednesday, the second of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month] during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48]. He was seventy-six years of age, according to what was recorded by Ibn Abī *Khaythamah*. Among his books there were:

The Large Genealogy; Genealogy of the Quraysh.

Account of al-*Zubayr* ibn Bakkār

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayr ibn Abī Bakr Bakkār ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muṣʿab ibn Thābit ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām was one of the people of al-Madīnah. He was a scholar of historical traditions, a genealogist, and a poet, who quoted accurately and was endowed with ability. He was the judge of Makkah, but went to Baghdād on numerous occasions, the last time being in the year two hundred and fifty-three [A.D. 867]. *Muḥammad* ibn Dāʾūd said, "He was youthful in his composing of poetry, his virility, courage, and temperance, in spite of old age." The following is a selection of his poetry:[208]

He is innocent in youth, graced with patience,
Expecting favorable fortunes from fate.
His ideals serve as a basis for his peace of mind,
Insofar as they calm the passion in his breast.
When a thought comes to him,
Bidding him to betray his ideal, he wards it off,
Because his conscience accuses his inclinations
Toward what he felt from that [evil] thought.

[208] Both this quotation and the poem which follows are translated freely, so as to make them understandable in English.

While he was serving as the judge of Makkah, al-Zubayr died. He was buried there Sunday evening, nine days before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah [the eleventh Muslim month] during the year two hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 869/70]. He reached the age of eighty-four. The reason for his death was a fall from his roof, which broke his collar bone and hip. His son *Muṣ'ab* led the [funeral] prayer, and *Muḥammad* ibn 'Īsā ibn al-Manṣūr attended the funeral. He was buried alongside the tomb of *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā al-Hāshimī in the cemetery of al-Ḥajūn.[209] Among his books there were:

The Genealogy and Traditions of the Quraysh; The Unusual in Traditions of Genealogy; Disagreements; Al-Muwaffaqīyāt, about historical traditions, which he wrote for al-*Muwaffaq*;[210] The Disposition of the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace; Rarities (Unusual Anecdotes) of the People of al-Madīnah; The Bees; Al-'Aqīq[211] and Its Traditions; Historical Traditions of al-Aws and al-Khazraj;[212] The Deputation of al-*Nu'mān* to *Chosroes* [al-Kisrā];[213] Attack of *Kuthayyir* on the Poets; Historical Traditions of the Arabs and Their Wars;[214] Historical Traditions of Ibn *Mayyādah*.

From what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*:[215]

Account of *Ḥassān* [ibn Thābit], al-*Aḥwaṣ*, *'Umar* ibn Abī Rabī'ah, Abū *Dahbal*, *Jamīl*, *Nuṣayb*, *Kuthayyir*, *Umayyah*, al-*'Arjī*, Abū al-*Sā'ib*, *Ḥātim*, *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān, *Hudbah* and *Ziyādah*,[216] *Tawbah* and

[209] A hill near Makkah where there were cemeteries; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 215.

[210] Al-Muwaffaq was the brother of three caliphs, so that it was not surprising for a book to be named for him. This title and a number of others which follow have been translated according to the Beatty MS and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 219, as they seem to be more accurate than the Flügel edition.

[211] Probably referring to the watered valley near al-Madīnah, described in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 700.

[212] Two well-known tribes at al-Madīnah; see "al-Aws," *Enc. Islam*, I, 523; "al-Khazradj," II, 938.

[213] When *Shahr-Barāz*, the general of Chosroes II, king of Persia, was on the eve of the battle of Dhū Qar with the Bakr ibn Wā'il Tribe, A.D. 615/16, al-*Nu'mān* ibn Zar'ah of this tribe negotiated with Shahr-Barāz. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XX, p. 134; Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 493–505.

[214] This title and the one following it are lacking in the Beatty MS, but are included in the Flügel version.

[215] "Account" (*akhbar*) precedes each of the names that follow, although given only the first time in the translation. These accounts were written down by al-Zubayr about persons all or most of whom wrote poetry, taken from a copy by Ibn al-Kūfī.

[216] Two poets; Hudbah murdered Ziyādah.

Laylā',[217] Ibn *Harmah*, al-Majnūn, al-*Qārī*, Ibn al-*Dumaynah*, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*.[218]

Naming of the Persons Who Were Quoted by al-Zubayr, Taken from What Was Written in the Handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*[219]

He quoted his uncle Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh [al-*Zubayrī*], *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan al-Makhzūmī, *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn 'Uthmān, *Muslim* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Jundab, *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mundhir, *Yaḥyā* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Thawbān, '*Abd* al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Ya'qūb* ibn Isḥāq al-Raba'ī, '*Uthmān* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Bakkār* ibn Rabāḥ, *Maslamah* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī,[220] '*Abd* al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh al———, *Muḥammad* ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Ḥumayd* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zuhrī, '*Abd* al-Jabbār ibn Sa'īd ibn Sulaymān ibn Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq, *Mu'min* ibn 'Umar ibn Aflaḥ, 'Alī ibn al-Mughīrah [al-*Athram*], '*Abd* Allāh ibn Nāfa' ibn Thābit.

Account of al-*Jahmī*

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Jahm ibn Ḥudhayfah al-'Adawī was a member of the Banū 'Adī ibn Ka'b Tribe. He was called al-Jahmī because of his descent from his ancestor Abū al-*Jahm* ibn Ḥudhayfah. He lived in al-Ḥijāz but came to al-'Irāq, where he studied. He was cultured, a quoter [of other authorities], a poet, and a singer.[221] He recorded genealogy and [tribal] faults, gaining the respect of the public and writing books about these things.

Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd said:

Sawwār ibn Abī Sharā'ah related, "When there was ill feeling between him [al-Jahmī] and groups of the '*Umar* and '*Uthmān* factions, he recalled

[217] Two famous poets who were lovers.

[218] The Flügel text adds the name Ash'ath, probably ibn Qays. For al-Majnūn, see *Qays* ibn al-Mulawwah. It has not been possible to identify which al-Qārī this is.

[219] In the Arabic original the names are separated by the word "and."

[220] This name and that of *Muḥammad* ibn Ismā'īl, the second name following, are corrected by marginal notes in the Beatty MS.

[221] This follows the Beatty MS in giving "singer" (*mughannī*). Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 30, give variations which do not seem accurate.

most infamous things about their ancestors. Then when some of the family of *Hāshim* spoke to him about this matter, he mentioned al-*'Abbās* with great severity. When [this] information about him was brought to [the Caliph] al-*Mutawakkil*, he ordered him beaten with a hundred strokes.[222] *Ibrāhīm* ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm gave him the strokes. When the beating was ended he [al-Jahmī] said about it:

> Wounds heal and hair springs up,
> And for every misfortune there is recovery from calamity.
> But baseness is on the robes of one who casts down his slave,
> For as long as there are leaves on a tree."[223]

Among his books there were:

Genealogies and Historical Traditions of the Quraysh; Those Free from Faults; Faults; Observations on the Refutation of the Shu'ūbīyah; The Virtues of Muḍar.

Al-*Azraqī*

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah ibn al-Azraq. [His ancestor, al-*Azraq*] was named 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Shimr ibn 'Umar ibn 'Awf ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Rabī'ah ibn Ḥārithah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Tha'labah al-'Anqā' ibn Ḥiqbah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Āmir Muzayqīyā'. This has been taken from what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*.

He was one of the authorities for historical traditions and biography. Among his books there was *Makkah, Its Historical Traditions, Mountains, and Valleys*, a large book.

[222] To understand this anecdote, it is necessary to know something about the history. Al-*Mutawakkil* was a caliph of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, who ruled A.D. 847–861. Members of his dynasty, who belonged to the Sunnī party, honored *'Umar* and *'Uthmān*, the second and third caliphs. They also based their right to rule on their descent from the Prophet's uncle, al-*'Abbās*, and his great-grandfather, *Hāshim*; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 189, 289. The 'Abbāsid caliphs were threatened by the members of the opposition or Shī'ī party, who felt that the caliphs of the 'Abbāsid dynasty were illegal impostors and that only direct descendants of the Prophet's son-in-law, *'Alī*, had the divine right to be the caliph. In view of these facts it is easy to understand why al-Mutawakkil felt that al-Jahmī was disloyal to the ruling caliphs when he denounced 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Hāshim, and al-'Abbās.

[223] This is translated very freely, so as to make sense. The Arabic word translated as "casts down" is *munbaṭiḥ*.

Account of *'Umar* ibn Shabbah

The names of the persons who were quoted by 'Umar: He quoted Abū 'Āṣim al-*Nabīl*, Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-*Jumaḥī*, *Hārūn* ibn 'Abd Allāh, and *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mundhir.[224]

He was Abū Zayd 'Umar ibn Shabbah ibn 'Ubayd ibn Rayṭah. The name of Shabbah was Zayd, but he was surnamed Abū Mu'ādh. 'Umar related that he was called "Ay Shabbah" because his mother used to bounce him up and down, saying,

> O ay, growing boy (*shabb*), he lives to creep;
> Aged man, he ambles along.[225]

'Umar was from al-Baṣrah, a protégé of the Banū Numayr Tribe, a poet, and an authority for historical traditions and the law. He was accurate in his speech; he did not allow error to enter into what he quoted. There is from his poetry:

> She was saying, "No lord (*sayyid*) remains among the people."
> But I replied "Nay, for there is 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Ja'far."[226]

His son was Abū Ṭāhir *Aḥmad* ibn 'Umar ibn Shabbah, who was a poet, clever and eloquent, and also a quoter [of other authorities]. He died some ten years after his father did. From the poetry of Abū Ṭāhir there is:

> I looked but beheld not among the soldiers
> Misfortunes such as mine and Abū Ja'far's.
> People go early to the feast,
> Adorned more beautifully than the light.
> But we go empty-handed,
> Often from a home of misery,
> To sit in misfortune and seclusion from the people,
> Looking into a book.[227]

[224] These names are inserted in the Beatty MS. As these scholars were a generation older than 'Umar, they were probably his teachers.

[225] The Beatty MS starts the quotation with *yā' yāy wa-shabba(n) wa-'ash*, whereas Flügel gives *bābā wa-shabba(n) wa-'asha(n)*. See also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 48.

[226] This name is not included in the Biog. Index; it is perhaps that of a hero of tribal poetry who cannot be identified.

[227] This translation is taken from the Beatty MS, as there are errors in the Flügel text, and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 48, does not seem to be entirely correct. The "book" was probably the register in the tax office.

'Umar ibn Shabbah died at Samarrā on Monday, six days before the end of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the sixth month of the Muslim year] during the year two hundred and sixty-two [A.D. 876], after reaching the age of ninety. His books went to Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn Yaḥyā, who purchased them from Abū Ṭāhir [*Aḥmad*] ibn 'Umar ibn Shabbah. Among his books there were:

Al-Kūfah; Al-Baṣrah; Al-Madīnah; Makkah; Chiefs (Governors, Umarā') of al-Kūfah; Chiefs of al-Baṣrah; Chiefs of al-Madīnah; Chiefs of Makkah; The Sultan; Assassination of *'Uthmān* [the third caliph]; Secretaries (Scribes); Poetry and the Poets; Songs; History; Traditions about [the Caliph] al-*Manṣūr*; *Muḥammad* and *Ibrāhīm*, the Two Sons of *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ḥasan; Poems of the Shurāt (Shurāh); Genealogy; Historical Traditions of the Banū Numayr Tribe;[228] What People Find Difficult to Understand in the Qur'ān; Obtaining Help from Poetry and What Comes in Languages (Vernaculars); Admiration of Grammar—Who among the Grammarians Made Errors.

Al-*Balādhurī*

He was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī, said to have been surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He was one of the people of Baghdād, but his grandfather *Jābir* was the secretary of al-*Khaṣīb*, the master of Egypt. He was a poet and a quoter [of authorities]. As he deteriorated at the end of his life, he was placed in the Bīmāristān,[229] where he died. The reason for his deterioration[230] was that he unwittingly drank the juice of the cashew nut,[231] so that there befell him what befell him.

He used to write a great deal of satire, and once he picked on *Wahb* ibn Sulaymān when he broke wind. The breaking wind was in the presence of *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān, so he made fun of him, the following being part of what he said about it:

> Oh wind, thou wert thought to be his thunder.
> Fastidious was his effort to conceal it.

[228] For the Banū Numayr, see "Numair," *Enc. Islam*, III, 951.

[229] From the Persian *bīmār* ("sick") and *stān* ("place"). This was the name of the medieval Arab hospital.

[230] This might be *sūs* or *sawas*, terms used to describe the deterioration caused by certain parasites and poisons.

[231] The cashew nut, called *balādhur* in Arabic, has a juice which has evil effects on the body.

For thou, Wahb, first passed it out,
After which the brother of Sa'īd prayed.
But Allāh disclosed what they concealed,
For so is it with all who feed the anus.

Among his books there were:

The small book, Countries;[232] the large book, Countries, which he did not finish; Historical Traditions and Genealogies;[233] The Testament of *Ardashīr*, which he translated as poetry, for he was one of the translators from Persian into the Arabic tongue.[234]

Al-*Ṭalhī*

He was Abū Isḥāq Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī, one of the people of al-Baṣrah and a court companion of [the Prince] al-*Muwaffaq*. He was a quoter [of authorities] and a scholar of historical traditions, who died Sunday evening, in the middle of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the last month of the Muslim year] during the year two hundred and seventy-one [A.D. 884/85]. Among his books there were:

The Enslaved (Those Conquered by Love); Jewels of Historical Tradition.

Ibn al-*Azhar*

Ja'far ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn al-Azhar ibn 'Īsā, the historian, was one of the scholars of historical traditions. His birth was during the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16] and he died during the year two hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 892/93] at the age of seventy-nine.

He attended the lectures of Ibn al-*A'rābī* and other scholars. Among his books there was *History*, one of the good books.

Muḥammad ibn Sallām

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-*Jumaḥī* was one of the historical traditionalists and quoters [of authorities]. Among his books there were:

[232] Today he is known for this book, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*; see Bibliography.

[233] See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 388 n. 12, and Bibliography, for mention of *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, a book edited by German scholars which is probably this same one.

[234] Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, IV, 286, contains this testament in the form of Persian poetry.

The Excellent, about the success of historical traditions and poems; Aristocratic Families of the Arabs; The Generations (Categories) of the Poets of the Pre-Islāmic Period; The Generations (Categories) of Islāmic Poets; Milkers (*or* Dealers [Al-Jallāb] *or* Deceivers [Al-Khallāb]) and the Hire of Horses.

Abū *Khalīfah* al-Faḍl

Abū Khalīfah al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥubāb ibn Muḥammad ibn Shu'ayb ibn Ṣakhr al-Jumaḥī of al-Baṣrah, from the Banū Jumaḥ Tribe, was blind, but served as the judge of al-Baṣrah. His quotations dealt with historical traditions, poetry, and genealogy. He quoted Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-*Jumaḥī*. I have seen what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī* [stating] that Abū Khalīfah died the night of Sunday, the thirteenth night of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal [the third Muslim month] during the year three hundred and five [A.D. 917/18]. He was buried at his home on Sunday. Among his books there were:

Generations (Categories) of the Poets of the Pre-Islāmic Period; The Horsemen.[235]

Among the Scholars of Historical Traditions

Abū al-'Abbās '*Abd* Allāh ibn Isḥāq ibn Sallām al-Makārī was an authority for the strange forms in the law, past traditions, and poetry. He was a reliable scholar and a poet, from whose poetry there is the following [example]:

> Oh, vengeance of Allāh, wreaked in the palace of a king,
> Who betters neither the Faith nor the world by a carat's weight,
> No affair being carried out among his subjects,
> Until he consults the daughter of Buqrāṭ.[236]

[235] These two titles are omitted in the Beatty MS, but included by the Flügel text.

[236] This translation follows the Beatty MS, which is more correct and complete than the Flügel edition. A *qīrāṭ* ("carat") was a weight equal to four grains of the carob tree. The daughter of Buqrāṭ, Qabīḥah, was a favorite of al-Mutawakkil (caliph A.D. 847–61). Her father was a Greek, therefore his name was very likely Hippocrates (Buqrāṭ). For accounts of this famous concubine, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part XIX, p. 132 bottom; Mas'ūdī, VII, 270–71; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 1395, 1456, 1919; Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, pp. 22–25, 38 l. 12; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, Part IV, p. 184.

The reference is to *Qabīḥah*, the mother of al-Mu'tazz. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions, Genealogies, and Biography*. I have seen part of it, but I have not seen a complete copy.

Ibn al-*Ash'ath*

He was 'Azīz ibn al-Faḍl ibn Fuḍālah ibn Mikhrāq ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Mikhrāq. Among his books there was *Description of the Mountains and Valleys at Makkah, with Their Names and What Is behind Them.*[237]

Ibn Abī *Shaykh*

His name was Sulaymān ———, his surname being Abū Ayyūb. He was a historian and quoter [of authorities], who came in touch with important people. The students of historical traditions derived information from him. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions That Are Reported*, which I have seen.

Wakī' al-Qāḍī (the Judge)

He was Abū Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān ibn Ṣadaqah, known as Wakī' al-Qāḍī. He was keen about all forms of literary pursuits and served as judge in several districts. To start with, however, he was secretary to Abū 'Umar[238] *Muḥammad* ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb the judge. Among his books there were:

Accounts of the Judges, Their History, and Their Judgments; The Noble (Al-Sharīf), which followed the flow of thought of "Al-Ma'ārif" by Ibn *Qutaybah*; Al-Anwā'; Raiding and Historical Traditions;[239] The Traveler; The Way, also known as The Regions, which included accounts of the countries and the routes of the roads—he did not finish it; Exchange, Cash, and Coinage; Investigation.

[237] The Flügel text gives a different title, but this translation of the Beatty MS seems to be correct.

[238] Different authorities also call him Abū 'Amr; Flügel places Abū 'Umar after Ya'qūb.

[239] In this title, the Beatty MS is probably incorrect, as it gives what appears to be *gharar* ("danger"), without a conjunction to follow. Flügel is evidently correct in giving *ghazw* ("raiding"), followed by "and."

Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Nassābah*

His name is Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Tamīmī and he is one of the people of al-Baṣrah. He is a genealogist, still living in our own time. Among his books there are:

The Historical Traditions and Genealogies of Persia; Genealogies and Historical Traditions; History of the Courses of the Nations;[240] Disputes between the Tribes and Chiefs and the Clans, with the Judgments of the Rulers in Connection with Them.

Al-*Ushnānī*, the Judge

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Mālik al-Ushnānī. Among his books there were:

The Slaying of *Zayd* ibn ʿAlī, for Both of Whom [father and son] May There Be Peace; Horses; The Virtues of the Commander of the Faithful, *ʿAlī* ibn Abī Ṭālib;[241] The Slaying of al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAlī, for Both of Whom [father and son] May There Be Peace.

Abū al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Abī ʿUmar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf

Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Ḥadīth, which he did not finish;[242] Relief after Adversity.

Abū al-*Faraj* al-Iṣbahānī[243]

He was ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Haytham al-Qurashī, a descendant of *Hishām* ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, as well as a poet, author, and man of letters. He quoted some authorities, and most of his productions were compositions based on books written in well-known handwritings and on works from other reliable sources. He died some time after the year three hundred and sixty [A.D. 970/71]. Among his books there were:

[240] This title is lacking in the Flügel text and the one following is not found in the Beatty MS.

[241] This and the following title are not in the Beatty MS.

[242] The Flügel text adds the notation, "a large [book]."

[243] The Beatty MS calls him *ibn* al-Iṣbahānī. In the Bibliography his books are listed under Iṣbahānī, although he is known by Arabic scholars as Abū al-Faraj.

Al-Aghānī (Songs), a large book about five thousand leaves in length;[244] Summary of "Al-Aghānī"; Poems of the Handmaids and Slave Girls; Men and Women Dealing with Drink;[245] Places of Abode; Description of Hārūn;[246] Assassinations of Members of the Family of Abū *Ṭālib*;[247] Exalting Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the last Muslim month and time of the pilgrimage]; Historical Traditions and Rare Anecdotes; The Etiquette of Listening; Accounts of Uninvited Guests; The Culture of Foreigners Who Are Well Bred and Refined; Compendium of Reminiscences and Historical Traditions; Difference and Measures (Al-Farq wa-al-Mi'yār), which is an epistle in connection with *Hārūn* ibn ['Alī ibn] al-Munajjim about al-awghār and al-aḥrār;[248] The Genealogy of the Banū 'Abd Shams;[249] The Slaves.

Al-*Jalūdī*

He was Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā al-Jalūdī, one of the people of al-Baṣrah. He was a scholar of historical traditions and biography, also quoting [other authorities]. He died some time after three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]. Among his books there were:

Account of *Khālid* ibn Ṣafwān; Account of al-'*Ajjāj* and *Ru'bah* ibn al-'Ajjāj; Compendium of the [Qur'ānic] Readings of the Commander of the Faithful, '*Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib.[250]

[244] For this famous book, see the Bibliography, Iṣbahānī. The Būlāq edition with the Leiden supplement contains 3979 pages, with 31 lines to the page. If the old manuscript had 5000 leaves, it must have had 10,000 pages.

[245] For this and following titles, cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 151–52.

[246] Almost certainly Hārūn al-*Rashīd*.

[247] In this list, this title and all those following excepting the last two are not found in the Beatty MS. As Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī died only about twenty years before *Al-Fihrist* was probably transcribed, the books may not have been well enough known to be included.

[248] Khallikān, II, 314, gives the translation of this title as "difference between the noble and the rabble and appreciation of their relative worth." The terms used, however, can also mean the following: *Al-awghār* can refer to fiefs entitling the holder to deal directly with the sovereign, free from provincial taxes, and *al-aḥrār* can refer to privileged lands, free from tithes.

[249] This title and the one following are in the Beatty MS with a marginal note, "appended in the handwriting of the composer." These two titles are not in the Flügel edition.

[250] This title is not found in the Beatty MS.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, for nought befalls me apart from Allāh

The Second Section of the Third Chapter

comprising accounts of the kings, secretaries, preachers, letter writers, tax administrators, and public recorders,[1] *with the names of their books.*

Account of *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mahdī

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī ibn al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first genius among the Banū al-ʿAbbās and the children of the caliphs to become prominent. He wrote correspondence and poetry, also composing books. His mother, *Shiklah*, originated from Ṭabaristān and was said to have been the daughter of the king of Ṭabaristān.

He was a Negro, blackest[2] of blacks, with a large body and lofty character. Never before him was there seen a more eloquent stylist or greater poet among the sons of the caliphs. He also had a talent for singing, in which he surpassed everyone else, so that Isḥāq [al-*Mawṣilī*] and Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*] after him used to learn from him and summon before him the singers, to be judged for their performances.[3] His birth was ———. Among his books there were:

[1] "Public recorders" is omitted by the Beatty MS. In Arabic the phrase is *aṣḥāb al-dawāwīn*, which might refer to members of government offices, councils, or tribunals.

[2] The Beatty MS gives *ḥanik*, which must be an error, meant to be *ḥālik* ("very black").

[3] Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was a contemporary of Isḥāq, the younger Mawṣilī, and was about 25 years old when Ibrāhīm, the elder Mawṣilī, died. Perhaps the text means to indicate that while Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was teaching the younger Mawṣilī, the father also learned what he could from him.

The Training of *Ibrāhīm*; Cooked Food; Perfume (Al-Ṭīb) (*or* Pleasant [Al-Ṭayyib]); Singing.[4]

Al-*Ma'mūn*

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Hārūn ibn al-Mahdī ibn al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the greatest authority among the caliphs[5] for the law and theology. He [also] was as good as[6] his brother Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah [al-*Amīn*] in eloquence of literary style. We are too rich in famed traditions concerning him to go into detail when mentioning him. Among his books there were:

Answers to the Questions of the King of the Burghar[7] Addressed to Him [al-Ma'mūn] about Islām and the Unity (Theology); his epistle, Proofs of the Virtues of the Caliphs, since the Time of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace; his epistle, Signs of Prophethood.[8]

Ibn al-Mu'tazz

He was '*Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz ibn al-Mutawakkil ibn al-Mu'taṣim ibn al-Rashīd ibn al-Mahdī, one of the men of letters and poets of his period. He emulated the Arabian stylists, learning from them. He met grammarians and historical traditionalists. He heard much and was prolific in making quotations. His life also is too well known to require details. He wrote many books, among which there were:

Al-Badī' (The Discoverer) [also, a kind of rhetoric]; Flowers and Gardens; Beasts of Prey and Hunting; Plagiarisms; Poems of the Kings; Literary Pursuits; Adornments (Distinguishing Features) of Historical Traditions; Correspondence of the Brothers about Poetry (in Poetry);[9] Generations (Categories) of Poets; The Collection, about singing; his poem in the rajaz meter about the evil of drinking in the morning.

[4] Omitted in the Beatty MS. The Ibrāhīm referred to in the first title was probably al-Mawṣilī, but it might also have been Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.

[5] The Beatty MS has "jurists," which may be more correct than Flügel's word, "caliphs."

[6] "As good as" (*dūn*) can also have the meaning "worse than."

[7] The Burghar were probably the Bulgarians; see Mas'ūdī, II, 14; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 568.

[8] Omitted in the Beatty MS. An epistle might be a letter or essay.

[9] This title and the three which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

Abū *Dulaf*

Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn ʿĪsā ibn Maʿqil ibn Idrīs al-ʿIjlī was a lord and emir[10] of his people, one of the illustrious men of letters and brilliant poets, who also composed songs. His life is famous. Among his books there were:

Falcons and Hunting; Purity of Soul (Al-Nazh) (*or* Amusements [Al-Nuzah]); Weapons;[11] Policies of the Kings.

Al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān

He was al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān ibn Aḥmad, the most extremely brilliant, intelligent, and cultured person among the sons of the kings. [The Caliph] Al-*Mutawakkil* adopted him as a brother, preferring him to all of his children and relatives. He had a library which *ʿAlī* ibn Yaḥyā the astrologer collected for him and which was as great in quantity and quality as any other ever seen. The masters of literary style among the Arabians and the scholars of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah used to frequent his house.

Abū *Hiffān* said:

I have never seen or heard of anyone who loved books and studies more than three men: al-*Jāḥiẓ*, al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān, and *Ismāʿīl* ibn Isḥāq, the judge. Whenever a book came into the hand of al-Jāḥiẓ he read through it, wherever he happened to be. He even used to rent the shops of *al-warrāqīn*, remaining in them for study. As for al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān, he used to attend the audiences of al-Mutawakkil, but if for any reason he wished to leave the audience, he used to take out a book from his sleeve or shoe and read it away from the audience of al-Mutawakkil, so that this became a habit, even in the latrine.[12] Then with regards to Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq, I never visited him without seeing him looking into a book, or rummaging through books, or dusting them.

Al-Fatḥ died during the evening when al-Mutawakkil was assassinated, being killed with swords along with him. Among his books there were:

[10] He was a man of noble lineage, a general, and a governor.

[11] This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.

[12] The Beatty MS has *min majlis* ("from the audience"), whereas the Flügel text has *fī majlis* ("in the audience"), so that the true meaning of this passage is not clear.

The Garden, which was attributed to him, though the man who really wrote it for him was a person known as *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Rabbih, with the nickname of "Mule's Head"; The Hunt and the Prey; The Disagreement of Kings;[13] The Garden and the Flowers.

The Family of Ṭāhir

'*Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir

He was a poet, writer of epistles, and master of literary style, as was his father, *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn, also. Both of them were authors of collections of letters. The correspondence of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn with al-Ma'mūn, at the time of his [Ṭāhir's] entry into Baghdād, is famous and of an excellent quality.[14]

Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn

[His uncle] '*Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir called him the savant of the Ṭāhir family, admiring him for all his wonderful traits. He was the governor of Marw (Merv), Āmul, Zamm, and Khwārizm.[15] He also wrote some famous books on philosophy, among which there was *The Agreeable in Music*, after reading which al-*Kindī* said, "It is as agreeable as its author named it." There were also among his books:

Manifest (Al-Ibānah), about the actions of the heavens; Existence; his epistle, Numbers and the Reckoned; Guidance and Deduction.

'*Ubayd* Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir

He was a poet, writer of epistles, and governor, who succeeded *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir[16] as chief of the guard at

[13] This title and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

[14] When the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd died, his son al-Amīn became his successor. But the younger brother al-Ma'mūn sent his general, who was Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, with an army from Khurāsān to seize Baghdād. After 14 months, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn entered Baghdād and al-Ma'mūn became caliph, A.D. 813. See Mas'ūdī, VI, 436–87.

[15] For these districts, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 68; II, 480 946; IV, 507. The Flügel edition omits Zamm.

[16] The translation follows Flügel. The Beatty MS has Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. In the sentence which follows, *sayyid* refers to his position as chief of the Kudā' Tribe; see Khallikān, II, 79–80; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 244; "Ṭāhirids," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 614.

Baghdād. He was also a chief (*sayyid*), with whom ended the supremacy of his family, for he was the last of them to die as a chief. Among his books there were:

The Guide, about the selection of poetry; his epistle about the policies of the kings; his missives to *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz; Elegance and Eloquence [of literary style].

The Secretaries and the Sons of Their Kind

Naming of the secretaries who wrote missives and of each one of them who compiled a book as an anthology of his epistles.[17]

'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā

He was the secretary of [the Caliph] *Marwān* ibn Muḥammad, but before that he was an instructor of boys, moving about among the towns. The writers of correspondence learned from him, adhering to his method. It was he who facilitated the use of literary style for correspondence. He was unique in his time, one of the people of Syria from the city of ———. There is a collection of about a thousand leaves from his epistles.

Ghaylān Abū Marwān

His name was ———. I deal with him in the discourse about the theologians in the passage about al-Murji'ah.[18] There is a collection of about two thousand leaves of his epistles.

Sālim

He was surnamed Abū al-'Alā' and was the secretary of [the Caliph] *Hishām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He was related to *'Abd* al-Ḥamīd by marriage and was also one of the masters of literary style and

[17] The word *kātib* (pl. *kuttāb*) is usually translated "scribe," but here evidently refers to a government secretary. The secretary was as a rule trained in the use of flowery language in a government department. The viziers were often chosen from among the secretaries. See Flügel, in *ZDMG*, XIII (1859), 587; "Kātib," *Enc. Islam*, II, 819; also Grunebaum, *Islam: Essays*, p. 69. Qalqashāndī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, Part I, deals with the technical knowledge required by a secretary. Part II deals with the rhetoric and literary perfection required, and the other parts give examples of letters. See also Rifā'ī, *'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn*. For a good description of the government departments in which the secretaries worked, and for the development of prose, see Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 76–81, 242–54.

[18] Ghaylān does not seem to be mentioned again in connection with al-Murji'ah.

eloquence. He made a translation from the *Epistle of Aristotle to Alexander*, or else it was translated for him and he made corrections.[19] There is a collection of about one hundred leaves of his epistles.

'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī

He served as secretary to *Bilāl* ibn Abī Burdah ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī and was one of the masters of eloquence and style, though his correspondence was not extensive.

Khālid ibn Rabī'ah al-Ifrīqī

He was a writer of official letters, who had an eloquent literary style, and was connected with both dynasties [Umayyad and 'Abbāsid]. His collection of epistles was about two hundred leaves in length.

Yaḥyā and *Muḥammad*, the Two Sons of Ziyād, [Who Were Called] Ḥārithīs

They were descendants of al-*Ḥārith* ibn Ka'b. Both of them were poets, writers of official letters, and masters of eloquent literary style. The epistles of both of them are in collections.

Jabal ibn Yazīd

He was the secretary of *'Umarah* ibn Ḥamzah and he translated some of the works of eloquent and skilled writers.

'Umarah ibn Ḥamzah

He was the secretary of [the Caliph] Abū Ja'far al-*Manṣūr* and also his protégé. He was proud, vain, generous, eloquent, and a master of literary style, though blind in one eye. Abū Ja'far [al-*Manṣūr*] and al-*Mahdī* advanced him, overlooking his character, because of his excellence, his eloquent literary style, and his obligation to duty. Thus he administered important affairs for both of them. There is a collection of his correspondence, which includes the epistle on the army (*al-khamīs*) drawn up for the Banū al-'Abbās [the 'Abbāsids].

[19] The *Epistle of Aristotle* evidently refers to either an entire composition ascribed to Aristotle and entitled *Rhetoric of Alexander*, or else to the dedicatory epistle to Alexander the Great at the beginning of this composition; see "Aristotle," *Enc. Brit.*, II, 515.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr ibn Sulaymān

Ḥujr was one of the people of Ḥarrān. He [Muḥammad] was a master of literary style. He wrote to the governors of Armenia and Syria in a personal way.[20] He also wrote well-known books.

He was the secretary of al-'*Abbās* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh, and was a master of eloquent literary style and a writer of official correspondence. He came from al-Anbār, and his letters form a collection.[21]

Account of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-*Muqaffa'*

His name in Persian was Ruzbah,[22] but he was called 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa', though before he became a Muslim he was nicknamed Abū 'Amr. When he embraced Islām he was surnamed Abū Muḥammad. Al-Muqaffa' ibn Mubārak was shriveled (*muqaffa'*) because al-*Ḥajjāj* ibn Yūsuf dealt him such a hard blow that his hand shriveled up. This was at al-Baṣrah, [and was brought about] because of the properties which he took from the belongings of the sultan.[23]

His origin was from Ḥawz,[24] a city of the regions of Persia. At first he was secretary to *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayrah, later serving *'Īsā* ibn 'Alī at Karmān. He was most accomplished as a master of literary style and eloquence, as well as being an author, poet, and stylist. It was he who composed the conditions addressed to [the Caliph] al-*Manṣūr* on behalf of '*Abd* Allāh ibn 'Alī, making them so harsh and aggressive that Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr] did not forget them. So when *Sufyān* ibn Mu'āwiyah killed him by burning him in a fire, al-Manṣūr approved the action, not demanding revenge or blood compensation.

[20] This probably means either that he carried on a personal correspondence with these governors, independently of the government secretariat, or else that he served in a personal capacity as the secretary of these governors.

[21] Flügel ascribes this last paragraph to an unnamed person. The Beatty MS, followed here, includes it with the account of Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 125, 280, mentions that al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad was in Armenia and Syria.

[22] This seems to be from the Persian, *roz bih* ("happy days").

[23] These accounts of al-Muqaffa' and his son should be compared with the interesting article in Khallikān, I, 431.

[24] For this city, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 359.

He was one of those who translated from the Persian tongue into Arabic, as he was skilled and eloquent in both languages. He translated a number of Persian books, among which there were:

Book of Kings (Khudāy Nāmah), about biography;[25] Ayīn Nāmah, about al-ayīn (ordinances, customs);[26] Kalīlah wa-Dimnah; *Mazdak;*[27] The Crown, about the life of *Anūshirwān* [Chosroes I]; the large book, Literary Pursuits;[28] the small book, Literary Pursuits; Al-Yatīmah, about the epistles;[29] his epistles; Compendium of "Kalīlah wa-Dimnah"; his epistles about al-Ṣaḥābah.[30]

Account of *Abān* al-Lāḥiqī

He was Abān ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq ibn ʿUfayr al-Raqāshī, who along with a group of his people wrote poetry. He himself had a special position in the group, because he translated prose books into poetic couplets (*muzdawaj*). Among the books which he translated there were:

Kalīlah wa-Dimnah; The Biography of *Ardashīr*; The Biography of *Anūshirwān*; Bilawhar wa-Būdāsāf;[31] Epistles;[32] Clemency of India (Ḥilm al-Hind) (*or* Dream of India [Ḥulm al-Hind]).

Qudāmah ibn Yazīd

He was the secretary of *ʿAbd* al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ, an eloquent writer and a master of literary style. He served ʿAbd al-Malik until the time of [Hārūn] al-*Rashīd*, when he was killed by the blow of an ax which struck his neck. Among his books there was *Epistles*.

[25] See Ḥajjī Khalīfah, Part IV, p. 13; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 107, 123.

[26] This could be "*Athīn Nāmah* ('The Book of Aristocracy'), about those with noble lineage." See Glossary for this famous book.

[27] Mazdak was the reform prophet killed by Chosroes I, A.D. 531.

[28] After this title the Flügel text gives the phrase "known as . . .," filling in the space with a guess which is probably incorrect. The Beatty MS has what appears to be "known as *Māhir Jamshāsb* ('The Sagacity of Solomon')," but the text is not clear enough to be sure.

[29] Here *al-yatīmah* probably means "the unique."

[30] The last two titles are not in the Flügel text. *Al-Ṣaḥābah* probably refers to the Prophet's Companions, but perhaps to something in Persian history.

[31] See Glossary for this famous book.

[32] This title and that following are not in the Beatty MS.

Al-*Harīr* ibn al-Ṣarīḥ

He was the secretary of *Thumāmah*[33] and was surnamed Abū Hāshim. He was one of the people of Ḥāḍir Ṭayy. He was a master of literary style and writer of correspondence. He wrote *Epistles*, which I have seen, and which contains about one hundred leaves.

Account of '*Alī* ibn 'Ubaydah al-Rayḥānī

He was a master of elegant writing and style, attached in a special way to [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn*. In his literary works and compositions he followed the method of philosophy (*al-ḥikmah*), and was accused of unbelief. He was a distinguished secretary. About him and about al-Ma'mūn anecdotes were told.

One of them was that one time, while he was with al-Ma'mūn, one of the pages scratched a second one. When al-Ma'mūn saw them, he desired to know whether or not 'Alī had also observed them. So he said to him, "Did you see?" while he made a gesture to 'Alī with his hand, separating his fingers so as to indicate five, for "five" (*khamsah*) can be changed to "he scratched him" (*khamashaha*). There were other anecdotes about brightness and wit in addition to this one. 'Alī ibn 'Ubaydah died ———. Among his books there were:

The Preserved (Protected); Al-Barzakh;[34] Searching for Love; The Party Addressed [second person in grammar]; New (Acquired) Property (Al-Ṭārif);[35] Al-*Hāshimī*;[36] Meaning;[37] Al-Khisāl (Properties, Customs); Al-Nāsī [one who defers the pilgrimage];[38] The Acrostic (Al-Muwashshah); Union and Alliance; The Ancestor (Al-Jadd) (*or* Zeal

[33] The Flügel text has Qumāmah, but Thumāmah, in the Beatty MS, seems to be correct. Ḥāḍir Ṭayy, in the next sentence, was a place near to Damascus; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 186, l. 15; III, 863 l. 7.

[34] Flügel gives *al-barzakh*, which is probably correct. This was the barrier or lapse of time between death and resurrection; see Qur'ān 23:100; 25:53; 55:20. The Beatty MS gives an indistinct word which might be *al-tadarruj* ("advancement") or *al-tadrus* ("pheasant").

[35] The Beatty MS has *Al-Ṭārif*. Flügel gives the title as *Al-Ṭāriq*, meaning "the morning star" or "the visitor at night." It might also be a proper name.

[36] This title might refer to one of the several al-Hāshimī's listed in the Biog. Index.

[37] This title is used for commentaries on poetry and the Qur'ān.

[38] This may be a proper name; see Biog. Index.

[Al-Jidd]); The Halter; The Free (Al-Mutakhallī); Patience; Brightness and Splendor; Cleverness of the Maiden (Muhr Azād) of Gustasb;[39] *Kai* Luhrāsp the King;[40] Surfaces of the Earth; The Brothers; Rūshanā Yadak;[41] Description of Heaven; Categories; Al-Washīj (The Ash Tree, Intermixture of Relationship); Cords and Ropes; The Training of Juwashtar;[42] Explanation of Love and Description of Brotherhood; The Peacock; The Grieving;[43] The Disposition of Hārūn.

Categories; The Preacher (Al-Khaṭīb); The Rising Star (Al-Nājim); Description of Persia; Structure (Al-Binyah);[44] The Confused (Difficult to Solve); The Virtues of Isḥāq; Description of Death; Hearing and Sight; Despondency and Hope; Description of the 'Ulamā' [legal and religious authorities]; The Son of the King; The Hoped For and Feared; Wurūd and Wadūd, the Dog Trainers (al-Mukallibayn);[45] Description of the Ant and the Gnat; Punishments;[46] Praise of Wine; The Camel; Pulpit Sermons; Marriage; Species; Qualities; The Testing of Providence; The Bountiful; The Sessions.[47]

Account of *Sahl* ibn Hārūn

He was Sahl ibn Hārūn ibn Rahyūnī of Dastumīsān,[48] who after going to al-Baṣrah became dedicated to the service of [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn*. He was director of Khizānat al-Ḥikmah [the royal library], as well as a scholar, a master of literary style, and a poet. He was Persian by origin, one of the Shu'ūbīyah, strong in his partisanship against the Arabs, and the author of many books and epistles.

[39] The Flügel version is garbled. The Beatty MS gives clearly *muhr azād* with a proper name like Gustasb, the legendary character who was confused with Solomon.

[40] He was a legendary king of Persia; see Biog. Index.

[41] The Flügel text is not clear. The Beatty MS has a title which might be Rūshanā, followed by *yadak* ("horse"), or *badhl* ("munificence"). Rūshanā was Roxana, the wife of Alexander the Great.

[42] Juwashtar is perhaps meant to be Zoroaster.

[43] This may be, as translated, *al-mashjī* ("the grieving"), or meant to be *al-mashjar* or *al-mushjir* ("planted with trees"), or a proper name which cannot be identified. In the following title, the man referred to is probably Hārūn al-*Rashīd*.

[44] The Beatty MS repeats this title later in the list.

[45] Wurūd (Roses) and Wadūd (Lovers) were evidently characters in a story.

[46] The Arabic, *al-mu'āqabāt*, has other meanings.

[47] The Beatty MS omits this title.

[48] A town near al-Awwāz, northeast of al-Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 574.

As he was extremely concerned with miserliness, he wrote a letter to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl [the vizier], in which he praised miserliness, inspiring him with a desire for it, but at the same time asking him for a gift. Then al-Ḥasan wrote a reply to him on the back of his letter: "Your letter has arrived and we are following your advice and have made on the back [of the page] a receipt and acknowledgment for you with salaams." So nothing came to him as a result.

Abū 'Uthmān al-*Jāḥiẓ* showed him favor, ranking high his eloquence and literary style and quoting him in his books. Among the books of Sahl ibn Hārūn there were:

Collection of Epistles;[49] Tha'lah wa-Afrā', similar to Kalīlah wa-Dimnah;[50] The Tree of Intelligence; The Leopard and the Fox; The Maid of Hudhayl and the Youth of Makhzūm;[51] The Lover and the Virgin; Wurūd wa-Wadūd;[52] The Two Wives [of the same husband]; *Aspasius* on the Taking of Brothers; The Two Gazelles; The Culture of *Ashak* ibn Ashak, addressed to *'Īsā* ibn Abān about judgment; The Administration of the Kingdom and Policy.[53]

Sa'īd ibn Huraym[54] al-Kātib (the Secretary)

He was an associate of *Sahl* ibn Hārūn in the Bayt al-Ḥikmah. He was eloquent, a master of literary style and a writer of correspondence who was quoted by al-*Jāḥiẓ*. Among his books there was *Learning and Its Benefits*. He also had a collection of epistles.

Salm

He was the director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah with *Sahl* ibn Hārūn, who made translations from Persian into Arabic.

[49] Not found in the Beatty MS.

[50] Tha'lah and Afrā' are names in a fable. *Tha'ālah* (the ā is often omitted) is a female fox. *Afrā'* means wild asses. Perhaps the word should be in the singular, *al-farā'* ("wild ass"), or it might also be *al-farrā* ("fur dealer"). See Mas'ūdī, I, 159, 400. *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* is a famous book of Indian fables; see Glossary.

[51] For these two tribes, see "Hudhail," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329; "Makhzūm," III, 171.

[52] This title may be the book of fables translated by *'Alī* ibn 'Ubaydah (see n. 45). Flügel gives *Nudūd wa-Wadūd wa-Ladūd*. The Beatty MS has *Nudūd wa-Dudūd*. The form given is probably the correct one.

[53] Not found in the Beatty MS.

[54] This name is taken from the Beatty MS. The form given by Flügel, Sa'īd ibn Hārūn, is probably incorrect. Flügel's form is also given in "Bait al-Hikma," *Enc. Islam* (1960), I, 1141.

'Alī ibn Dā'ūd

He was the secretary of Umm Ja'far *Zubaydah*, and one of the masters of eloquent literary style. In his composition [of official letters] he used the method of *Sahl* ibn Hārūn. Among his books there were:

Using a Loud Voice (Al-Jarhīyah), a book of singing;[55] The Freeborn and the Populace; The Beautiful.

Muḥammad ibn al-Layth al-Khaṭīb (the Preacher)

He was surnamed Abū al-Rabī', and served as secretary to *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālid [the vizier]. He was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah and was known for his legal skill. He had an eloquent literary style and was a writer of correspondence, a secretary, legal authority, and theologian, distinguished and frugal. It is said that he was the ugliest of the creations of Allāh, but the Barmak family advanced him, favoring him although he was accused of heresy.[56] Among his books there were:

The Elliptic, about comparative computation; Refutation of Heretics (al-Zanādiqah); *Constantine*'s Reply from al-*Rashīd*;[57] Penmanship and the Pen; The Admonition (Preaching) of Hārūn al-*Rashīd*, addressed to *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālid about literary pursuits.

Another account about him was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Ḥafṣ*: "Muḥammad ibn al-Layth of the Banū Ḥiṣn Tribe[58] was gifted in language. He was among the protégés of the Banū Umayyah, with a dislike for Persia, for which the Barmak family hated him. He was a preacher through the agency of his letters."

[55] The translation is taken from the Beatty MS. Flügel is probably incorrect.

[56] The members of the Barmak family were viziers who organized the empire for the early 'Abbāsid caliphs. The word "heresy" is *al-zanādiqah*, which usually was associated with the dualistic tendencies of the Manichaeans and Zoroastrians. As Muḥammad ibn al-Layth wrote a book refuting this heresy and was a man who sympathized with the Arabs rather than the Persians, the accusation was probably false.

[57] Constantine VI was the boy emperor at Constantinople, A.D. 780–97. During his reign Hārūn al-Rashīd extracted tribute from the Byzantines.

[58] For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 48 top.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn *Thawābah*: "He was Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, the preacher and master (*ṣāḥib*) of correspondence. He was a descendant of Adhabb (Azabb) Bād ibn Fīrūz ibn Shāhīn ibn Adhar Hurmuz ibn Hurmuz ibn Sarūshān ibn Bahman ibn Afrandār, reaching back in his lineage to *Dārā* ibn Dārā the King." He had an anthology of epistles.

Al-*'Attābī*

He was Abū 'Amr Kulthūm ibn 'Amr ibn Ayyūb al-Tha'labī al-'Attābī, a Syrian living at Qinnasrīn,[59] who was a poet, secretary, and accomplished letter writer. He became associated with members of the Barmak family, devoting himself to them. Then, later, he served *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn and *'Alī* ibn Hishām.

It is related that when [the Caliph] al-*Rashīd* met him after the execution of *Ja'far* ibn Yaḥyā and the waning of the Barmak fortunes, he [al-Rashīd] said to him, "What have you produced for me so far, oh, 'Attābī?"[60] Then he [al-'Attābī] composed extemporaneously some verses with excellent significance, among which there were:

Doth it please thee that there should befall me
What was accorded to Ja'far of wealth and to Yaḥyā ibn Khālid?
That the Commander of the Faithful should choke me
With their choking, with things exceeding cold.
Call me, leave me alone, tranquil, that my fate might come slowly,
Not afflicted with the horror of these happenings.
For confused are the events bound together
In the caverns of darkness.[61]

He was the best of the people, preeminent in his epistles and poetry, following the way of genius.[62] Al-'Attābī died ———. Among his books there were:

[59] For Qinnasrīn, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 184.

[60] For a brief history of the Barmak family, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 294–96, an account which helps to explain this incident and the poem which follows.

[61] Flügel, the Beatty MS, and Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part 12, p. 9, give different versions of this verse. The translation follows in general the Beatty MS.

[62] The word translated as "preeminent" is *i'tizāz* in Arabic, although it is written, probably inaccurately, as *i'tidād* in Flügel and *i'tidhār* in the Beatty MS. The Arabic word for "genius" is *al-nābighah*. This was the name of a famous poet, and may refer to him.

Literary Pursuits; The Arts of Government; The Delightful Book of the Horse; Pronunciations, which Abū 'Umar al-*Zāhid* quoted as passed down by al-*Mubarrad* and which was eloquent; Logic;[63] Things Beautiful.

Al-'*Utbī*

He was 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Utbah ibn Abī Sufyān of al-Baṣrah. Abū al-'*Aynā*' said that '*Amr* ibn 'Utbah was of distinguished lineage.

He was one of the most eloquent of men, both al-'Utbī and his father being persons of a superior type, men of letters and masters of literary style. Al-'Utbī was also a poet, though this was not true of his father.[64]

It is said that al-'Utbī stood at the doorway of *Ismā'īl* ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaymān, asking for permission to enter, but the servant said that he [Ismā'īl] was in the bath. Then he [al-'Utbī] recited:

> When I desire a meal from the emir
> And his servant (*ghilmān*) says that he has gone to the bath,
> Then my answer to the porter (*ḥājib*) is
> That I sought nothing but greetings
> And will not come to you at any time,
> Except on each day that we are fasting.

Al-'Utbī died during the year two hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 842/43]. Among his books there were:

Horses; Poetry of the Nomads and Poetry of Women Who Were Loved and Then Hated; The Slaughtered [for Sacrifice];[65] Characters (Morals).

The Names of Writers of Correspondence Whose Epistles Were Collected as Anthologies

Al-*Qāsim* ibn Ṣabīḥ, a small amount;[66] *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālid, a small amount; his son al-*Faḍl* (ibn Yaḥyā), a small amount; his son *Ja'far* (ibn Yaḥyā), a small amount; al-*Fayḍ* ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ, a large amount; *Yūsuf* ibn al-Qāsim, a small amount; *Ya'qūb* ibn

[63] This title and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

[64] This paragraph follows the Beatty MS; Flügel differs.

[65] This title is omitted by Flügel.

[66] The words "a small amount" and "a large amount" are taken from the Beatty MS, as they are not given perfectly by Flügel.

Nūḥ, a small amount; *Yūsuf* Laqwah, a small amount; al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl, a small amount; al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl, a small amount; *Muḥammad* ibn Bakr, a small amount; *Aḥmad* ibn al-Najm, a large amount; *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf the secretary of al-*Ma'mūn* and a vizier, a large amount.

Ibrāhīm[67] ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, the Secretary

He was one of the eloquent writers and poets who were masters of literary style, and he was in charge of the correspondence during the regimes of a number of caliphs, being a man both cultured and gifted. Abū *Tammām* said, "If Ibrāhīm had not turned his interests to the service of the sultan, he would not have left bread to a single poet, because of the excellency of his poetry." Among his books there were:

Epistles; The Government, a large book; Cooking; Perfume.

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wahb ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥuṣayn ibn Qays ibn Qanān ibn Mattā

Qanān served as secretary to *Yazīd* ibn Abī Sufyān while he was administering Syria, and later to *Mu'āwiyah*. Mu'āwiyah passed him on to his son, *Yazīd*, during whose reign as caliph he [Qanān] died. Then Yazīd appointed his [Qanān's] son, *Qays*, to be his secretary. Qays later served as secretary to *Marwān*, *'Abd* al-Malik, and *Hishām*, during whose [Hishām's] reign he died.

Hishām made his [Qays's] son, al-*Ḥusayn*, his secretary. *Marwān* [II] later employed him as a secretary. He went to Egypt, and when Marwān was killed he became attached to Ibn *Hubayrah*. When Ibn Hubayrah went over to Abū Ja'far [al-*Manṣūr*], he won safe conduct for al-Ḥusayn, who served al-Manṣūr and al-*Mahdī*, until his death occurred on the road to al-Rayy.

Then al-Mahdī appointed his [Ḥusayn's] son *'Amr* as a secretary and he served as secretary to *Khālid* ibn Barmak. When he died, his son *Sa'īd* was his successor, remaining in the service of the Barmak family and being followed by his own son *Wahb*, who first acted as secretary to *Ja'far* ibn Yaḥyā and later in the entourage of Dhū

[67] The Flügel edition adds Abū Isḥāq to the name of Ibrāhīm.

al-Ri'āsitayn [al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl]. Dhū al-Ri'āsitayn said about him, "In view of his associates, I have wondered how Wahb refrained from self-seeking."[68]

After that al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl made him [Wahb] his secretary, appointing him governor of Kirmān and Fars, in which provinces he made improvements. When he sent him on a mission to al-*Ma'mūn* via Fam al-Ṣilḥ,[69] he was drowned on the way to Baghdād from Fam al-Ṣilḥ. His son *Sulaymān*, when he was a boy fourteen years old, did secretarial work for al-Ma'mūn. Later he served as secretary to *Ītākh* and *Ashnās*. After that he was head of the vizierate of al-*Mu'tamid*. This Sulaymān ibn Wahb had a book, a collection of his epistles.

The brother of Sulaymān, al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wahb, served as secretary to *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, also presiding over the bureau of correspondence. He was a poet, an eloquent writer, a composer of correspondence, a master of literary style, and one of the most excellent of the secretaries. His book was a collection of epistles.

Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt Was *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abān al-Zayyāt

Abān was one of the inhabitants of a village of al-Jabal called al-Daskarah, from which region he transported oil to Baghdād. [Muḥammad] was a poet and master of literary style, who served as vizier to three caliphs: al-*Mu'taṣim*, al-*Wāthiq*, and al-*Mutawakkil*. Forty days after appointing him as vizier, al-Mutawakkil humiliated him, killing him in his affliction. We give a detailed account of him elsewhere.[70] He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48]. He had an anthology of epistles.

Al-*Qāsim* ibn Yūsuf

He was the brother of *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf. He was a poet and writer of correspondence. He had a book of epistles.

[68] For the caliphs mentioned, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 193, 279, 297.

[69] This locality was on the Ṣilḥ River above al-Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 917.

[70] Perhaps the author of *Al-Fihrist* expected to mention Muḥammad in further detail in connection with the poets, but actually his name is only mentioned briefly.

'*Amr* ibn Mas'adah ibn Sa'īd ibn ———

He was the vizier of al-*Ma'mūn*, and was a master of literary style, a poet, and writer of correspondence. There is a large book of his epistles.

Sa'īd ibn Wahb

He was a secretary, but not from the family of *Wahb* ibn Sa'īd, for his origin was Persian. He wrote:

Epistles; a collection of his poems.[71]

Al-*Ḥarrānī*

He was Abū al-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥarrānī, a poet, writer of correspondence, and master of literary style, who wrote:

Epistles; about eloquent literary style.[72]

Abū 'Alī al-*Baṣīr*

He was a poet, master of literary style, and writer of correspondence. Between him and Abū al-'*Aynā*' there were exchanges of satires and excellent compositions, including a number of poems. He wrote:

Epistles; a collection of his poems.[73]

Al-*Yūsufī*

He was Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, one of the descendants of *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib, the secretary of al-*Ma'mūn*.[74] He was a writer of correspondence and a master of literary style. He wrote:

The Distinguished (Al-Faḍūl), referring to his selected epistles; epistles about his personal affairs.

[71] This second title not found in the Beatty MS.

[72] This title is not found in the Beatty MS.

[73] Omitted in the Beatty MS.

[74] Flügel inserts the phrases "the secretary of al-Ma'mūn" and also "There were famous letters written by Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf." The second phrase is omitted from the translation because the names are evidently confused.

The Banū al-*Mudabbir*[75]

Aḥmad, *Muḥammad*, and *Ibrāhīm*, all of whom were poets, writers of correspondence, and masters of literary style. Aḥmad wrote the book *Sessions and Conference*.

Hārūn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt

He was surnamed Abū Mūsā, and was one of the persons who collected historical anecdotes and quoted traditions. Among his books there were:

Historical Traditions of *Dhū* al-Rummah; his epistles.[76]

Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd

He was surnamed Abū ʿUthmān and was a secretary, poet, and writer of correspondence, delightful in expression, preeminent in his work, but given to plagiarism and much [literary] plundering. If it should be said to the words and poetry of Saʿīd, "Return to your true authors (*ahlik*)," there would be nothing of his own left. This was the expression of *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir.

He claimed that he was descended from the offspring of the kings of Persia. Among his books there were:

Persia's Receiving Justice from the Arabs, also known as Equality; a collection of his epistles; an anthology of his poems. In connection with [his] quashing of Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm, a book of epistles was [addressed] to each of them.[77]

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Dāʾūd, the Secretary

He excelled in eloquence and literary style. He wrote *Epistles*.

Saʿīd ibn Ḥumayd ibn al-Bakhtakān

He was surnamed Abū ʿUthmān and was a man of understanding, a theologian, and a master of literary style. Coming from ancient ancestry in Persia, he was strong in partisanship against the Arabs. Among his books there were:

[75] Ibn Khallikān states that the name should be written al-Mudabbir, although as a rule it is Mudabbar (see Khallikān, IV, 389). The title *Sessions and Conference* is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[76] Omitted by the Beatty MS.

[77] Probably *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir and *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ismāʿīl.

The Persians' Superiority[78] over the Arabs, and Their Excellence; his epistles; about theology, which I mention in the proper place in this volume.

Ḥamd ibn Mihrān, the Secretary

He was from Iṣbahān and served as secretary to the members of the Barmak family while they were still alive.[79] He wrote *Epistles*.

Ibn *Yazdād*

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazdād ibn Suwayd was the vizier of [the Caliph] al-*Ma'mūn*, a master of literary style, a writer of correspondence, and a poet.[80] Among his books there were:

Epistles; an anthology of his poems.

Muḥammad ibn Mukram

He was a secretary who was a master of literary style and a writer of correspondence. He wrote *Epistles*.

Abū *Ṣāliḥ* 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād ibn Suwayd

He was one of the secretaries who were masters of literary style. His son was Abū *Aḥmad* ibn[81] 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād, who completed the book of history which his father was writing, to the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. Among his [Abū Aḥmad's] books there were:

History; his epistles.

Maymun ibn Ibrāhīm, the Secretary

He had special charge of the correspondence during the days of al-*Mutawakkil*. He was eloquent, a master of literary style and a writer of correspondence. He wrote *Epistles*.

[78] The Beatty MS omits "superiority," which omission is evidently an error.

[79] The reference to the Barmak family is omitted in the Beatty MS.

[80] The phrase "and a poet" and the second book title are not found in the Beatty MS.

[81] The word *ibn* is not in the original Arabic but must be correct, judging from the dates of these two men's lives. Flügel gives the two book titles in this paragraph with Abū Ṣāliḥ. The translation follows the Beatty MS in giving them with the son, Abū Aḥmad.

Mūsā ibn ʿAbd al-Malik

He had charge of the Bureau of al-Sawād and other matters during the days of al-*Mutawakkil* and was also a writer of correspondence. I have seen a few of his letters.

Ibn *Saʿd*[82] al-Quṭrabbullī

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿd ibn Masʿūd al-Quṭrabbullī, one of the secretaries who were learned and preeminent. Among his books there were:

History, which he wrote up to his own lifetime; Fiqar (Rhymed Phrases, Rhymed Clauses) of the Masters of Literary Style;[83] Logic.

Naṭṭāḥah Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī

He was the secretary of *ʿUbayd* Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, who turned him over to *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhir.[84] He was a master of literary style, a correspondence writer, a poet, and a man of letters, preeminent in eloquent composition. He usually wrote in a personal way to his brothers, but there were also letters and replies exchanged between him and Abū al-ʿAbbās [*ʿAbd* Allāh] ibn al-Muʿtazz. He composed a collection (*dīwān*) of letters, about a thousand leaves in length, comprising all of the good [passages] from different kinds of letters.

Cooked Food; Generations (Categories) of Secretaries; and also what he entitled the Compendium Copied from Notes, which included what he heard from the scholars and what was testified to in connection with anecdotes about important people; Description (Attributes) of the Soul; his letters to his brothers.[85]

[82] The Flügel text gives Ibn Saʿīd. In the sentence below, Flügel gives Abū al-Ḥasan as part of his name; the Beatty MS omits it.

[83] This title and that following are omitted by the Beatty MS.

[84] The translation follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be correct. Muḥammad was the brother of ʿUbayd Allāh, so that it was natural for the secretary to go from one to the other. The Flügel version says that Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir killed Naṭṭāḥah, evidently an error.

[85] Lacking in the Beatty MS.

Ibn *Fuḍayl* al-Kātib

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Fuḍayl ibn Marwān, and was of Persian origin. Among his books there was *Idols and What the Arabs and Persians Used to Worship instead of Allāh, Blessed Be His Name.*

Abū al-ʿ*Aynā*ʾ Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khillād[86]

He was a master of literary style and eloquence, with a ready answer and a quick repartee. He was also a poet. During the latter part of his life he was blind. Letters and satires were exchanged between him and Abū ʿAlī al-*Baṣīr* and also Abū *Hiffān.*[87]

The people of al-ʿAskar[88] used to fear his tongue. He quoted al-*Aṣmaʿī* and other scholars. Abū al-ʿAynāʾ died some time after the year two hundred and eighty [A.D. 893/94].[89] Among his books there were:

Accounts of Abū al-ʿAynāʾ, which was written by [*Aḥmad*] ibn Abī Ṭāhir; Poems of Abū al-ʿAynāʾ, about thirty leaves in length.

I have read something written in the handwriting of [Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī] ibn Muqlah [surnamed] Abū ʿAlī, of which this is a transcription. I am presenting it with its order and wording, as this book requires.

Names of the Preachers (Orators)

The Commander of the Faithful, ʿ*Alī*, for whom may there be peace; *Ṭalḥah* ibn ʿUbayd Allāh; ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿ*Abbās* ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; *Khālid* and *Ismāʿīl*, the two sons of ʿ*Abd* Allāh al-Qasrī; *Yazīd* ibn Khālid ibn ʿAbd Allāh and *Jarīr* ibn Yazīd ibn Khālid; ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn al-Ahtam; *Khālid* ibn Safwān; Ibn al-*Qirrīyah*;[90] *Ṣaʿṣaʿah* ibn Ṣūḥān; *Muḥammad* ibn Qays al-Khaṭīb; *Ziyād* ibn Abī Sufyān; *Qaṭarī* ibn al-Fujāʾah; al-*Walīd* ibn Yazīd; Abū Jaʿfar al-*Manṣūr*; al-*Maʾmūn*; *Shabīb* ibn

[86] "Ibn Khillād" is omitted by the Beatty MS.

[87] See Masʿūdī, VII, 328, for mention of Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣīr and Abū al-ʿAynāʾ.

[88] *Al-ʿaskar* may refer to the army, but probably refers to the quarter of Baghdād known as "Askar al-Mahdī" and often called "al-Askar." See Coke, *Baghdad*, p. 40.

[89] The Beatty MS leaves a gap in place of the date following "Abū al-ʿAynāʾ died."

[90] The Beatty MS gives "al-Qisrīyah," which seems to be an error.

Shaybah; al-'*Abbās* ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī and his son '*Abd* Allāh; *Muḥammad* ibn Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī; *Shabbah* ibn 'Iqāl.

The Names of Those Who Were Eloquent[91]

Abū Marwān *Ghaylān*; *Sālim*, the secretary of *Hishām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik and a kinsman of '*Abd* al-Ḥamīd; '*Abd* al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā, the secretary of *Marwān* [II]; *Khalīd* ibn Rabī'ah al-Ifrīqī;[92] '*Abd* al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī, who lived at the time of *Bilāl* ibn Abī Burdah; '*Umārah* ibn Ḥamzah; *Yaḥyā* and *Muḥammad*, the sons of Ziyād, the two Ḥārithī descendants of al-*Ḥārith* ibn Ka'b; *Ḥujr* ibn Sulaymān, from Ḥarrān; *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥujr, the secretary of al-'*Abbās* ibn Muḥammad; *Jabal* ibn Yazīd, the secretary of '*Umārah* ibn Ḥamzah; *Mas'adah* ibn 'Amr;[93] '*Abd* al-Jabbār ibn 'Adī and *Mas'adah* ibn Khālid, the two secretaries of al-*Manṣūr*; *Yūnus* ibn Abī Farwah, who served as the secretary of '*Īsā* ibn Mūsā; *Sahl* ibn Hārūn, director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah of al-*Ma'mūn*; *Sa'īd* ibn Huraym, the associate of Sahl ibn Hārūn at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah; '*Abd* Allāh ibn Khāqān;[94] *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath; '*Ubayd* Allāh[95] ibn 'Amrān, who served as a secretary to a number of persons, the last of whom was al-*Faḍl* ibn Yaḥyā; Ibn *Adham*, the secretary of Abū *Nujūm*.

Abū al-Rabī' *Muḥammad* ibn al-Layth; *Ghassān* ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Madīnī;[96] al-Khaṭṭāb mawlā *Sulaymān* ibn Abī Ja'far and his protégé;[97] Ibn *A'yān*, a secretary; Abū ——— al-*Shāmī*, the

[91] In this translation the word *al-bulaghā'* (here, "those who were eloquent") is often rendered "masters of literary style." In the following collection of names, there are some minor variations between the Flügel text and the Beatty MS; the translation follows the latter. In the Beatty MS, three dots separate each writer from the next.

[92] For the last element of this name, Flügel gives "al-Sharqī" and the Beatty MS is garbled, but probably "al-Ifrīqī" is the correct form.

[93] The Arabic text gives Abū 'Amr, but most sources give his name as ibn 'Amr. Perhaps he was both Abū 'Amr and ibn 'Amr.

[94] It is possible that the word for "secretary of" has been omitted between 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāqān and Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath.

[95] The name Allāh is given by Flügel but not by the Beatty MS.

[96] Flügel adds, "who served as secretary to *Ja'far* ibn Sulaymān at al-Madīnah."

[97] As the word *mawlā* ("protégé") is mentioned twice in the Beatty MS, the phrase may be "al-*Khaṭṭāb* ibn Mu'allā the secretary of *Sulaymān* ibn Abī Ja'far and his protégé." It is more likely, however, that the word for protégé is mentioned twice by mistake.

secretary of al-*Walīd* ibn Muʿāwiyah; *Khaṭṭāb* ibn Abī Khaṭṭāb, one of the Ahl al-Daʿwah[98] who wrote on his own behalf; *ʿUbayd* ibn Khirāsh, one of the people of al-Shām and a secretary; Kulthūm ibn ʿAmr al-*ʿAttābī*, a man of letters who wrote on his own behalf [and for] Abū Muslim al-*Shāmī*; *Qumāmah*, the secretary of *ʿAbd* al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ; *Isḥāq* ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the secretary of *Qumāmah* ibn Yazīd; al-*Harīr* ibn al-Ṣarīḥ, the secretary of *ʿAbd* al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ; Abū *Rawḥ*, the secretary of *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā, following *Yūsuf* ibn Sulaymān; Ibn al-*ʿAbādīyah*;[99] *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥarb, who served as secretary to al-Makhlūʿ.[100]

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf; *Maslamah*, the secretary of *Khuzaymah* ibn Khāzim; *Ismāʿīl* ibn Ṣabīḥ; Abū *ʿUbayd* Allāh, the secretary of al-*Mahdī*; *Muḥammad* ibn Saʿīd, a contemporary of al-*Maʾmūn*; *Bakr* ibn Fayd ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Tamīmī, a contemporary of *Bilāl* ibn Abī Burdah; al-*Qāsim* ibn Muḥammad, also a contemporary of Bilāl; *Bishr* ibn Abī Bishārah; Abū al-Najm *Ḥabīb* ibn al-Najm, contemporary with al-*Mahdī*; *Muṭarraf* ibn Abī Muṭarraf al-Laythī; *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ismāʿīl, the teacher of *Muḥammad* ibn Mukram; *Yūsuf* ibn Sulaymān, the secretary of *ʿAlī*;[101] Abū *Ḥawṭ*, the secretary of al-*Harīr* ibn Ṣarīḥ; *Ḥamzah* ibn ʿAfīf ibn al-Ḥasan, a secretary of *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn; *Muslim* ibn Ṣadaqah, a Syrian; Abū *Hāshim* al-Ḥarrānī.

Ten Masters of Literary Style[102]

ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-*Muqaffaʿ*; *ʿUmārah* ibn Ḥamzah; *Jabal* ibn Yazīd; *Ḥujr* ibn Muḥammad; *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥujr ——— *Anas* ibn Abī Shaykh, who was relied upon by *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf the secretary; *Sālim*; *Masʿadah*; al-*Harīr* ibn Ṣarīḥ; *ʿAbd* al-Jabbār ibn ʿAdī; *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf.

[98] This is the name by which the Ismāʿīlīyah designated their own members. It can be translated as "People of the Summons."

[99] The Flügel text gives Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān ibn al-ʿAbādīyah as one name. The Beatty MS is probably correct in breaking it into two.

[100] Al-Makhlūʿ ("the Rejected") was the nickname of al-*Amīn*, son of Hārūn al-*Rashīd*.

[101] Probably ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā, the famous vizier.

[102] In this paragraph, the Flügel text omits Jabal ibn Yazīd, though the Beatty MS includes it. Flügel gives Anas ibn Abī Shaykh as a separate name. In the Beatty MS, the text is garbled following Muḥammad ibn Ḥujr, but evidently Anas was connected in some way with this man, and was not among the masters of literary style.

Recent Masters of Literary Style

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī; al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wahb; *Saʿīd* ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.

Books Mentioned Together because of Their Excellence

The Testament of *Ardashīr*;[103] Kalīlah wa-Dimnah; the epistle of ʿ*Umārah* ibn Ḥamzah; Al-Māhānīyah;[104] Al-Yatīmah, by Ibn al-*Muqaffaʿ*;[105] the epistle Al-Khamīs, by *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf al-Khaṭīb.[106]

Various Subjects about Which Things Were Written[107]

About the common people, about raids [early wars of Islām], about defeats (routs), about security, about submission, about laws, about recompense, about provinces, about treaties, about counsel, about partisanship, about rain, about earthquake, about acknowledgment of a ruler, about peace, about reviling, about necessities, about satisfaction, about love (affection), about reproaches, about apologies, about trusts, about congratulations, about gifts, about judicial jurisdiction, about condolence, about holy war, about season of the pilgrimage (harvest), about feasts, about passionate desires.

Responses of the raids (correspondence of the early wars of Islām): what was written by (from) the kings to the kings about the outlying regions, about the weak (impotent), about the conflagration, about war, about praying for rain, about union (friendly relations), about security (peace), about breaking through (pouring forth) of waters.[108]

[103] The charge given by the dying king Ardashīr to his son *Shāpūr*; see Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VI, 286; Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 63.

[104] This may have been written by Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī* or Isḥāq al-*Mawṣilī* about their ancestor Māhān; see Huart, *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 77.

[105] *Al-yatīmah* means "the rare" or "the unique." Flügel, p. 118 bottom line, gives the phrase "about epistles" following this title.

[106] The title *Al-Khamīs* is taken from the Beatty MS, as Flügel has *Al-Ḥasan*, evidently an error.

[107] In the second paragraph, the text follows the Beatty MS, in which the phrase "Responses of the raids" seems to introduce the group of subjects which follows. There is a variation in the Flügel edition.

[108] The subject "breaking through of waters" is taken from the Beatty MS, as Flügel gives "passionate devotion," which is a mistake.

Also What Occurs in Action

Seeing the new moon, festivals, about amatory poetry (conversation),[109] demand for necessities, cassation in justice.

Here ends what was written in the handwriting of Abū ʿAlī ibn Muqlah [*Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī].

Ghassān ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd[110]

He served as secretary to *Jaʿfar* ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī. He was eloquent, using beautiful diction and refinement of meaning. Among his books there were:

Selected writings; a book of his epistles.

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥarb

He served as secretary to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Qaḥṭabah in Armenia. Then he was the secretary of *Yazīd* ibn Usayd and later of al-*Faḍl* ibn Yaḥyā. He wrote *Epistles.*

Bakr ibn Ṣurad

He was the secretary of *Yazīd* ibn Mazyad and a man with an excellent literary style, who was the author of several famous books. It was he who composed for (about) Yazīd ibn Mazyad his letter to al-*Rashīd* at the time of the death of Yazīd.[111] He wrote:

Epistles; The Epistle about Mazyad to al-*Rashīd.*

Abū al-*Wizīr* ʿUmar ibn Muṭarraf[112]

He was a secretary belonging to the ʿAbd al-Qays Tribe and was one of the people of Marw (Merv). He directed the bureau of the eastern provinces for al-*Mahdī*, al-*Hādī*, and al-*Rashīd.* He served as secretary to al-*Manṣūr* and al-Mahdī, during whose reign it is said that he died, but the truth is that[113] he died during the days of al-Rashīd, who mourned for him. He was trustworthy, preeminent in

[109] The Arabic word is *al-ghazal*, which can be used for a kind of popular ode.

[110] Instead of Ghassān, the Beatty MS has ʿĪsān, which must be wrong.

[111] Flügel has Barmak, but the Beatty MS must be right in giving Yazīd.

[112] The Beatty MS lacks "'Umar ibn Muṭarraf" in this heading. For the tribe which follows, see "'Abd al-Ḳais" ('Abd al-Qays), *Enc. Islam*, I, 45.

[113] The Beatty MS lacks the phrase "during whose reign . . . truth is that."

his profession, eloquent, and a quoter of traditions. Among his books there were:

Habitations of the Arabs, Their Frontiers, the Place Where Each Tribe Was Located, and the Place to Which It Migrated from There; The Epistles of Abū al-Wizīr; The Glorious Deeds of the Arabs and the Competitions of Their Tribes in Connection with Genealogy.[114]

When al-Rashīd prayed for him [at his funeral] he said, "May Allāh show mercy to thee. For verily has not Allāh offered thee two alternatives, one for Allāh and one for thyself? And hast thou not sought what was for Allāh rather than for thyself?"

Al-*Faḍl* ibn Marwān ibn Māsarjis, the Christian

He was from a village known as Sullā on the shores of the River Būq,[115] and he lived to the age of ninety-three. He served al-*Ma'mūn* and al-*Mu'taṣim*, acting as vizier. After these two, he also served several other caliphs. Although he had little grasp of learning, he showed great intelligence in the service of the caliphs. Among his books there were:

Things Observed and Traditions Known by Eye Witnesses, Seen and Quoted; his letters.[116]

Al-*Jahshiyārī*[117]

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs, a secretary, student of historical traditions, and writer of correspondence, among whose books there were:

The Viziers and the Secretaries; The Meter of Poetry and a Compendium of the Types of Prosody.

[114] This title is lacking in the Beatty MS.

[115] For the River Būq, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 836. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 129, for Sullā, although this name may be incorrect.

[116] "His letters" is lacking in the Beatty MS.

[117] This whole paragraph is omitted by the Beatty MS, but a space is left, evidently with hopes that it could be filled in later.

A Group[118]

Shaylamah

He was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl the secretary, Shaylamah being a nickname.[119] At first he was with al-ʿAlawī[120] at al-Baṣrah, but later he went to Baghdād and became loyal [to the government]. Then he became involved in working with some of the Khawārij, so that al-*Muʿtaḍid* burned him fastened to a tent pole.[121] Among his books there were:

Account of the Chief of the Zanj and His Battles; his epistles.[122]

Ibn Abī *Aṣbagh*

He was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, among whose books there were:

Learning and Nobility of Writing, about fifty leaves; Epistles, not many of them.[123]

Ibn Abī al-*Sarj*

He was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Sarj, the secretary, among whose books there were:

The Pen (Penmanship) and What Accompanies It; Epistles.[124]

Isḥāq ibn Salamah[125]

He was a Persian secretary. Among his books there were:

Superiority of the Persians over the Arabs; Epistles.

[118] The usual Arabic spelling for the word translated as "group" is *ṭā'ifah*, but the Beatty MS here gives *ṭāyifah*.

[119] *Shaylam* means either "a cruel-looking man" or "tares" which are known as darnel grass (Lolium temulentum), an herb which causes mild physical reaction.

[120] This almost certainly refers to *ʿAlī* ibn Muḥammad, called Ṣāḥib al-Zanj.

[121] The translation follows the Beatty MS. The word given as "fastened" cannot be identified with certainty. It could be *ka-zadanj*, "like sheep's intestines." In other words, as the intestines, a popular form of food, are cooked on a spit, so the caliph burned his victim on a tent pole over a fire. See Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, pp. 73, 74; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2135–36, for differently worded accounts of this incident.

[122] "His epistles" lacking in the Beatty MS.

[123] Second title lacking in the Beatty MS.

[124] Second title lacking in the Beatty MS.

[125] The name in the Beatty MS appears to be Isḥāq ibn Sulmah. The second title is lacking in the Beatty MS.

Mūsā ibn ʿĪsā al-Kisrāwī[126]

Among his books there were:

Love of Fatherlands; The Contradictions of He Who Claims that Judges Are Not Obliged to Imitate the Imams and Caliphs in Connection with Their Food.

Yazdijird ibn Mihīndādh al-Kisrāwī

He lived at the time of [the Caliph] al-*Muʿtaḍid*. Among his books there were:

The Excellencies of Baghdād and Its Characteristics; Guides to the Oneness [of God] from the Words of the Philosophers and Others besides Them, a large book which I have glanced through.

Another Group

Dāʾūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ

He was the grandfather of Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā and served as the secretary of al-*Mustaʿīn*.[127] Among his books there were:

The History and Historical Traditions of the Secretaries; Epistles.

Muḥammad ibn Dāʾūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ

He was surnamed Abū ʿAbd Allāh. No one appeared during his time who was more illustrious than he. He served as vizier to *ʿAbd* Allāh ibn al-Muʿtazz during the time when he was caliph. He was a learned man, who mingled with people, learning from scholars, masters of literary style, and poets. In his own handwriting he wrote more than can be computed, and he both read over and corrected whatever was written with his penmanship.

After the uprising of [ʿAbd Allāh] ibn al-Muʿtazz, he [Muḥammad ibn Dāʾūd] was made known to *Muʾnis* al-Khādim, who had early knowledge of his situation, but as Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-*Furāt* feared him, he [Muʾnis] counseled his execution. Accordingly, he was

[126] Al-Kisrāwī indicates connection with the royal family of Persia and descent from Chosroes. The Beatty MS spells the name al-Kasrāwī. The second title among his books has been obscured in the Beatty MS.

[127] Both the name al-Mustaʿīn and the title *Epistles* are omitted by the Beatty MS.

killed. [His body] was taken out and cast into a canal by the gate at al-Ma'mūnīyah and later carried to his home.[128]

Among his books there were:

The Leaf, about historical traditions of the poets;[129] the delightful book, Poetry and the Poets; Who among the Poets Was Named 'Umar during the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic Periods;[130] The Four, modeled after the book of Abū *Hiffān*; The Viziers.

Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ

He was in a position of leadership, having power and rank, but he was especially famous and conspicuous for his professional skill and virtue.[131] Three times he served as the vizier of al-*Muqtadir*. He traced his lineage back to al-*Ḥasan*.[132]

He died on the day during the morning of which *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah crossed over, which was the day of the conflict in the middle of the night, during Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month], in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 946]. He was buried in his house.[133] Among his books there were:

[128] To understand this passage it is necessary to know the history. *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz contested the right to be the caliph with al-Muqtadir and ruled for one day, after which he was killed; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 468. At this time *Mu'nis* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Muzaffar, called al-Khādim, was an influential member of the government. He evidently knew of a connection between *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd and 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz, but was inclined to forgive him for his complicity with the plot. When, however, he learned that the powerful vizier Ibn al-*Furāt* was afraid of Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd, Mu'nis al-Khādim did not want to lose the favor of his chief and so encouraged the execution of Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd. For the Ma'mūnīyah Quarter, see Coke, *Baghdad*, pp. 65, 116.

[129] Flügel adds, "which he wrote for Ibn al-*Munajjim*," probably either *Hārūn* ibn 'Alī the authority on poetry, or Abū Aḥmad *Yaḥyā* ibn 'Alī, the court favorite.

[130] Flügel has 'Amr instead of 'Umar. Flügel also adds the clause "during the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic Periods." The last title is not found in the Beatty MS.

[131] The Flügel edition has "law" instead of "virtue."

[132] At this point there is a space left in the Beatty MS, evidently meant to be filled in later with data about genealogy.

[133] The translation follows the Beatty MS. Flügel gives, "He died on the day in which Mu'izz al-Dawlah crossed over, which was Friday, at midnight during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 946]." Aḥmad ibn Buwayh, known as Mu'izz al-Dawlah, came from al-Ahwāz to Baghdād, and after a period of negotiations he deposed and blinded the Caliph al-*Mustakfī*, early A.D. 946. See "Mu'izz al-Dawlah," *Enc. Islam*, III, 705; Miskawayh, V, 87 (84); 88 (85); Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 470.

Collection of Invocations; The Meaning and Explanation of the Qur'ān, with which work Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khazzāz* and Abū Bakr ibn *Mujāhid* helped him; The Secretaries, the Politics of the Kingdom, and a Record of the Caliphs.

His Son, Abū al-*Qāsim* ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī

He devoted his time to logic and the ancient sciences. His birth was ———. Among his books there was a book about the Persian language.

Abū al-*Qāsim* ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ[134]

He was known as the son of *Asmā*, who was a sister of *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā. He was an excellent secretary and a writer of correspondence, among whose books there were:

The Benefit, about history; The Explanation and Correction of Speech (Tongue).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĪsā

He was a brother of Abū al-Ḥasan [*ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā], and an excellent man. He was a secretary who served as vizier to al-*Muttaqī* with the counsel of his brother. For the one who directed him and supervised his affairs was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā. Among his books there were:

Record of the Family of al-*Jarrāḥ*—Traditions about Them and Their Genealogies, Both in Ancient and Modern Times;[135] History, from the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84] to his own day; large book about land tax (*al-kharāj*), which he did not finish.

Ibn al-*ʿAramram* Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh

He held high positions[136] in the lowlands near ʿUmrān. Among his books there was *The Land Tax* (*Al-Kharāj*), which he named ———.

[134] This paragraph is lacking in the Beatty MS.

[135] The translation follows the Beatty MS, which gives *āl al-Jarrāḥ* ("the family of al-Jarrāḥ"). Flügel has *ahl al-kharāj* ("people of the land tax"), which seems to be a mistake.

[136] The translation "held high positions" is taken from the Beatty MS. Flügel gives *wa-māt* ("and he died").

Al-*Muṭawwaq* ʿAlī ibn al-Fatḥ

He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. Among his books there was *The Viziers*, supplementing the book of *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ and brought up to the time of Abū al-Qāsim al-*Kalwādhānī*.

Ibn al-*Ḥarūn*[137]

Among his books there were:

The Excellency of the Arrangement of the Qur'ān; Epistles.

Al-*Marthadī*

Abū Aḥmad ibn Bishr al-Marthadī the Elder was the man to whom Ibn al-*Rūmī* wrote verses about fish, for there was a joke between them. He served as the secretary of al-*Muwaffaq* in connection with his confidential affairs. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā', a large and exceedingly good book; Poems of the Quraysh, upon which al-*Ṣūlī* depended for "Al-Awrāq," for he plagiarized him—I saw a copy written in the handwriting of al-Marthadī; Collection of Letters.[138]

Mention of the Family of *Thawābah* ibn Yūnus

Their origin was Christian. It is said that Yūnus was known as Lubābah and that he was a cupper (barber-surgeon). It is also said that Lubābah was their maternal ancestor. Abū Saʿīd *Wahb* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāzādh said to me:[139]

There was once a dispute between *ʿAlī* ibn al-Ḥusayn and Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn *Thawābah* about an estate.[140] They met at the hearing of some high official; I think he was *ʿUbayd* Allāh ibn Sulaymān. ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn delegated this case with Abū al-ʿAbbās to his brother, Abū al-*Qāsim*

[137] The account of Ibn al-*Ḥarūn* is not found in the Beatty MS.

[138] This title lacking in the Beatty MS.

[139] The versions of the following passage show numerous variations in Flügel, the Beatty MS, and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36.

[140] The Flügel text gives Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawābah. This man and the wife of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn were both descendants of Thawābah ibn Yūnus, the cupper, and for that reason claimed the right to inheritance of the same piece of property. When ʿAlī proved his intimate relationship with the cupper, his opponent gave up the case.

Ja'far[141] ibn al-Ḥusayn, who was a match for (became the rival of) Abū al-'Abbās. Abū al-'Abbās began accusing him of falsifying and mocking him. Finally, in summing up his remarks he said to him, "Who are you that you have so roughly twisted the truth?"

Then he [Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm] went on to say:

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn turned to a boy accompanying him, as though he were the world to come, and took him by his hand, standing up in his place. Then he uncovered his head, saying with his loudest voice, "Oh, group of scribes, you have known me. This is my son, by so-in-so, the daughter of so-in-so. She shall be divorced from me by the divorce of invalidation and precedent (*al-jaraḥ wa-al-sunnah*) according to the usage of the law codes, if this cupping scar on the vein of my neck is not the scarification of his [the boy's] grandfather, so-in-so the cupper,[142] and if he is not surnamed for a grandfather Ibn Thawābah."

He [Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm] continued, "Abū al-'Abbās gave up, neither answering [questions] nor making any remarks about the estate after that, capitulating without dispute or argument, so that the persons present respected this [outcome]."

Abū al-'Abbās was troublesome and spiteful. Words of his, which are recorded, are both shameful and overbearing. It is for me to wash the words of this cupper from my mouth with rose water. From him we have, "When the people saw the Commander of the Faithful, they became chiefs, they trimmed their pens, they advanced and became viziers, with hobbled jumps."[143] He died during the year two hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 890/91]. Among his books there were:

Collected Epistles; Epistle on Writing and Script (Penmanship).

[141] The Beatty MS leaves a blank, but Flügel fills in the name Ja'far.

[142] The Flügel text has al-Baḥrayn, an obvious error. The Beatty MS gives *al-muzayyin* ("cupper" or "barber").

[143] In this sentence, the Beatty MS and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36, place *t d* before each verb. This may be meant to show the heavy speech of Abū al-'Abbās. Probably, however, Flügel is correct in giving, instead of *t d*, *qad*, an Arabic expression of emphasis. Flügel omits the last word of the Arabic quotation, and Yāqūt does not make it clear. In the Beatty MS the letters look like *b r s f n*. As the long *a* is often omitted, the word may be, as translated, *bi-rasafan* ("with hobbled jumps"), which means with jumps like those of a fettered camel, a good description of the advances of upstarts, always bound by the caliph's whims.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn *Thawābah*

He was a writer of correspondence, who had an excellent literary style and served as the secretary of al-*Muʿtaḍid*.[144] He wrote a book of recorded letters.

Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn *Thawābah*

He was the last one of the distinguished and learned men among those [descendants of Ibn Thawābah] whom we have seen. He wrote the book *Epistles*.

Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar

He was Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah, whose grandfather was a Christian. He became a Muslim under the auspices of al-*Muktafī* bi-Allāh.[145] Qudāmah was one of the masters of literary style, one of the polished writers, and one of the distinguished philosophers. He was noted in connection with the science of logic, although his father *Jaʿfar* was one of those who were neither interested in nor had any knowledge of it. Among his books there were:[146]

The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), eight stages, to which he added a ninth;[147] Criticism of Poetry; The Cleanser[148] of Sorrow; Dismissal of Anxiety; his epistle about Abū ʿAlī ibn Muqlah [*Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī],[149] known as The Brilliant Star; Withstanding (Making Clear) Grief; Wines of Thought;[150] Politics;[151] Refutation of Ibn al-*Muʿtazz*; The Pleasure of Hearts and the Provision of the Traveler.

144 The name of the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid is not in the Beatty MS.

145 In the Beatty MS a space is left here; the name al-Muktafī bi-Allāh is lacking. The Beatty MS implies that the grandfather became a Muslim.

146 The scribe who copied the Beatty MS made careless mistakes in this list of titles. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 203–5 quotes *Al-Fihrist* giving a more accurate list.

147 On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, perhaps a correction, "seven stages to which he added the eighth." This line is followed by a longer explanation which has not been included in the translation, as it is evidently not part of the original.

148 "Cleanser" is *ṣābūn*, the modern word for "soap."

149 The Beatty MS omits *Abū*, evidently mistakenly.

150 The Beatty MS is garbled, but both Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 36, give *daryāq* ("wines"). It can also mean "antidotes."

151 This title and those following are not in the Beatty MS.

Ibn *Ḥammādah*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥammādah the secretary. He was highly cultured and one of the most illustrious of the secretaries. He wrote books and met with men of letters. Among his books there were:

Examination of the Secretaries and a Collection of the Works of Men of Understanding;[152] The Epistles.

Al-*Kalwādhānī*

He was Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī al-Ḥasan ibn Khusraw Pirūz (Fīrūz) ibn Hurmuz (Urmi) ibn Bahrām (al-Mihrāwān) from the lineage of Ardashīr ibn Pāpak (Bābak) and [known as] al-Kalwādhānī.[153] He was the director of the Bureau of al-Sawād succeeding Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā, and he was head of the group of secretaries. Then he served as a nominal vizier, gaining increased authority in the bureau of Ibn al-*Furāt*. His birth was[154] ——— and he died ———. Among his books there was *Land Tax* (*Al-Kharāj*), two manuscripts, the first of which he wrote during the year twenty-six [A.D. 937/38] and the second during the year three hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 947/48].

Abū al-*Ḥusayn* Isḥāq ibn Surayj, the Christian Secretary[155]

Among his books there were:

Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), a thousand leaves; The Designated Land Tax (Al-Kharāj al-Maʿrūf), about two hundred leaves; his small book about the land tax, about one hundred leaves.

[152] "And a collection of the works of men of understanding" and the title following are not in the Beatty MS.

[153] The names in parentheses are those given in the Beatty MS. The names preceding these are Persian, taken from Firdawsī, *Shahnama*, VII, 150–69, and VI, 254 ff. Instead of Hurmuz ibn Bahrām, Firdawsī gives Hurmuz ibn Yazdigird ibn Bahrām. For the town of al-Kalwādhān near Baghdād, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, V, 28.

[154] The Flügel text includes "before three hundred" (A.D. 912).

[155] This paragraph is not in the Flügel edition, but is in the Beatty MS.

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā, the Christian

He was one of the secretaries with eloquent literary style and refined training. Among his books there were:

Account of al-Ḥawārī;[156] Epistles.

Abū Saʿīd *Wahb* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāzādh, the Secretary of al-*Muṭīʿ*[157]

He was one of the scholars whom we have known. He was distinguished, cultured, a writer of correspondence, a collector of valuable books, and a man who was spiritually good. He and Abū al-Ḥasan *Ṭāzādh* ibn ʿĪsā were the last of the secretaries whom we saw in the service of Abū Jaʿfar ibn *Shirzād*. Abū Saʿīd died ———. Among his books there were:

Amplifications, about the book which his father *Ibrāhīm* wrote; a book in which he collected accounts of the group [of secretaries]; Epistles, [selected] from his elegant compositions.

Ibn *Naṣr*[158]

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Naṣr the Christian, son of a physician, who died a few months ago and was one of the men of letters who were distinguished and were authors. He told me about a number of his books, but I imagine that he never finished most of them. Among his books there were:

Amalgamation of Qualities, about fifteen hundred leaves—he wrote it

[156] Flügel gives al-Khawārij; the Beatty MS has al-Ḥawārī. Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, p. 246, calls an official by this name who died A.D. 923/24 and was named Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad. Al-Ḥawārī might also refer to a Christian disciple. The Beatty MS omits the title which follows this one.

[157] The Beatty MS leaves a blank space where Flügel includes the name Ṭāzādh in the title of this account. The Beatty MS has a small note of no importance on the margin at the end of the paragraph. Flügel gives some variations, which do not seem to be accurate.

[158] As Ibn *Naṣr* had the name ʿAlī, the term "Christian" in the first sentence must refer to his origin, before he joined Islām. On the margin of the Beatty MS there are notes saying that this paragraph was written in a different handwriting. As Ibn Naṣr died at the time when *Al-Fihrist* was written, it is reasonable to believe that the data about him was inserted after the original manuscript was composed. Shujāʿ, VI, 434, sect. 408, gives the date of the death of Ibn Naṣr as A.D. 1001.

in his handwriting and formed it to include both government and belles lettres;[159] Training of the Sultan, more than one thousand leaves.

Ibn al-*Bāzyār*[160]

He was Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bāzyār, a court companion of *Sayf* al-Dawlah. His father, *Naṣr* ibn al-Ḥusayn, was one of the people who moved up to Sāmarrā. He lived at the time of al-Muʿtaḍid, whom he served and amused. His origin was from Khurāsān and he adopted the sport [of hunting] with birds of prey, various kinds being given to him by al-Muʿtaḍid.

Abū ʿAlī died at Aleppo during the lifetime of Sayf al-Dawlah, during the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 963]. Among his books there were:

Formation of Elegant Literary Style; Speech.[161]

Ibn *Zanjī*, the Secretary[162]

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Zanjī. He was distinguished for beauty of penmanship. Among his books there were:

His epistles; The Secretaries and the Profession.

Al-*Marzubānī*

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿImrān ibn Mūsā ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh.[163] His origin was in Khurāsān and he was the last of the writers about historical traditions and composers of books whom I saw. He was a quoter of traditions, with a truthful tongue

[159] This first book listed is not in the Flügel edition, but Flügel adds a title, *Distinction* ("*Al-Barāʿah*"), which the Beatty MS lacks. Flügel omits mention of the number of leaves given by the Beatty MS with the second title. The Beatty MS gives the second title as *Training of the Sultan*, whereas Flügel gives *Association of* (*with*) *the Sultan*.

[160] The Beatty MS gives *al-bāziyār* ("the falconer") very clearly, but *bāzyār*, same meaning, is used more often. The Beatty MS does not make clear whether Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn or al-Ḥusayn was a falconer.

[161] This last title is not in the Beatty MS.

[162] The Beatty MS lacks this paragraph except for the words "Ibn Zanjī, the Secretary."

[163] The last two elements may be ʿUbayd Allāh instead of ʿAbd Allāh.

and a broad knowledge of traditional authorities. He had also heard a great deal. His birth was during Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the sixth Muslim month] in the year two hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 909/10], and he is still living in our time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987/88], so we pray that Allāh, through His bounty and beneficence, may give him health and long life.[164] Among his books there are:[165]

Pleasing (Kitāb al-Mu'niq), with accounts of the famous Pre-Islāmic poets, beginning with *Imru'* al-Qays and the members of his generation (category), and with a thorough investigation of the traditions about them. Then [he discusses the poets] who started before Islām and lived into the Islāmic period, with the Muslims following them and their generations. He deals with *Jarīr* and al-*Farazdaq*, with their generations (categories) among the early Muslims, citing the best of the traditions about them, until the beginning of the 'Abbāsid regime, may Allāh strengthen, support, prolong, and extend it. He mentions Ibn *Harmah* and al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Muṭayr, together with those who made their poetry known. The number of leaves [in this book] is over five thousand.

Illuminating (Kitāb al-Mustanīr), in which there are accounts of the recent poets who were famous and prosperous, with a selection of their poems according to their ages and periods. The first of them is *Bashshār* ibn Burd, the last one is Abū al-'Abbās '*Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz bi-Allāh, with both of whom may Allāh be well pleased. The number of leaves is six thousand, written in the handwriting of al-Marzubānī in sixty Sulaymānīyah volumes.[166]

Profitable (Kitāb al-Mufīd), in which there are a number of sections. The first of these sections contains accounts of the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic poets who were given surnames, with traditions as to which one of them

[164] The year of his death is given by different authorities as follows: Flügel—98889; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 50—either 988/89 or 994; the Beatty MS, Khallikān, III, 67, and Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, Part III, p. 135 sect. 1159—994. The correct date is probably A.D. 994. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note, "From here to the end of the account of al-Marzubānī it is in a handwriting other than that of the author."

[165] The translation follows the sequence of titles as given in the Beatty MS. It is so different from the sequence in the Flügel edition that the transliteration of the Arabic is given to help identify the titles. The different editions have variations in the number of leaves given for each book.

[166] Evidently there was a leather cover for each volume (*mujallad*) of one hundred paper leaves. Sulaymānīyah most likely refers to the kind of paper used.

was identified with a surname and whether he was noted for his father's surname, or known in connection with his mother or the lineage of his grandfather, or related to his patrons, and also how these relationships were similar or were connected with the group as a whole.[167]

In the second section there are mentioned the things quoted about the characteristics of the poets, together with the defects of their bodies and appearances, such as being Negroid, one-eyed, blind, weak-sighted, or leprous. There are also mentioned the things leaving traces on the body, from the hair of the head to the two feet, limb for limb. The third section is about the religious categories of the poets, such as the Shī'ah, the theologians, the Khawārij, al-muthimūn, the Jews, and the Christians, and those who followed their rites.[168]

The last section mentions everyone who put aside the recitation of the poetry of Pre-Islāmic times so as to increase in importance and in Islām to become pious; also each one who left eulogy[169] so as to rise to a higher standard, or [put aside] satire to be complimentary, and [put aside] love poetry to be virtuous; also each one who devoted his poetry to some one subject, as did the Sayyid ibn Muḥammad al-*Ḥimyarī* and al-'*Abbās* ibn al-Aḥnaf, and those who followed their precedent.[170] It is a book of five thousand leaves.

The Alphabetical Book (Kitāb al-Mu'jam),[171] in which are mentioned the poets alphabetically, starting with the ones whose names begin with *alif* (*a*), then those beginning with *bā* (*b*), to the end of the alphabet. It contains about five thousand names [of poets], with some poetry of each, a number of stanzas selected from his [each poet's] famous verse. It exceeds one thousand leaves.

The Acrostic (Kitāb al-Muwashshaḥ), in which there is a description of the points which have caused the authorities (al-'ulamā') to disapprove

[167] This is a free translation. The last phrase is literally, "or entered in its aggregate."

[168] The word "theologians" is *ahl al-kalām* ("people of the word") in Arabic. Richardson (*Dictionary*, p. 210) translates the term as "orators." The word written as *al-muthimūn* usually means "the suspected ones," but it might also mean "the agnostics." This is probably the word intended here, rather than the longer Arabic form *al-mutahhimūn* ("heated," "obsessed").

[169] "Eulogy" (*al-madīḥ*) may be instead "indecent" (*al-mudabbaj*).

[170] This sentence evidently deals with poets who gave up the habits and interests of Pre-Islāmic times so as to join Islām and to become respected by the Muslim community.

[171] Sometimes this word has a different significance, but here it obviously means "alphabetical."

of some of the poets in connection with their poems [such as use of] kasrah [the vowel sign *i*], errors of pronunciation, inconsistent use of vowel signs in verses, repetition of the last syllable of a verse, irregular rhyming, changes, ambiguity, loose weaving of the composition, and other errors of poetry. It exceeds three hundred leaves.

Poetry (Kitāb al-Shi'r),[172] a compendium of its excellencies, with a description of its benefits, its injuries and defects; also a description of its kinds and forms, measures, prosody, essential points, and selections; also the training of its composers and reciters, proof of its plagiarism and robbery, with other points about its varieties and forms. It exceeds two thousand leaves.

Poems of Women (Kitāb Ash'ār al-Nisā'), about five hundred leaves.[173] Poems of the Caliphs (Kitāb Ash'ār al-Khulafā'), with more than two hundred leaves. Things Quoted (Kitāb al-Muqtabas), with traditions about the grammarians of al-Baṣrah, mentioning the first person to speak about grammar and he who first compiled it, with traditions about al-*Farrā'* and the scholars of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, who quoted from others, and who among them lived in the City of Peace [Baghdād]; about three thousand leaves.

Guide to the Right Way (Kitāb al-Murshid). In it are traditions about al-mutakallimūn and the People of Justice and Oneness [the Mu'tazilah], with something about their meetings and doctrines; about one thousand leaves. Poems Attributed to the Jinn (Kitāb Ash'ār Tunsab ilā al-Jinn),[174] about one hundred leaves.

Gardens (Kitāb al-Riyāḍ),[175] in which are accounts of persons obsessed, arranged in categories. In it is a statement about [passionate] love and what results from it, with mention of its start and finish, together with the terminology and varieties connected with it, as recorded by the language scholars. [It also mentions] the derivations of these terms, with examples from the poems of Pre-Islām and of men who converted to Islām, as well as of Muslims, including the more recent ones; more than three thousand leaves.

[172] The versions show variations; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

[173] In the Beatty MS the word for "book" (*kitāb*) is carelessly omitted in this title and the one following it.

[174] Flügel gives this title as follows: "*Poems of Those Imitating the Jinn*—in it he mentions whoever made an imitation in poetry; more than one hundred leaves."

[175] The translation follows the Beatty MS in which the sequence and order of sentences is different from what is in the Flügel edition.

The Clear (Kitāb al-Rā'iq).[176] In it there is a description of the characteristics of song, of its qualities, forms, and methods, together with traditions about the male and female singers among the freeborn, the handmaids, and the slaves; more than one thousand six hundred leaves.

The Seasons (Kitāb al-Azminah), in which there are the characteristics of the four seasons: summer, winter, and the two temperate ones; and also a description of heat and cold, clouds and lightning, winds and rain, seeking for fresh pasturage,[177] prayer for rain, and other things included in general descriptions of the spring and autumn. Then there are mentioned the beauties[178] of the celestial sphere, the stations of the zodiac, the sun, and the moon with its stations, and also the characteristics ascribed to them by the Arabs and their poems about them.[179] Also mentioned are the planets and fixed stars, the characteristics of night and day, the Arab and Persian days, the months and years, periods and eras, together with what appears in every one of the sections of this book in connection with language, historical traditions, and poems, giving explanations. It is about two thousand leaves.

Flowers and Fruits (Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al-Thimār). In it are some of the things said about the rose, the narcissus, and the other flowers in poetry, with what is said about them in the records and traditions. Then there are the fruits and mention of palms and all the fruits in general, with what there is for them of praise in poetry and prose; about five hundred leaves.

Traditions of the Barmak Family (Kitāb Akhbār al-Barāmakah),[180] in which there is a description [of the period] from their beginnings until the downfall of the regime, ending with their disgrace; about five hundred leaves.

[176] Flügel gives the title *Kitāb al-Wāthiq*, followed by the paragraph as given here. The Beatty MS gives the title used in the translation, but lacks part of the paragraph.

[177] In the Beatty MS "fresh pasturage" (*al-rawwād*) is clearly written, but it is given incorrectly by Flügel.

[178] Flügel has *ṭarafā*, but *ẓurafā'* ("beauties") seems to be more correct. For an explanation of the stations of the moon and the zodiac, see "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496.

[179] This is a very free translation but seems to give the meaning implied in the Arabic text. The sentence which follows is clearer in the Beatty MS than in the Flügel version.

[180] In the Flügel text this paragraph is much shorter than it is in the Beatty MS, which is translated here.

Distinguished for Excellence (Kitāb al-Mufaḍḍal *or* al-Mifḍal),[181] about clear speaking, Arabic, and writing; about seven hundred leaves. Congratulations (Kitāb al-Tahānī); about five hundred leaves. Submission and Pilgrimage (Kitāb al-Taslīm wa-al-Ziyārah); four hundred leaves. Visiting (Kitāb al-'Iyādah);[182] four hundred leaves. Consolations (Kitāb al-Ta'āzī);[183] about three hundred leaves.

Elegies (Kitāb al-Marāthī); five hundred leaves. The Exalted Book (Kitāb al-Mu'allā), about the excellencies of the Qur'ān; two hundred leaves.[184] Fertilization of Minds (Kitāb Talqīḥ al-'Uqūl),[185] with more than one hundred sections, the first of them being about the mind, culture, learning, and similar things. It has more than three thousand leaves.

The Noble Book (Kitāb al-Mushrif), about the rule of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, his culture, his preaching, his Companions, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, and others, as well as about the testaments and the rule of the Arabs and Persians; one thousand five hundred leaves.[186] Traditions about Those Who Make Metaphors in Poems (Kitāb Akhbār man Tamaththal bi-al-Ash'ār); over one hundred leaves. Youth and Old Age (Kitāb al-Shabāb wa-al-Shayb); three hundred leaves. Crowned (Kitāb al-Mutawwaj), about justice and good living; over one hundred leaves. Brocaded (Adorned) (Kitāb al-Mudabbaj),[187] about banquets, invitations, and drink. Relief (Kitāb al-Faraj);[188] nearly one hundred leaves.

Gifts (Kitāb al-Hadāyā); about three hundred leaves. Gifts[189] (Kitāb al-Hadāyā), another manuscript in his own handwriting. Ornamented (Kitāb al-Muzakhraf), about the brothers (ikhwān) and companions (aṣḥāb); three hundred leaves. Traditions of Abū *Muslim* al-Khurāsānī, Giver of the Summons (Akhbār Abī Muslim al-Khurāsānī, Ṣāḥib

[181] Flügel gives "*Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal*, about clear speaking and eloquence."

[182] The Flügel text gives *Worship* ("*Kitāb al-'Ibādah*").

[183] Flügel gives *Raids* ("*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*").

[184] This book is omitted in the Flügel version.

[185] The translation follows the Beatty MS; Flügel differs.

[186] The translation follows the Beatty MS; the number of pages and other details differ from Flügel.

[187] Flügel gives *Praise* ("*Kitāb al-Madīḥ*").

[188] The Arabic could also be *Al-Furaj* or *Al-Farj*. Flügel gives *The Young* ("*Kitāb al-Farkh*").

[189] This extra manuscript is mentioned in the Flügel text but omitted by the Beatty MS.

al-Da'wah);[190] one hundred leaves. Supplication (Invocation) (Kitāb al-Du'ā'); about two hundred leaves.

The Ancients (Kitāb al-Awā'il),[191] in which are accounts of the ancient Persians and of the People of Justice and Oneness [the Mu'tazilah], with something about their sessions and point of view; about one thousand leaves. The Newly Acquired (Kitāb al-Mustaṭraf), about the foolish and unusual; over three hundred leaves. Traditions of the Children, the Wives, and the Family (Kitāb Akhbār al-Awlād wa-al-Zawjāt wa-al-Ahl), with praise and blame;[192] two hundred leaves. Renunciation and Traditions of the Ascetics (Kitāb al-Zuhd wa-Akhbār al-Zuhhād); over two hundred leaves.[193] Blame of the World (Kitāb Dhamm al-Dunyā); over one hundred leaves.[194] The Shining (Kitāb al-Munīr), about repentance, good work, piety, abstention from the illegal, and similar things; over three hundred leaves. Warnings and Mention of Death (Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-Dhikr al-Mawt); over five hundred leaves.[195]

Traditions about Those Near Death (Kitāb Akhbār al-Muḥtaḍarīn); one hundred leaves.[196] The Chamberlains (Kitāb al-Ḥujjāb);[197] one hundred leaves. Al-*Ḥātim* (Kitāb al-Ḥātim).[198] Abū *Ḥanīfah* and His Associates (Kitāb Abī Ḥanīfah wa-Aṣḥābihi).[199] Traditions of *'Abd* al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal (Kitāb Akhbār 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal); about two hundred leaves.[200] Traditions of Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥamzah al-'Alawī (Kitāb Akhbār Abī 'Abd Allāh

[190] Abū Muslim was called Giver of the Summons because he sounded the call to overthrow the Umayyad caliphs and to establish the 'Abbāsid regime, A.D. 750.

[191] For this book, the Beatty MS gives only the title and the words "about one hundred and fifty leaves."

[192] Flügel adds a few words to this clause, but without changing the meaning.

[193] Flügel omits the number of leaves, but adds "in his own handwriting."

[194] As differences in the texts for this and a number of titles which follow are unimportant, they are not described in detail. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

[195] Flügel omits this title.

[196] This title is not clear in the Beatty MS; it may also be *Traditions about Settled People* ("*Kitāb Akhbār al-Muḥtaḍirīn*").

[197] Instead of "chamberlains" (*al-ḥujjāb*), this word might be "curtain" (*al-ḥijāb*). Flügel gives *Chiding the Chamberlains* ("*Kitāb Dhamr al-Ḥujjāb*").

[198] The Flügel version has "*The Poetry of Ḥātim al-Ṭa'ī* ('*Kitāb Shi'r Ḥātim al-Ṭa'ī*'); about one hundred leaves." See Ḥātim, chief of the Ṭayy Tribe, in the Biog. Index.

[199] Flügel has "*Traditions of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit* ('*Kitāb Akhbār Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit*'); about five hundred leaves."

[200] This title and the ones which follow are in the Flügel version, but not in the Beatty MS.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥamzah al-'Alawī); about one hundred leaves. Traditions of the Kings of Kindah (Kitāb Akhbār Mulūk Kindah); about two hundred leaves. Traditions of Abū *Tammām* (Kitāb Akhbār Abī Tammām) by itself; about one hundred leaves. Traditions of *Shu'bah* ibn al-Ḥajjāj (Kitāb Akhbār Shu'bah ibn al-Ḥajjāj); about one hundred leaves. Cancellation of Contracts (Kitāb Naskh al-'Uhūd); about two hundred leaves, addressed to the judges.

He had many books about the *sawād*[201] which he started to write and among which there were:

Essences of Poetry (Kitāb An'ān al-Shi'r), about praise and satire, glory and generosity.[202] Traditions about the Generous (Kitāb Akhbār al-Ajwād). Descriptions (Qualities) (Kitāb al-Awṣāf). Metaphors (Allegories) (Kitāb al-Tashbihāt).

From the sources written in his own handwriting there have come down to us more than twenty thousand leaves.

Ibn al-*Tustarī*[203]

He was Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Tustarī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn, a Christian living near the present time. Both he and his father worked for the Banū al-Furāt.[204] He adhered to rhymed prose in his writings. Among his books there were:

The Shortened and the Lengthened, according to alphabetical sequence; Masculine and Feminine, according to the same sequence; Epistles, about the invasions, according to this sequence; his collected epistles about each skill of his workmanship.

Ibn *Ḥājib* al-Nu'mān

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nu'mān ibn 'Abd Allāh, the secretary.[205] Abū al-Ḥusayn was one of the unique men of the period for virtue,

[201] Although the word *sawād* as a rule referred to central and southern 'Irāq, here it may mean "the populace" or "environs." This paragraph is not found in the Flügel edition.

[202] In the original the word *kitāb* is omitted before some of the titles, but it is understood.

[203] The Beatty MS gives al-Tushtarī, which is evidently an error. Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 847, includes Tustar, but does not mention Tushtar.

[204] The Banū al-Furāt were members of the family of the famous vizier Ibn al-*Furāt*.

[205] A marginal note in the Beatty MS has Abū al-Ḥājib. Flügel has "'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ibrāhīm, whose father was Ḥājib al-Nu'mān Abū 'Abd Allāh."

genius, and knowledge of writing in government offices. During the days of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah he was in charge of the Bureau of al-Sawād. No library of books has been seen that was better than his collection, for it contained every book, either by itself or in a compilation, each one written in the handwriting of the scholar concerned. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Poems of the Secretaries; Traditions of Women, known as the book of Ibn al-*Dukkānī*; Intoxication of Daytime (Odor of the Day), about neighborhood traditions;[206] Youth; Negligence (Hazard) and Gathering of Flowers; The Courtesy of Superiors, in Office and Retired.

Al-*Ṣābī* Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hārūn

He was a writer of correspondence, a master of literary style, a poet, a scholar of geometry, and a man engrossed in developing writing, literary style, and poetry. His birth was after the year three hundred and twenty [A.D. 932] and he died before three hundred and eighty [A.D. 990].[207] He wrote:

Anthology of Epistles, written as late as this our own time—about a thousand pages; traditions of his family and the children of his father, which he wrote for some of his children; The Government of the Banū Buwayh, Traditions of the Daylam, and the Beginning of Their Rule, known as "Al-Tājī" and "Al-'Aḍudī";[208] Missives of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, [surnamed] Abū al-Ḥasan; Anthology of Poetry.

Al-*Muhallabī* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad

He was the vizier of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah,[209] a poet, a master of literary style, the best of the period during his time. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Epistles and Edicts; a collection of his poems, which were only a few.

[206] This title and the one which follows are lacking in the Beatty MS.

[207] This sentence is not in the Beatty MS, which must have been copied before A.D. 990, or based on the original written before that time.

[208] For Buwayh and Daylam, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 470. *Al-tājī* signifies "the crowned" and the second title honors the chief '*Aḍud* al-Dawlah. The two titles following are not found in the Beatty MS. Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī died A.D. 998/99, after the death of al-*Nadīm*.

[209] The name Mu'izz al-Dawlah and the mention of a collection of poems are in the Flügel edition, but not the Beatty MS.

Ibn al-*'Amīd*

He was Abū al-Faḍl. He wrote:

Collection of Epistles; The Method, about eloquent literary styles.[210]

Al-*Ṣāḥib* Abū al-Qāsim ibn 'Abbād

He was unique in his time, singled out during his period for eloquence of literary style, clarity, and poetry. Among his books there were:[211]

Collection of Epistles; Sufficiency, about epistles; Al-Zaydīyah; Feasts and the Excellencies of al-Nawrūz (New Year's).

Another Group

Ḥafṣuwayh

His name was ——— and he was the grandfather of *'Abd* al-'Azīz al-'Asjadī al-Marūzī the poet. From what his mother said he used to quote "——— as if you were from the womb of a mixed breed (dispersed), except for the mother of Father Adam."[212] He was one of the excellent tax officials, superior in his profession and the first to compose a book about the land tax. Among his books there were: Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); Epistles.

Ibn *'Abd* al-Karīm

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Abī Sahl al-Aḥwal, surnamed Abū al-'Abbās. He was one of the outstanding and excellent men among the secretaries, well informed about the administration of the land tax and more capable in connection with that type of work than the other men of his time. He died during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84]. Among his books there was *Land Tax* (*Al-Kharāj*).

[210] This title is not in the Beatty MS.

[211] This sentence and the list of books are in Flügel, but not the Beatty MS.

[212] The quotation is not in Flügel and a note on the margin of the Beatty MS says that this account is not in the penmanship of the author. The quotation lacks some words and is a joke, impossible to translate with certainty. The Beatty MS lacks the title *Epistles*.

Ibn al-*Māshitah*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, nicknamed Ibn al-Māshitah by the persons whom he treated harshly.[213] He lived near our own time and was skillful and outstanding in connection with finances and the administration of the land tax. Among his books there were:

Answer of the Stubborn; The Excellent Book about the Land Tax (al-Kharāj); Instruction about Certain Consultations, which I have seen, written in his own handwriting.

Ibn *Bashshār*

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Bashshār was the secretary and teacher of Abū *ʿAbd* Allāh al-Kūfī, the vizier. He was one of the secretaries who excelled in eloquent literary style and professional skill. Among his books there were:

The large book, Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), a rough copy of which I saw written in his own handwriting—about one thousand leaves; Drink (Wine) and Court Companionship, written in his own handwriting.

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥammād ibn Marwān, the Secretary

I know nothing more about his life. Among his books there was *The Meaning of White Hair, Its Refinements, the Excellency of Its Hues, the Arrangement of Its Front Parts, What Is Said about It in Prose and Poetry, and the Dyes.*

Another Secretary

He was known as *Yaʿqūb* ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī. Among his books there was *Dyes, the Reproach of White Hair, and Praise of Youth.*

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Khiyār, the Secretary

Among his books there was *Land Tax (Al-Kharāj).*

[213] This nickname meant "son of the woman hairdresser." He was not as cruel as other officials, but evidently used harsh methods of collecting taxes, as the title of his book *Answer of the Stubborn* suggests.

Ibn *Surayj*[214]

He is of our time, living in this our age. His name is Isḥāq ibn Yaḥyā ibn Surayj the Christian, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He has an excellent knowledge of the government departments, supervision of public works, and the administration of the land tax. He is also preeminent and knowledgeable in the study of the stars.[215] His birth was during the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13], during Sha'bān [the eighth Muslim month]. Among his books there are:

The large book, The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj), which he divided into two sections and six stages; the small book, The Technique of the Land Tax; The Work of Consultation in an Audience [presence of a high official]; Interpretation of the Ordinances about Births, about one hundred pages; Gatherings Together of History, which he collected.

Another Group

Bāḥ

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghālib al-Iṣbahānī, whose nickname was Bāḥ. He was a master of literary style, a writer of correspondence, and a secretary, who was called "Bāḥ" because he said in one of his verses: "He revealed (*bāḥ*) what was in the soul, making it known."

He came to Baghdād, where he stayed with al-*Nighyānī*, the secretary, for whose children he composed his book about epistles. Among his books there were:

Collection of Epistles, in eight sections. He wrote an additional ninth, which he called The Book of Correlating Prose and Poetry; Al-Tawsīkh wa-al-Tarshīh, about some of the dualists among the Shu'ūbīyah;[216] Oratory and Eloquence; Poverty (Al-Faqr).

[214] This man should be compared with Abū al-Ḥusayn Isḥāq ibn Surayj. As his son's name was al-Ḥusayn, the family must have become converted to Islām.

[215] The Flügel version has "grammar" (*al-naḥw*), but the Beatty MS clearly gives the word for "stars" (*al-nujum*).

[216] This title is given as it is written in the Beatty MS, perhaps meaning, "Fouling and Administering Well." But the first word is perhaps meant to be *al-tawshīḥ* ("arranging verses") or *al-tawshīj* ("binding together"), while the last word may mean "rearing" or "educating." The word "dualists" is taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel text. The term seems to be logical, as there were many Manichaeans and Zoroastrians among the Shu'ūbīyah, or non-Arabs. The Beatty MS gives *Al-Fiqar* for the last title, which is very likely an error.

Abū *Muslim*

He was Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī, a secretary, writer of correspondence, master of literary style, theologian, and debator. Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā used to have connections with him, and desired his company. Among his books there were:

A Collection of Explanations for the Interpretation of the Revelation According to the School of Thought of the Mu'tazilah, about exegesis of the Qur'ān—a large book;[217] a collection of his epistles.

Ibn *Ṭabāṭabā* al-'Alawī

He is mentioned in connection with poetry and the poets. Among his books there were:

Support of the Exalted; Standards (Examining) of Poetry; Poetry and the Poets, his selections; an anthology of his poetry.[218]

Al-*Diymartī*

His name was ———. Diymart is in the region of Iṣbahān. He was a master of literary style, an author, and a grammarian, among whose books there was *Training of Character.*

Ibn Abī al-*'Awādhil*

He was ———. Among his books there was *Excellence and Eloquence.*

Abū al-Ḥuṣayn *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī al-Diymartī

Among his books there were:

The Faults of Thaqīf and the Rest of the Arabs; Al-Ḥamāsah.[219]

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Īsā al-Hamadhānī

He was the secretary of *Bakr* ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Dulaf. He was a poet and secretary, among whose books there was *Pronunciations (Dialects).*

[217] The Beatty MS omits "a large book."

[218] The anthology is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.

[219] For the Thaqīf Tribe, see "Thaḳīf," *Enc. Islam,* IV, 734. *Al-Ḥamāsah* is omitted by the Beatty MS. It means "valor" and is often used as the title of an anthology of poetry.

Ibn *'Abdakān*

His name was Muḥammad ——— and he was a secretary of the Ṭūlūn family. He was eloquent, a writer of correspondence, and a master of literary style, who wrote a large collection of epistles.

Ibn Abī al-Baghl

His name was *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī al-Baghl, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn.[220] He was summoned from Iṣbahān to be promoted to act as vizier during the days of al-*Muqtadir*. He was eloquent, a writer of correspondence, and a master of literary style, one of the people of Marwān.[221] He was also a poet of excellent quality, with natural talent, who wrote a collection of epistles. His epistles were about the conquest of al-Baṣrah.[222]

Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Karkhī[223]

He was one of the secretaries who were transferred to the vizierate. He was a writer of correspondence and a master of literary style, who wrote:

Anthology of Epistles; Anthology of Poetry.

Al-Bāḥath 'an Mi'yāṣ[224]

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn Sahl ibn al-Marzubān al-Karkhī, surnamed Abū Manṣūr. He was one of the people of al-Karkh and one of the masters of eloquence and literary style. A man who saw him told me that he had a paralyzed hand.[225] Among his books there was *The Limit of Perfection* (*Al-Muntahī fī al-Kamāl*), comprising twelve books (chapters), which were:

[220] The Flügel text does not give "Aḥmad ibn." The translation follows the Beatty MS. A father and a son have probably been confused. See Ibn Abī al-*Baghl* for the members of this family.

[221] Flügel has *al-marwāt*, but al-Marwān, a part of Marw (Merv), seems to be the word meant.

[222] The reference to his epistles is not found in the Beatty MS.

[223] Flügel gives al-Maqsam instead of al-Karkhī. The second title is lacking in the Beatty MS.

[224] The name means "searching for the difficult in learning," and is given in the Beatty MS. Flügel has a different form, almost certainly incorrect.

[225] In the Flügel edition, this statement is given incorrectly.

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Praise of Culture; Description of Rhetoric (Eloquence); Prayer and Glorification; Passionate Love and Separation; Love of Fatherlands; Congratulations and Consolation; Hope and the Hoped-For; Youthful Amatory Praises and Beseechings; Praise and Blame; Apologies (Excuses); Pronunciations (Dialects); Values of the Government.

Abū *Sa'īd* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī[226]

He wrote *Epistles*.

Al-*Abharī* al-Iṣbahānī

Nothing more is known about him [except that] among his books there were:

Formation of Literary Style; Training of the Secretary; The Court Companion.[227]

Al-*Jayhānī*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Jayhānī, the secretary, vizier of the lord of Khurāsān, among whose books there were:

Roadways and Kingdoms; Usage of Examples of Writing the Contracts of the Caliphs and Governors;[228] Additions to the book of al-*Nāshī* about discourses;[229] Epistles.

Abū Zayd al-*Balkhī*

His name was Aḥmad ibn Sahl and he was distinguished in connection with both ancient and modern sciences. In his compositions and compilations he followed the usage of the philosophers, but, as he resembled the men of letters and was closest to them, I have included him in this section of the book.

[226] The Beatty MS has Abū Sa'd instead of Abū Sa'īd. The translation follows Flügel, which is probably correct. The Beatty MS, however, corrects Flügel by giving Al-Abharī as a separate heading rather than running it into the preceding paragraph.

[227] Last title not in the Beatty MS.

[228] The translation follows what seems to be indicated in the Beatty MS. The Flügel edition varies.

[229] The Flügel edition is garbled, but the Beatty MS clearly gives al-Nāshī, although which one of the men with this name is not explained. The final title is not in the Beatty MS.

It is said of Abū Zayd that he said:

Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn ʿAlī al-Marwarrūdhī, the brother of *Suʿlūk*, used to conduct familiar and continuous prayers for me, but when I dictated my book about investigation by methods of interpretation, he discontinued these [prayers] for me. Then Abū ʿAlī[230] al-Jayhānī, the vizier of *Naṣr* ibn Aḥmad, had slave girls with whom he used to favor me, but when I dictated my book *Offerings and Sacrifices*, he withheld them from me.

Al-Ḥusayn [al-Marwarrūdhī] was a Qarmaṭī, al-Jayhānī a dualist, and Abū Zayd was accused of heresy. But it has been related that al-Balkhī[231] said, "This man," meaning Abū Zayd, "is suffering an injustice, for he is a believer in the oneness [of Allāh]. I know it from other people and also because I was brought up with him. Although it [heresy] might have come from logic, we studied logic together and thanks be to Allāh did not become heretics."

Among the books of Abū Zayd there were:[232]

The Ordinances of Religions; The Categories (Divisions) of the Sciences; Choice of Conduct (Choice of Journeys); the large book, Politics; the small book, Politics; Perfection of the Faith;[233] Excellency of the Art of Writing; Advantages of Bodies and Souls;[234] The Names of Allāh, Exalted and Sublime, and His Attributes; The Making of Poetry; The Excellency of the Science (Knowledge) of Historical Traditions; Names, Surnames, and Nicknames; Names of Things; Grammar and Conjugation; The Picture and the Pictured; his epistle about the definitions (limits) of philosophy; What Is Correct about Judgments of the Stars; Refutation of the Worshippers of Idols; Excellence of the Mathematical Sciences; about divulging[235] the sciences of philosophy; Offerings and Sacrifices; Infallibility of the Prophets, for Whom May There Be Peace.[236]

230 "'Alī" may be a mistake, as he is usually called Abū 'Abd Allāh.

231 This was probably Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās al-*Balkhī*, who died in A.D. 931, three years before the death of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī.

232 The list given here should be compared with Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 141–44.

233 See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 149 bottom. There is a note on the margin of the Beatty MS implying that this was an explanation of the perfection of religion.

234 Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (1), 142 l. 7, adds, "known as *The Two Discourses*."

235 Flügel gives *ifshā* ("divulging"), Yāqūt *aqsām* ("dividing"), and the Beatty MS *iqtinā* ("acquiring").

236 The pious phrase is not found in the Beatty MS.

Arrangement of the Qur'ān; Qawāri' al-Qur'ān;[237] The Bold and Those Devoted to God (Al-Futtāk wa-al-Nussāk); a book in which he collected what was difficult to understand among the strange things in the Qur'ān; about how the "Sūrah al-Ḥamd"[238] is representative of the Qur'ān as a whole; Replies of[239] Abū al-Qāsim al-*Ka'bī*; Rarities among Various Sciences (Rarities in Various Forms); Replies of the People of Persia; Explanation of the Figures in the Book, "Heaven and the World," by Abū Ja'far al-*Khazin*; Replies of Abū 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr ibn al-Muẓaffar, known as Ibn *Muḥtaj*; Replies of Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'addab [*Ibrāhīm* al-Ḥarbī]; Verbal Nouns (Origins); Replies to the Questions of Abū al-Faḍl al-*Sukkarī*; Chess and Backgammon; The Superiority of Makkah over Other Places; Reply of the Epistle of Abū 'Alī ibn al-Munīr al-*Ziyādī*; Awakening of the Secretaries;[240] the large book, Investigation of Interpretations; the clarifying epistle to the person reproached;[241] his epistle praising the profession of the warrāq; his will (testament).

Al-*Bushī*[242]

He was Abū al-Qāsim ———. Although I never saw any book of his, information was given to me by Abū 'Alī ibn *Sawwār*,[243] the secretary, to whom may Allāh show mercy, who established the library of the endowment (*al-waqf*) at al-Baṣrah, and who was devoted to the sciences and strong in his passion for them. He told me, "There are some of his [al-Bushī's] books in my library at al-Baṣrah."

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I am doubtful about "al-Bushī"; is it written with a *shīn* (*sh*) or a *sīn* (*s*)? "Bust" is known to be a place in Sijistān, but we do not know "Bush." That which made Abū 'Alī [ibn Sawwār] feel that the pronunciation

[237] Verses recited for protection against men and demons.

[238] The opening sūrah of the Qur'ān.

[239] The phrases translated as "replies of" may really refer to the replies of al-Balkhī in his disputes with other authors, in which case "replies to" would be the accurate translation.

[240] The words given both in Flügel and the Beatty MS are not entirely clear.

[241] The word translated as "clarifying" is *al-sālifah*, which usually means "previous" or "former."

[242] In the Flügel edition the heading is "Al-Bustī."

[243] The Beatty MS spells the name as Suwār (meaning "cavalier").

was with *shīn* (*sh*) was the dotting [of the consonants].[244] We shall inquire about this man and his books and, if Allāh so wills, make a supplement to his section. Abū ʿAlī said that his books were:

Trees and Plants; Description of the Climate of Jarjān; his reply about the antiquity of the world; The Weakness of a Double-Faced Vizier; Preservation of Learning and Control of the Soul; his epistle about the ordinances of the principal organ of man's body.

Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan

He was from the people of Iṣbahān, a man of letters and an author, among whose books there were:

Iṣbahān and Its Historical Traditions; Similitudes (Allegories); Kinds of Prayer; Mispronouncing (Al-Taṣḥīf); Examples of Afʿala, into which both poetry and prose are introduced;[245] Examples Derived from Proofs of Poetry; Information about al-Muṣḥif;[246] Epistles; Illustrations, about tidings of joy.

Ḥukmwayh ibn ʿAbdūs

He was from the region of the Mountain (al-Jabal). Nothing more is known about his life. Among his books there were:

Unusual Expressions (Al-Shawārid) in the Epistles; Literary Pursuits.

Samakah

He was the teacher of Ibn al-*ʿAmīd* and his name was Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Saʿīd. Among his books there was *Historical Traditions of the ʿAbbāsids.*

Kushājim[247]

He was Abū al-Fatḥ Maḥmud ibn al-Ḥusayn, whose literary work and poetry are famous. Among his books there were:

The Training of a Court Companion; Epistles; an anthology of his poetry.

[244] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 612, for Bust; p. 628 for Busht near Nisābūr. No place called Bush is mentioned.

[245] *Afʿala* is a verb form. This title and the four which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

[246] *Al-Muṣḥif* means a "written book," but is as a rule used for the Qur'ān, as is evidently the case in this title.

[247] The paragraph about Kushājim is in the Flügel edition, but not the Beatty MS.

Khushkanānjah, the Secretary

He was from among the people of Baghdād, but spent most of his life at al-Raqqah and then moved to al-Mawṣil. His name was ʿAlī ibn Waṣīf. The meaning of the name ʿAlī was derived by the language authorities.[248] He composed a number of books, which *ʿAbdān*, the chief of the Ismāʿīlīyah, attributed to himself. He was friendly and agreeable to me. He died at al-Mawṣil, a Shīʿī.[249] Among his books there was *Explaining and Making Straight*, about the institution of the land tax (*al-kharāj*) and its usages.

His Son, Abū al-*Ḥasan* Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī[250]

He was a secretary, poet, and master of literary style. He died in the City of Peace [Baghdād], there being among his books:

Prose Joined to Verse (Prose Connected in Sequence); The Production of Literary Style (The Art of Rhetoric); Benefits; an anthology of his poetry.

Ibn *Kathīr* al-Ahwāzī

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl. Among his books there was *Virtues of the Secretaries*.[251]

Abū *Namlah* al-Numaylī

He was also called al-Namlī, but we know nothing about his life. Among his books there was *Precious Things* (*Al-Shudhūr*), about the counseling of the caliphs and governors (*umarāʾ*).

[248] The Flügel text apparently confuses this phrase and the Beatty MS does not make clear exactly what the author meant. Literally the passage is "His name was ʿAlī from the masters of literary style in its meaning."

[249] "A Shīʿī" is not in the Beatty MS.

[250] This paragraph with its list of book titles is given very clearly in the Beatty MS but badly confused in the Flügel version. The Beatty MS does not mention the anthology of his poetry.

[251] Flügel has *manāqib* ("virtues"), which is probably correct. In the Beatty MS the only word which at all fits the letters is *muta'wik* ("defective").

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Third Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the court companions, associates, men of letters, singers, buffoons, slap-takers, and jesters, with the names of their books.*[1]

Account of Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī*, His Father and Family

Ibrāhīm was born during the year one hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 742/43]. He was Ibrāhīm ibn Maymūn [al-*Mawṣilī*]. Maymūn's name was Māhān, but they changed it to Maymūn. Abū al-Faḍl *Ḥammād* ibn Isḥāq said, "My father gave me the genealogy of my grandfather Ibrāhīm, saying that he was Ibrāhīm ibn Māhān ibn Bahman (Bahmān) ibn Nusk."[2]

Yazīd al-Muhallabī said, "Isḥāq told me, 'We are Persians from among the people of Arrajān. Our protégés (patrons) are the Ḥanẓalah, who have lands among us!' But still he was called al-Mawṣilī."[3]

Al-Ṣūlī[4] said, "Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm had as sons Ḥamīd, *Ḥammād*, Aḥmad, Ḥāmid, Ibrāhīm, and Faḍl. Among the offspring of Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī* the only singers were Isḥāq and Ṭayyāb."[5]

[1] This passage gives a good idea of the men who provided companionship, counsel, culture, music, and amusement for the ruler. For these categories of persons attending at the court, see the Glossary.

[2] The Flügel edition omits "my father."

[3] Flügel has Arrajān, an area south of Shīrāz, whereas the Beatty MS has Arkān, probably an error. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 194, 210. For Ḥanẓalah, see "Ḥanẓala," *Enc. Islam*, II, 261.

[4] Probably *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-'Abbās, rather than al-*Ṣūlī* described in the Biog. Index.

[5] Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm was also Abū Muḥammad, but this first-born son must have died in childhood.

Ibrāhīm was born during the year one hundred and twenty-five [A.D. 742/43] and he died at Baghdād in the year one hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 804], when he was sixty-four years old. Isḥāq was born during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767/68] and died in the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50], when his age was eighty-five. He was Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Māhān ibn Bahman ibn Nusk,[6] whose origin was in Persia, but he fled from the oppressive taxation imposed upon him by the Banū Umayyah, coming to al-Kūfah, where he dwelt among the Banū Dārim.[7]

Isḥāq used to say, "I do not want to die until the month of Ramaḍān goes by, so that I can profit by observing its fast and it [my death] will be when my balance is favorable."[8] It is said that he fasted for some days at the start and, if the fast was not observed on any day, he gave a hundred gold coins (s., *dīnār*) as alms. At the end, his illness became so serious that he could not endure the fast. The illness resulted from a purge given to him. *Idrīs* ibn Abī Ḥafṣah composed an elegy for him, saying:

> May Allāh, oh, Ibn al-Mawṣilī, with a shower
> Of rain, water the tomb in which thou art a sojourner.
> Gone thou hast, making the noble lonely and fearful;
> No wonder an intimate weeps over thee![9]

Isḥāq was a quoter of poetry and great deeds. He met with the Arabian masters of literary style, both men and women, who when they entered the sultan's presence sought him out, remaining with him. He was also a poet who was skilled in the art of singing and trained in many sciences. He gained his livelihood from the sultan's multitude of gifts honoring his perfection and superiority.

[6] Khallikān, I, 20 gives Nusk and the Beatty MS has Nusak; see Spiegel in *ZDMG*, IX (1855), 191.

[7] As Isḥāq lived after the end of the Umayyad regime, the last part of the sentence, "whose origin . . . among the Banū Dārim," probably refers to his grandfather. For the Banū Dārim, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37.

[8] The Beatty MS has *mīzānī* ("my balance," "my scales"), which evidently refers to weighing the soul on the Day of Judgment. Flügel gives *mabarrātī*.

[9] This passage refers to the last month of the life of Isḥāq, which was during Ramaḍān, when pious Muslims gain special merit by fasting, acts of charity, and studying the Qur'ān. Compare the rendering of the poem with Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part V, p. 130 top, which has a different wording.

The literary works which he himself composed were the following, not counting *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* (The Great Book of Songs) about which there was a disagreement, the circumstances of which we are going to explain:

His songs, which he sang; Traditions of *ʿAzzat* al-Maylāʾ; Songs of *Maʿbad*; Traditions of *Ḥammād* ʿAjrad; Traditions of *Ḥunayn* al-Ḥīrī;[10] Traditions of *Dhū* al-Rummah; Traditions of *Ṭuways*; Traditions about the Singers of Makkah;[11] Traditions of *Saʿīd* ibn Misjah; Traditions of al-*Dallāl*; Traditions of *Muḥammad* ibn ʿĀʾishah; Traditions of al-*Abjar*;[12] Traditions of Ibn *Ṣāḥib* al-Waḍūʾ; Selections from the Songs [Addressed] to al-*Wāthiq*; Observations and Indications; Drinks, in which he quoted from al-*ʿAbbās* ibn Maʿan, Ibn al-*Jaṣṣāṣ*, and *Ḥammād* ibn Maysarah.[13]

Legacies of the Learned; Jewels of Speech (Al-Kalām); Al-Raqs wa-al-Zafn [types of dancing]; Melodious Singing and Cadence;[14] Light-Footed (Al-Hadhlabīn); Epistle to *ʿAlī* ibn Hishām; Qiyān al-Ḥijāz;[15] Al-Qiyān; Selected Rare Forms; Traditions and Rare Forms;[16] Court Companions;[17] Convivial Pleasantries; Intimate Association of Brothers and Evening Conversation of Close Friends; Traditions of *Maʿbad* and Ibn *Surayj* and Their Songs; Traditions of al-*Gharīd*; Preference for Poetry and a Refutation of He Who Forbids It and Opposes It.

Information about *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* (The Great Book of Songs)[18]

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd ibn al-Zubayr al-*Kūfī* al-Asadī:

[10] Flügel has al-Khayrī instead of al-Ḥīrī, evidently an error.

[11] This title is given incorrectly in the Flügel version.

[12] The Beatty MS has al-Abkhar, which is a mistake. The Flügel version gives the next title incorrectly.

[13] The Flügel text incorrectly combines the first two names as one. The title which follows, *Legacies of the Learned*, is not in the Beatty MS.

[14] The translation of this title and the following follows the Beatty MS, which differs from Flügel.

[15] *Qiyān* here almost certainly refers to slave girls trained to sing and dance. Al-Ḥijāz is the holy land of Arabia.

[16] Flügel gives "selections" instead of "traditions."

[17] This title and the ones which follow are not in the Beatty MS.

[18] Flügel includes this title in the list of books above. The Beatty MS has a separate heading.

Faḍl ibn Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī* related to me saying, "I was at the home of Isḥāq [Abū Muḥammad] ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Mawṣilī* when a man came to him saying, 'Oh, Abū Muḥammad, give me *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.' Then he [Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī] replied, 'Which book, the one which I myself composed, or the one composed for me?' By the one he himself composed, he had in mind the *Book of Traditions about the Singers* (*Kitāb Akhbār al-Mughanniyīn*), one by one, while the book compiled for him [referred to] the *Great Book of Traditions about the Songs* (*Kitāb Akhbār al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*), which is in use by the public."

Another Statement about This Subject

Abū al-*Faraj* al-Iṣbahānī related to me, saying:

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf *Wakī'* told me, "I heard *Ḥammād* ibn Isḥāq say, 'My father never composed this book, that is, *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*, and never saw it. The proof of this is that most of its poems attributed [to my father] have been collected from traditions about them and from what has been sung from them as late as this our own time. Furthermore, most of the genealogies of the singers are erroneous. What my father did compile from the collections of their songs points to the falsity of this book. For truly a *warrāq* of my father's wrote it after his death, except for "Al-Rukhṣah,"[19] which is the first part of the book and which my father did compose. All of its traditions, however, are from our quotations.'"

Abū al-Faraj also said to me:

I heard this from Abū Bakr Wakī' as a statement, which I memorized, but putting it into words I may add or subtract something. Moreover, *Jaḥẓah* told me that he knows the *warrāq* who wrote it, his name being *Sandī* ibn 'Alī. His shop is at Ṭāq al-Zibl (the Dung Arch) and he served as a *warrāq* for Isḥāq [al-*Mawṣilī*]. He and a partner who was with him agreed about writing it. This book was known in former times as *Kitāb al-Sarāh* (Book of the Best).[20] It has eleven sections, each section being called by its beginning [line]. The first section of the book is "Al-Rukhṣah," which is the composition of Isḥāq, about which there is no doubt or disagreement.

[19] Here *rukhṣah*, probably meaning "indulgence," very likely implies that although singing was not encouraged by religion, it was granted indulgence by God.

[20] Perhaps this title is meant to be *Kitāb al-Shudāh* ("Book of Singing" or "Book of Chanting Songs").

Order of the Sections of the Book [*Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*], Quoted until the Present Time

First:[21] Passion I plucked from her as a child,
And her love did not cease in strength to grow and increase.
Second: I do not bear the ancient grudge against them,
For the chief of the people is not one who harbors malice.
Third: Spend some time with Zaynab, for he has ransomed the riders.
Little will there be of condolence, if tomorrow is the move.
Fourth: Stop, let us weep for the memory of a beloved,
And an abode at the bottom of the sands between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal.[22]
Fifth: Has he complained because[23] wealth comes and goes,
What remains of wealth being tradition and remembrance?
Sixth: Oh, mistress of the camel litter, bend towards us,
For if thou dost not do so, wrong wilt thou do.
Seventh: Oh, dwelling of ʿĀtikah, where free I am from concern for the enemy
And where my heart is in safe keeping.
Eighth: Passion your inflamed soul has aroused;
In the early morn at Tūḍiḥ, behold the camel litters.[24]
Ninth: For thou art as the night, which overtakes me,
As though I imagined that the road from you was a highway.
Tenth: If her people wronged her dwelling.

Isḥāq composed accounts of a group of poets. Among them there were:

Traditions of *Ḥassān* [ibn Thābit]; Traditions of *Dhū* al-Rummah [Ghaylān ibn ʿUqbah]; Traditions of al-*Aḥwaṣ* [ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad]; Traditions of *Jamīl* [Abū ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Allāh]; Traditions

[21] This list of ten sections does not include "Al-Rukhṣah," mentioned above. On p. 57 at the beginning of his volume, Flügel gives a note on this passage. But it is based on his text, whereas the translation is from the Beatty MS, which differs in many details. For the connection of some of the following phrases and names with the poets *Farazdaq* and *Jarīr*, see Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, p. 288. This is a free translation.

[22] For these desert names, also mentioned in a poem of *Imruʾ* al-Qays, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 559.

[23] A more literal translation is "has he blamed that."

[24] The camel litters were covered seats on the camel's backs in which the women sat.

of *Kuthayyir* [ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān]; Traditions of *Nuṣayb* [Abū al-Ḥajnā']; Traditions of *'Aqīl* ibn 'Ullafah; Traditions of Ibn *Harmah* [Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī].[25]

Ḥammād ibn Isḥāq [ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī]

[*Ibrāhīm* ibn al-'Abbās] al-Ṣūlī said, "Ḥammād was a man of letters, who quoted [poetry and traditions]. He shared with his father Isḥāq much of what he heard. He also met the great men among his elders.[26] He heard [lectures by] Abū *'Ubaydah* and al-*Aṣma'ī* and composed books about literature, absorbing most of his father's learning."

Another person said Ḥammād was nicknamed "al-Bārid" (the Cold One) and *Yaḥyā* ibn 'Alī related, "I said to my father, 'Why is Ḥammād called "al-Bārid"?' He replied, 'My son, they have done him wrong. He used to sit by his father, Isḥāq, and Isḥāq was like a kindled fire, brilliant with impulsiveness of temperament.'"[27] Ḥammād died ———. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Traditions of al-*Ḥuṭay'ah*; Traditions of *Dhū* al-Rummah; *'Urwah* ibn Udhaynah; a selection of the songs of his grandfather, Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*]; Traditions of *Ru'bah* [ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ajjāj]; Traditions of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*; Traditions of the Court Companions.[28]

Traditions about the Family of al-*Munajjim*, in Order of Sequence

The name of Abū *Manṣūr* was Abān Ḥusnus ibn Warīd ibn Kād ibn Mahāndādh Ḥusnus ibn Farūkhzādh ibn Ashtād Ziyār ibn Meher Ḥusnus ibn Yazdijird.[29]

[25] This title is not in the Beatty MS.

[26] This probably refers to persons who were authorities for Arabic poetry and literature, although they might also have been tribal chiefs, government officials, learned scholars, or the elderly men of his father's acquaintance.

[27] The son was, therefore, called "the Cold One" because he seemed cold alongside his impulsive father.

[28] This last title is not in the Beatty MS.

[29] It is impossible to know how to spell these Persian names, as the Arabic texts lack most of the vowel signs and are imperfect. In the Beatty MS there are vowel signs for Ḥusnus, but no consonant points. The word is therefore probably written incorrectly. The names are mentioned in Khallikān, IV, 84–85, but are probably not accurate.

Yaḥyā his son, surnamed Abū ʿAlī, was a protégé of al-*Maʾmūn*. At first he was associated with al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl, working on his hypothesis of the judgments of the stars. Then, when the happening befell al-*Faḍl*,[30] al-Maʾmūn chose him [Yaḥyā], seeking him for Islām. Whereupon, he became a Muslim under the patronage [of al-Maʾmūn] and devoted himself to him. Yaḥyā died when he was setting forth to Tarsus (Ṭarsūs), and he was buried at Aleppo in the cemetery of the Quraysh, where there is an inscription on his grave. His sons were *Muḥammad*, *ʿAlī*, Saʿīd, and al-Ḥasan.

Muḥammad was highly cultivated, a master of literary style, eloquent in expression. He composed anthologies and famous traditions, there being among his works the *Traditions of the Poets*. He also understood singing and astrology.

ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā became associated with *Muḥammad* ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Musʿabī and later with al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān, for whom he made a library of learning.[31] He transcribed for it [sections] from his own books and from things al-Fatḥ asked him to write, more than enough to form a library of learning. He died during the last days of al-*Muʿtamid*, being buried at Sāmarrā. His sons were Aḥmad Abū ʿĪsā, ʿAbd Allāh Abū al-Qāsim, *Yaḥyā* Abū Aḥmad, and *Hārūn* Abū ʿAbd Allāh. Hārūn wrote many books.

Another Account of Them [the Family of al-*Munajjim*]

Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim was a court companion of al-*Mutawakkil* and not only one of his intimate associates, but the foremost among them. He was attached to him and the caliphs following him until the time of al-*Muʿtamid*. He was a quoter of poems and traditions, as well as a good poet, who learned from Isḥāq [al-*Mawṣilī*], quoting him. As his work among the caliphs was outstanding, he sat among their kinsmen [leaders] and they told him their secrets, entrusting him with their news. He died during the year two hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 888/89]. Among his books there were:

[30] Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, vizier of al-*Maʾmūn*, known for his interest in astrology as well as for his high government positions, was murdered in his bath at the age of 48. See Khallikān, II, 472–73. See Glossary for "judgments of the stars."

[31] "Library of learning" (*khizānat al-ḥikmah*) was probably a term derived from the Bayt al-Ḥikmah, the famous library at Baghdād founded by al-*Maʾmūn*.

Poetry and Poets, Ancient and Islāmic, in which he quoted Muḥammad ibn Sallām [al-*Jumaḥī*], *Muḥammad* ibn 'Umar al-Jarjānī, and others besides them; Traditions of Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*]; Cooked Food.

His Son, Abū Aḥmad *Yaḥyā* ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr[32]

He was born during the year two hundred and forty-one [A.D. 855/56] and died on Monday night, the thirteenth night of the month of Rabī 'al-Awwal [the third Muslim month] during the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. He was a court companion of al-*Muwaffaq* and the caliphs following him. He was also a theologian of the Mu'tazilī school of thought and the author of many books. He had, moreover, a class (session), which was attended by (*bi-al-ḥaḍrah*) a group of theologians. Among his books there was *Splendor* (*Al-Bāhir*), about the traditions and poems of the poets who lived during the two regimes [the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid]. He began with *Bashshār*, Ibn *Harmah*, Ṭurayḥ [al-*Thaqafī*], Ibn *Mayyādah*, *Muslim* [ibn Walīd], Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*], Abū *Hiffān*, and Yazīd ibn al-*Ṭathrīyah*. The last one he wrote about was *Marwān* ibn Abī Ḥafṣah. He did not finish this [book], but his son, Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī, did complete it, with the decision to add to his father's book the lives of the modern poets. From among these he wrote about Abū *Dulāmah*, *Wālibah* ibn al-Ḥubāb, *Yaḥyā* ibn Ziyād, *Mutī'* ibn Iyās, and Abū 'Alī al-*Baṣīr*.

Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī[33]

He was a theologian and an authority for the law according to the code of Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī*. I saw a portion of a book by Abū Ja'far about the law written in his handwriting.[34] Abū al-Ḥasan also wrote books which he composed independently of previous works, among which there were:

Traditions of his family and their genealogy in Persia; Consensus of Opinion, about the law according to the code of al-Ṭabarī; Introduction

[32] The Beatty MS runs this heading into the text. The Flügel text has only the words "His Son."

[33] The Arabic versions have no separate heading here. The Beatty MS does not give the full name as Flügel does.

[34] This sentence is in the Beatty MS, but lacking in Flügel.

to the Code of al-Ṭabarī and the Triumph of His School of Thought;[35] The Times (Seasons).[36]

Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Hārūn* ibn ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr[37]

He died during the year two hundred and eighty-eight [A.D. 900/901], while he was still young. Among his books there were:

The Distinguished (Al-Bāriʿ), which was a selection of the poetry of the modern[38] poets, without comment on them; Traditions of the Poets, a large book which he did not finish—the persons included in it were *Bashshār*, Abū al-ʿ*Atāhīyah*, and Abū *Nuwās*; Women: What Fell to Them of Fame and Good Qualities and What Was Said of Them in Poems and Beautiful Speech.

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿ*Alī* ibn Hārūn ibn ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā

We [al-*Nadīm*] have seen and heard him. He was a quoter [of poetry], a poet, man of letters, master of literary style, theologian, man of good character, and the court companion of a number of caliphs. He said to me, "My birth was during the year seventy-seven [A.H. 277: A.D. 890/91]." He kept on dyeing [his beard with henna] until he passed away during the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 963/64] at the age of seventy-six.[39] Among his books there were:

The Month of Ramaḍān, which he wrote for [the Caliph] al-*Rāḍī*; The Nawrūz and the Mihrajān;[40] Refutation of al-*Khalīl*, in connection with "Prosody" (Al-ʿArūḍ);[41] his epistle about the difference between *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mahdī and Isḥāq al-*Mawṣilī*, with reference to singing; a book which he started about the genealogy of his kinsmen—he was writing it for al-*Muhallabī*, but he never finished;[42] Comprehensive

[35] *Madhhab* is translated here as "code" and "school of thought," rather than as "sect," which is a more usual rendering.

[36] Probably referring to times of prayer or feasts; not in the Beatty MS.

[37] This heading, and the three which follow, are made part of the text, rather than set off as separate headings, in the Beatty MS.

[38] The poets named as "modern" in the book *Splendor* ("*Al-Bāhir*") of *Aḥmad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAlī, begun by Abū Aḥmad *Yaḥyā* ibn ʿAlī, belong to the eighth and ninth centuries. This probably refers to this same group of poets.

[39] Reckoned in lunar years.

[40] Persian feasts for New Year's and the September equinox, respectively.

[41] A book on prosody by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad.

[42] His kinsmen were the family of al-*Munajjim*. Al-Muhallabī was Abū Muḥammad, the vizier of *Muʿizz* al-Dawlah.

Statement (Al-Lafẓ al-Muḥiṭ), in refutation of a statement of al-*Laqīṭ*—it is contradictory to a work of Abū al-*Faraj* al-Iṣbahānī, entitled "The Difference between the Free and the Slaves and Their Relative Worth."[43]

Abū ʿĪsā *Aḥmad* ibn ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā

He was one of their distinguished members, who lived earlier than *ʿAlī* ibn Hārūn. Among his books there was *History of the Years*[44] *of the World.*

Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Hārūn* ibn ʿAlī ibn Hārūn

He was from the stock of his kinsmen and forefathers,[45] a poet, man of letters, and a man with a knowledge of singing. He was also skillful and eminent in theology. He was born during the year ——— and died ———. Among his books there was *Selection of Songs.*[46]

The family of *Ḥamdūn*

He was Ḥamdūn ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Dāʾūd the secretary, the first member of his family to be a court companion. His son, *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥamdūn, quoted [others] and was a scholar of historical traditions, quoting al-*ʿAdawī*. Among his books there was *Court Companions and Associates.*[47]

Abū *Hiffān* al-Mihzamī

Mention of him will be made in connection with a group of modern poets. He was a scholar of historical traditions, who quoted [others] and was an author. Among his books there were:

The Four, with traditions about the poets; The Art of Poetry, a large book, part of which I have seen.

[43] For this title, given more accurately, see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (5), 152 top. This book of ʿAlī ibn Hārūn is not in the Beatty MS but is included in the Flügel text. Instead of "contradictory," the Arabic *muʿāraḍah* may mean "complimentary."

[44] The Beatty MS gives what appears to be *sunī*, which can be a plural form for *sinīn* ("years").

[45] The family of al-*Munajjim*.

[46] This title is not in the Beatty MS.

[47] This title also is not found in the Beatty MS. For the terms, see the Glossary.

Yūnus al-Katīb (the Secretary)

He was known as Yūnus the Singer, but was [really] Yūnus ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abū Sulaymān. He was from among the people of Persia, living until the 'Abbāsid regime. From what was written in the handwriting of al-*Sukkarī*, "He was one of the slaves, a slave of al-*Zubayr* ibn al-'Awwām."[48] He wrote famous books about songs and singers, it even being said that Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*] learned from him. Among his books there were:

The Unique (Mujarrad) of Yūnus; Al-Qiyān; Melodious Singing.

Ibn *Bānah*

They called him "the son of Bānah" after his mother. He was 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Rāshid, a protégé of *Yūsuf* ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī. Bānah was the daughter of *Rawḥ*, the secretary of *Salamah* al-Waṣīf. Among his books there was *The Unique* (*Mujarrad*) *of 'Amr ibn Bānah.*

He was devoted to al-*Mutawakkil*, being on intimate terms with him. As he learned from Isḥāq [al-*Mawṣilī*] and other [teachers], he was skilled in singing. He lived until the days of al-*Mu'taḍid* and, although his home was at Baghdād, at times he visited Sāmarrā.[49] He died during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92].

Al-*Ṣīnī*

His name was Ḥubaysh ibn Mūsā[50] and he was the author of the book of songs arranged in alphabetical order which he composed for al-*Mutawakkil*. In this book he recorded things about the songs which were not mentioned by Isḥāq [al-*Mawṣilī*] and 'Amr ibn

[48] In the Beatty MS this sentence is written on the margin, but it is contained as part of the Flügel text. The word *mawlā* has been translated "slave" rather than "protégé" as Mas'ūdī, IV, 254, says that when he died al-Zubayr left a thousand male and female slaves (*'abd*). *Al-Qiyān*, the second title which follows below, refers to slave girls trained to sing and dance.

[49] The caliphs lived at Sāmarrā south of al-Mawṣil from 836 to 892. Ibn Bānah had singing girls of his own and probably took them to give private performances in different places. See Rosenthal, *Aḥmad B. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarahsī*, p. 97.

[50] Flügel gives this man's name as Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Naṣbī. The translation has been taken from the Beatty MS. It has been impossible to identify the individual in any other sources.

Bānah. Moreover, from the names of the male and female singers of the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic periods he mentioned all that was unusual and strange. He wrote:

Book of Songs (Kitāb al-Aghānī), in alphabetical order; Abstractions of the Singers (Spiritual Beings among the Singers, Mujarradāt al-Mughannīyīn).

Abū *Ḥashshīshah*

His name was Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Umayyah, surnamed Abū Jaʿfar. He was a descendant of Abū Umayyah al-Kātib.[51] He was a tanbur player who was skilled in his art and from whom Jaḥẓah believed that he learned [how to play]. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Illustrious Singer (the illustrious book, The Singer); Traditions of the Tanbur Players.

Jaḥẓah

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak, a poet and singer, with a genius for poetry, and skill in the art of singing to the tanbur. Well-trained and excellent in expression, he met with scholars and quoters [of poems and traditions], learning from them. Facts about him are too well known and self-evident to mention in our book, as he lived so close to our time.

But in spite of what we have described in connection with him, he was far from having a moral character and was also foul[-minded]. In his religion, he did not have only some of the imperfections, but all of them. Abū al-*Fatḥ* ibn al-Naḥwī recited to me saying, "Jaḥẓah recited to me about himself:[52]

[51] The Arabic wording does not make it entirely clear whether *al-kātib* ("the secretary") goes with Abū Ḥashshīshah or Abū Umayyah. Flügel's index connects it with the latter name, which is probably correct, as a secretary was not likely to be a tanbur player.

[52] It is important to note that the Tonk MS begins with the following verse of poetry.

If I do not desire my mouth to water,
Wine I make its substitute.
And wine is [different] from saliva,
For with heart aflame I keep on drinking."[53]

Jaḥẓah died at Wāsiṭ, where he had gone to be with Abū *Bakr* ibn Rā'iq[54] during the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38], because of illness with diarrhea. Among his books there were:

The Delightful Book of Cooked Food; The Tanbur Players; Excellencies of Sikbāj;[55] Al-Tarannum; what he witnessed of al-*Mu'tamid*; Speculations; what he collected from what the astrologers preserved and verified from among the predictions (Judgments).

After the account about him [Jaḥẓah] there should be the account of Qarīṣ the Singer, but it comes seventeen leaves after this leaf, as the author of the book has arranged the sequence, so now we return to the famous singers.[56]

We Have Returned to the Famous Authors

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: If I record an author, [then as a rule] I mention following him someone who was associated with him and similar to him. If, however, someone's turn is put off for an interval, so as to come after somebody else, whom I place before him, this is [due to] the method which I use in the book as a whole and it is Allāh who by his mercy determines [the sequence].

[53] For the word translated as "aflame," Flügel has a form of *ghalīl* ("burning with love"), whereas the Beatty and Tonk MSS have a form of *'alīl* ("distressed").

[54] The Beatty MS has "ibn Wāthiq," but Flügel gives "ibn Rā'iq," which is probably correct, as he was a high official at the time of the death of Jaḥẓah. See Ṣābī, *Wuzarā'*, p. 360.

[55] *Sikbāj* is a dish of meat, flour, and vinegar. *Al-tarannum*, which follows, means the modulation of the voice or of an instrument. It is given by the Beatty MS and is probably correct, although Flügel has "*Al-Nadīm*."

[56] This last paragraph is in the Flügel version but not in the Beatty MS. The last sentence of the paragraph says "we return to the famous singers," but the heading which follows refers to famous authors. Either there is a mistake and the word "singers" was intended to be something different, or else the men listed in the following pages were singers as well as authors. The second-to-last account in this section of *Al-Fihrist* concerns al-Qarīṣ.

Account of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir

He was Abū al-Faḍl *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir, the name of Abū *Ṭāhir* being Ṭayfūr. Although he was the son of a family of government employees from Khurāsān, he was born at Baghdād. *Ja'far* ibn Ḥamdān, the author of the book *Splendor* (*Al-Bāhir*), said, "He was first a teacher in a common school, but later did private work, being established at the Paper Workers' Bazaar (Sūq al-Warrāqīn) on the East Side."[57] He went on to say, "I have never seen anyone who became known so quickly as he became known for compiling books and reciting poetry, most of which he corrupted. In fact, there never was anyone more stupid intellectually or more erroneous in pronunciation than he was. He once recited a poem for me, informing me about *Isḥāq* ibn Ayyūb, in which he made mistakes in about ten places. He was the most prone of men to steal a half or a third of a verse." He continued, "This is what al-*Buḥturī* told me about him, but at the same time he had a praiseworthy character, with a pleasant social manner, mellowed by maturity." He was born during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20], the year in which al-*Ma'mūn* entered Baghdād from Khurāsān,[58] and he died during the year two hundred and eighty [A.D. 893/94]. Among his compiled books there were:

Prose and Verse, in fourteen sections, thirteen of which are in the people's hands; Plagiarisms of the Poets; Baghdād;[59] Jewels; Composers;[60] Gifts; The Derivative Varying from That with Which It Is Associated (The Derivative Varying from What Is Familiar); Names of the Poets Who Were Forefathers (Foremost); Nicknames of the Poets and Who Was Known by a Surname and Who by His [True] Name; Adornments and Garments;[61] The Known among the Poets; The Embellished;

[57] The Paper Workers' Bazaar was a group of a hundred shops between the Ḥarrānī Arch and the Ṣarāt Canal of Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 92; Coke, *Baghdad*, p. 63.

[58] After the death of Hārūn al-*Rashīd*, there were six years of conflict to determine the succession. Finally, in A.D. 819 al-*Ma'mūn* brought an army from Khurāsān and established himself in Baghdād as the caliph. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 304.

[59] This title is given by Flügel but omitted by the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[60] This might be a word meaning "owners of camels," but it is much more likely "composers" (of books).

[61] At this point in the Beatty MS there are two titles badly written, probably duplications of what follows carelessly copied in the wrong place. They are omitted in the translation.

Apology for *Wahb* [ibn Sulaymān], because of his breaking wind; He Who Recites Poetry and Is Answered by Words; *Hurmuz* ibn Kisrā Anūshirwān's High Rank; Information (Experience) of the Proud King in Connection with the Administration of the Kingdom, about politics; The Righteous King and the Designated Vizier.

The Babylonian King, the Egyptian King, the Tyrants, and the Magnanimous Greek (Byzantine) King; Vehement Emotion and Passion (Al-Ghullah wa-al-Ghalīl);[62] Those Making Excuses; Temperament and Reproaches;[63] The Glory of the Rose and the Narcissus; The Chamberlains (The Veil); Adversaries[64] of the Horsemen; Adversaries of the Poets; the large book, Horses; Banishment (Pursuit, Al-Ṭard); The Plagiarisms of al-*Buḥturī* from Abū *Tammām*;[65] Assembling the Genealogy of the Banū Hāshim;[66] his epistle to *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mudabbir;[67] his epistle about restraint of lusts; his epistle to *'Alī* ibn Yaḥyā; The Compendium, about the poets and their traditions (traditions about them); Superiority of the Arabs over the Persians; Speech of the Eyes; Traditions of Women Affecting Elegance.[68]

It is said that his son, Abū al-Ḥusayn ['*Ubayd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad], wrote these [last] two books.

His Books with Selections of the Poems of the Poets[69]

Selections from the Poetry of *Bakr* ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ; Selections from the Poetry of *Di'bil* ibn 'Alī; Selections from the Poetry of *Muslim* [probably Ibn al-Walīd]; Selections from the Poetry of al-*'Attābī*; Selections from the Poetry of Manṣūr al-*Namarī*; Selections from the Poetry of Abū al-*'Atāhiyah*.

[62] Flügel has *Disease and the Diseased*, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS indicate the translation as given.

[63] This title and the one following are only in the Flügel edition.

[64] Instead of "adversaries" (*al-muqābil*), this might be "slayers" (*al-muqātil*).

[65] Flügel gives "the grammarians," but the Beatty and Tonk MSS give instead the name al-*Buḥturī*.

[66] The Banū Hāshim were the ancestors of the Prophet and also of the 'Abbāsids. The translation follows the Beatty MS; Flügel omits "genealogy" and the Tonk MS gives "Abū Hāshim" as the last two words.

[67] The Flügel version gives al-Walīd, but the other manuscripts have al-Mudabbir.

[68] For the phrase "women affecting elegance" the translation follows Flügel and the Tonk MS, as the word in the Beatty MS does not seem to be correct.

[69] Unlike the other versions, the Flügel edition does not give this as a separate heading.

Account of *Bashshār* and Selections from His Poetry; Account of *Marwān* [ibn Sulaymān], with Selections from His Poetry and Traditions of the Family of Marwān; Account of Ibn *Mayyādah*; Account of Ibn *Harmah* with a Selection of His Poetry; Account of Ibn al-*Dumaynah*; Selection from the Poetry of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*.[70]

His Son, '*Ubayd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn

He followed the example of his father in compiling and writing, but he quoted less than his father did and *Aḥmad* [his father] was more skillful and brilliant in technique and composition. The books of Abū al-Ḥusayn supplemented his father's books about the traditions of Baghdād. His father wrote until the end of the period of al-*Muhtadī*, while Abū al-Ḥusayn added traditions about al-*Mu'tamid*, traditions of al-*Mu'taḍid*, traditions of al-*Muktafī*, and traditions about al-*Muqtadir*, which he did not complete. Among his books there were:

Al-Sikbāj and Its Excellencies;[71] Women and Men Affecting Elegance.

The Family of Abū al-*Najm*

The name of Abū al-Najm was Hilāl and he was a secretary, one of the people of al-Anbār. His son, *Ṣāliḥ* ibn Abī al-Najm, was, however, one of the inhabitants of Baghdād. Abū al-Najm was a protégé of the Banū Sulaym.[72]

Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Najm was a poet, surnamed Abū al-Zumayl, who it is said recited to Abū al-*Shīṣ* this saying of his: "As though there were on the circling heavens[73] the voice of the caller to prayer." Abū al-Shīṣ replied, "Allāh is your combatant,[74] oh, company of the Banū Sulaym, with the saying of al-*Khansā'*: 'As though he were a standard, with fire at its top (on its head),' and this you say ———."[75]

[70] This book is in the Flügel text, but not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

[71] *Sikbāj* is a dish of meat, flour, and vinegar.

[72] For this tribe, see "Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518.

[73] The word in the Flügel edition means "spindle," which does not seem to be as correct as "circling heavens."

[74] The Beatty MS has "Allāh is your speaker."

[75] This line of poetry refers to the brother of the poetess al-Khansā' and is part of a lament for him. See "al-Khansā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 901; Quataybah, *Shi'r*, p. 201, top.

Abū *'Awn* Aḥmad ibn al-Najm, the secretary, was the son of the brother of these two [Ṣāliḥ and Aḥmad].[76] He was a theologian, writer of correspondence, and poet, among whose books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd) and the Philosophical Doctrines Which Concern It; The Towns (Regions), with information about the earth—it is said that this was written by Abū Isḥāq *Ibrāhīm* ibn Abī 'Awn.

Ibn Abī 'Awn

He was Abū Isḥāq *Ibrāhīm* ibn Abī 'Awn Aḥmad ibn al-Najm, one of the associates of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-*Shalmaghānī*, who was known as Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir. He [Ibrāhīm] was one of his faithful supporters who were fanatical about his cause, in connection with which he [al-Shalmaghānī] claimed to be the deity, Allāh Almighty. When Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir was arrested, he [Ibrāhīm] was taken with him and beheaded after him. When he was subjected to showing contempt for him and spitting on him, he refused, being seized with trembling and terror, trepidation and distress.[77] He was one of the men of letters who wrote books, but he lacked intelligence. We explain his story when we mention al-'Azāqirī [al-*Shalmaghānī*]. Among his books there were:

The Towns (Regions), with information about the countries; Silencing Replies; Similitudes (Allegories); The Treasury of Joy; Al-Dawāwīn;[78] Epistles.

Account of Ibn Abī al-*Azhar*

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mazīd, the grammarian and historical traditionalist, called al-Busanjī as his origin

[76] Hilāl Abū al-*Najm* had three sons: al-Najm, *Ṣāliḥ*, and *Aḥmad*. The eldest son was the father of Abū *'Awn* Aḥmad ibn al-Najm ibn Hilāl. He in turn had a son, *Ibrāhīm* ibn Abī 'Awn Aḥmad, described in the following account.

[77] He was ordered to recant by striking al-*Shalmaghānī*, but because he regarded this fanatic as divine, his hand trembled and he kissed him instead of striking him; see Khallikān, I, 436.

[78] *Al-dawāwīn* probably referred to the government departments or records, or else to anthologies. This title and the one following are only in the Flügel edition. In general, however, the translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS, which agree and seem to be more accurate than the Flügel edition in this passage.

was from Busanj.[79] He died at an advanced age. I have read what was written in the handwriting of *'Abd* Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, who was known as Ibn al-'Aramram, that when he asked Ibn Abī al-Azhar about his age during the year three hundred and thirteen [A.D. 925/26], he replied, "Eighty years and three months of my life have passed by," and then he lived on after that.[80] Among his books there were:[81]

Disturbance and Confusion, with traditions of al-*Musta'īn* and al-*Mu'tazz*; Traditions about the Intelligent among the Insane; Traditions of the Ancient Masters of Literary Style.

Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī

His name was *Sulaymān* ibn Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad. He came from al-Madīnah and was one of the persons who affected elegance. He was also one of the men of letters, acquainted with singing and traditions about the singers, in connection with which he wrote a number of books. Among his books there were:

Traditions of *'Azzat* al-Maylā'; Ibn Misjaḥ [*Sa'īd* ibn Misjaḥ]; Qiyān al-Ḥijāz;[82] Qiyān Makkah; Agreement (Harmony); The Generations of Singers; Melodious Singing and Cadence; Court Companions; Account of the Elegant at al-Madīnah; Ibn Abī *'Atīq*; Traditions of Ibn 'Ā'ishah [*Muḥammad* ibn 'Ā'ishah]; *Ḥunayn* al-Ḥīrī; Ibn *Surayj*; Al-*Gharīḍ*.[83]

Al-Taghlibī[84]

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥārith and he was attached to the entourage of al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān. Among his books there were:

Characters of the Kings, which he composed for al-Fatḥ; his epistles;[85] The Garden.

[79] Busanj was near Tirmidh on the Oxus River; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 758.

[80] Flügel and the Tonk MS give 30 years, but the Beatty MS has 80, which seems to be correct.

[81] The first and second titles are in all the versions, but the last one is only in the Flügel edition.

[82] *Qiyān* here almost certainly refers to slave girls trained to sing and dance. Al-Ḥijāz is the holy land of Arabia.

[83] Last title omitted by the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[84] Flügel and Mas'ūdī, I, 12, call him by this name; the Beatty and Tonk MSS call him al-Tha'labī.

[85] The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not have "his epistles" and "*The Garden.*"

Ibn al-*Ḥarūn*

His name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Aṣbagh ibn al-Ḥarūn. He was an excellent author and compiler, highly cultured, and one of the people of Baghdād who were sons of secretaries. Among his books there were:

The Conformable and Homogeneous; The Truths, a large book; Poetry and the Poets; Literary Pursuits; The Gardens; The Secretaries; Good Actions (Merits); Meeting Together of the Chiefs.[86]

Ibn ʿAmmār al-Thaqafī

He was Abū al-ʿAbbās *Aḥmad* ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAmmār al-Thaqafī, the secretary.[87] He was the agent of al-*Qāsim* ibn ʿUbayd Allāh and his son. He was also a friend of Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Dāʾūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, whom he quoted. He held sessions (classes) in which he related historical traditions.[88] He died during the year three hundred and nineteen [A.D. 931]. Among his books there were:

Al-Mubayyiḍah, with traditions about the combatants of the family of Abū *Ṭālib*;[89] Al-Anwāʾ; The Faults of Abū *Nuwās*;[90] Traditions about Sulaymān ibn Abī *Shaykh*; Additions, with traditions about the viziers; Traditions about *Ḥujr* ibn ʿAdī; Traditions about Abū al-Nuwās; Traditions about Ibn al-*Rūmī*, with Selections from His Poetry; his epistle about the Banū Umayyah; his epistle about the faults of *Muʿāwiyah*; his epistle about the affair of Ibn al-Mujadhdhar;[91] Traditions about Abū al-ʿ*Atāhiyah*; Traditions about ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Jaʿfar;[92] Contradictions;[93] his epistle about the preeminence of

[86] Another translation might be *Discussions of Intellectual Leaders.*

[87] The Flügel text has some errors in connection with the proper names in this passage. The translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[88] The literal translation is, "To him sessions and traditions (*majalisāt wa-akhbār*)." In the next sentence, the Beatty and Tonk MSS omit the date.

[89] This title means those who bring forth pure (literally, "white") children. It probably refers to the inherited purity claimed for the descendants of ʿ*Alī*. It was also the name of a sect [see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker) Part I, pp. 173, 200], but it is not likely that the sect is referred to here.

[90] Flügel gives another name, probably an error.

[91] The Beatty and Tonk MSS give this name, perhaps the son of *Mujadhdhar* ibn Dhiyād. Flügel has another name, probably that of Ibn *Muḥriz*, the singer.

[92] Cf. Biog. Index, ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar and Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 105, top.

[93] This title and the one which follows are only in the Flügel edition.

the Banū Hāshim and their chiefs, with a reproach for the Banū Umayyah and their followers.

Ibn *Khurdādhbih*

He was Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Khurdādhbih. Khurdādhbih was a Magian, who became a Muslim under the patronage of the Barmak family. Abū al-Qāsim administered the postal and intelligence departments in the regions of the Mountain (al-Jabal). He was also a court companion of al-*Muʿtamid*, to whom he devoted himself. Among his books there were:

The Training of Hearing; A Collection of the Genealogies of the Persians and of al-Nawāfil;[94] Roads and Kingdoms; Cooked Food; Amusement and Musical Instruments (Amusement and Diversions); Drinks; Al-Anwāʾ; Court Companions and Associates.[95]

Al-*Sarakhsī*[96]

Abū al-Faraj Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī was a man of letters and master of literary style who quoted copiously. Among his books there were:

Government (Politics); Roads and Kingdoms; Training of the Kings; Guidance to the Secrets of Singing.

Jaʿfar ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣilī

Abū al-Qāsim Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣilī, the legal authority, was a good author and compiler, as well as a legal authority according to the code of al-*Shāfiʿī*. He was also a poet, man of letters, and critic of poetry, who quoted copiously. He wrote a number of books about the law, which we shall mention when we discuss the legal authorities. His books about literary subjects were:

Splendor (Al-Bāhir), with selections from the more recent poets and some of the former ones, and also the plagiarisms;[97] the large book,

[94] The first two titles are given only by Flügel. The word translated as "Persians" might be "the horse."

[95] This title is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, but not the Flügel edition.

[96] This paragraph about al-Sarakhsī is not included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[97] The phrase "and some of the former ones, and also the plagiarisms" is not found in Flügel, but is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

Poetry and the Poets, which he did not finish; Plagiarisms, which he did not finish—if he had completed it, people would have been well equipped for an understanding of every book; the delightful book, The Good Qualities of the Poems of the More Recent (Modern) Writers.

Abū Ḍiyā' al-Naṣīb

Abū Ḍiyā' *Bishr* ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī al-Qutbī al-Naṣībī was one of the people of Naṣībīn.[98] He was a poet, who wrote a little poetry, as well as a man of letters, literary by nature, among whose books there were:

The Plagiarism of al-*Buḥturī* from Abū *Tammām*; Jewels; Literary Pursuits; the large book, Plagiarisms, which he did not finish.

Ibn Abī Manṣūr al-Mawṣilī

He was *Yaḥyā* ibn Abī Manṣūr, who had many relatives at al-Mawṣil. His books still exist and he represented the epitome of culture (literary quality). Among his books there were:

Songs (Al-Aghānī), arranged alphabetically;[99] Equivocal Speech (Al-Ma'ārīḍ); The Lute and Musical Instruments; the delightful book, Cooked Food.

Ibn al-*Marzubān*

He was 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Marzubān. *Aḥmad* ibn Ṭāhir uses his method in preserving historical traditions, poetry, and anecdotes.[100] Among his books there were:

Those Enslaved by Love; Drinks, including a number of books (chapters); The Infallible;[101] Remote (Absent); Gardens and Flowers; Associates and Court Companions; Poetry and the Poets; Gifts; Negroes and Their Superiority over the Whites;[102] Nicknames and the

[98] Flügel gives al-Qaynī instead of al-Qutbī. See the tribe Banū Qutbah in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 41, l. 17. The Beatty MS gives the last element of the name as al-Naṣībī. For Naṣībīn, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 787.

[99] The Tonk MS gives this meaning clearly.

[100] The Beatty and Tonk MSS give the form *ḥāfiẓ*, "preserving" or "memorizing."

[101] This probably refers to the Shī'ī imams, who were credited as inheriting from *'Alī* an infallible knowledge of the law.

[102] If this referred to slaves, it did not express the common opinion about them; compare Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, Chap. XI.

Poets; Winter and Summer; Women and Amatory Poetry; The Compendium, a large book about the sciences of the Qur'ān, in twenty-seven sections;[103] Traditions of Abū Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*,[104] with a selection of his poetry; Traditions of *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased; Censure of Chamberlains and the Sequestered;[105] Censure of the Heavy-Hearted (Censure of the Oppressed); Traditions of al-*'Arjī*.

Al-*Kasrāwī*

He is known as 'Alī ibn Mahdī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He was a teacher, man of letters, and memorizer of traditions, who was acquainted in particular with the *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. He was tutor to *Hārūn* ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Nadīm, later becoming attached to Abū al-Najm *Badr* al-Mu'taḍidī.[106] Among his books there were:

Good Qualities; Contradictions of Those Who Think that It Is Not Necessary for the Judges to Eat the Same Kind of Food as the Imams and Caliphs—this book was also ascribed to al-Kasrāwī the Secretary; Feasts and New Years; The Missives of Brothers and Comings of Friends.[107]

Ibn *Bassām*, the Poet

He was 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn Manṣūr ibn Bassām. 'Alī's mother was *Umāmah*, the daughter of Ḥamdūn, who was the intimate companion of his father and mother. He was a poet and man of letters, one of the brilliant secretaries, from whose tongue no one escaped.[108] He died ———. Among his books there were:

[103] This title and those following are not in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. The principal sciences of the Qur'ān are language, the Ḥadīth, readings, commentary, grammar, rhetoric, law, and theology.

[104] This name should almost certainly be Ibn Qays; see Biog. Index, *Ruqayyāt*.

[105] This might also be *Censure of the Veil and the Veiled*, but it more likely refers to chamberlains, who irritated the scholars because they refused them entrance to prominent men. The last name in the list should probably be al-A'raj; see Biog. Index, Abū *Mālik* al-Naḍr.

[106] The translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS here, for Flügel says that he was tutor to the son of Hārūn. The manuscripts lack the book titles, although the Beatty MS leaves a space for them.

[107] As the text is not clear, this translation may not be correct.

[108] For this vernacular expression, see the Flügel edition, p. 150, n. 4.

Traditions of *'Umar* ibn Abī Rabī'ah—I have never seen anything more eloquent in content; The Zanjīyūn Who Are Causing Conflict;[109] a collection of his letters; Inconsistencies of the Poets; Traditions of al-*Aḥwaṣ*.

Al-*Marwazī*

His name was Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Marwazī, surnamed Abū al-'Abbās. He was one of those who composed books about the sciences and his books were highly esteemed. He was the first person to write a book about the roads and kingdoms, but he did not finish it. When he died at al-Ahwāz, his books were taken to Baghdād and sold at Ṭāq al-Ḥarrānī[110] during the year two hundred and seventy-four [A.D. 887/88]. Among his books there were:

Roads and Kingdoms; the large book, Literary Pursuits; the small book, Literary Pursuits; History of the Signs of the Qur'ān, in confirmation of the books of the sultan;[111] Eloquence and Preaching; Al-Nājim.[112]

Al-*Ṣūlī*

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī was one of the brilliant men of letters and collectors of books. He was a court companion of al-*Rāḍī*, and before that was his tutor. He had also served as a court companion of al-*Muktafī* and al-*Muqtadir* during an unbroken period [of service]. His life is too conspicuous and well known and his period too recent for us to go into details with regards to him.[113] He was one of the best chess players of his time and a person of manly bearing. He lived until the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42][114] and died hiding at al-Baṣrah,

[109] This book was evidently written when the Zanj slaves were revolting, A.D. 869–83. Ibn Bassām was about 25 years old when the revolt started. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 467. The last three titles are in the Flügel text, but not the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[110] An archway built by a man from Ḥarrān on the West Bank at the end of the bazaar where the paper dealers sold books. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 57 (map), 90, 91, 96; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 489.

[111] The Flügel text gives this title as *History of the Qur'ān*.

[112] This may be *The Rising Star*, or the man Sa'd ibn al-Ḥasan al-*Nājim*.

[113] He must have been born A.D. 870 or earlier and died between A.D. 941 and A.D. 948.

[114] The date is given in the Flügel text, but not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS. Other authorities give a later date.

because he quoted a passage about *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace, which caused both the populace and the elite to seek him in order to kill him.

Among his books there was *Leaves* (*Folios*, *Al-Awrāq*), with traditions about the caliphs and the poets, but which he did not finish. What resulted were traditions about all of the caliphs, with the poems and chronicles of the sons of the caliphs, from al-*Saffāḥ* to the time of Ibn al-*Mu'tazz*.[115] There were also the poems of other members of the Banū al-'Abbās who were neither caliphs nor sons of caliphs in rank.

At the beginning [of the section] there was the poetry of *'Abd* Allāh ibn 'Alī and at the end the poetry of Abū Aḥmad *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Īsā ibn al-Manṣūr. Then followed the poems of members of the family of Abū *Ṭālib*: the descendants of al-*Ḥasan* and al-*Ḥusayn*, the descendants of al-*'Abbās* ibn 'Alī, the descendants of *'Umar* ibn 'Alī, and the descendants of *Ja'far* ibn Abī Ṭālib.[116]

Then followed the poems of the descendants of al-*Ḥārith* ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; after that traditions about Ibn *Harmah*, with a selection of his poetry; traditions about the Sayyid al-*Ḥimyarī*,[117] with a selection of his poetry; traditions about *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf, with a selection of his poetry; and traditions about *Sudayf*,[118] with a selection of his poetry.

In composing this book he relied upon the book of al-*Marthadī* about poetry and the poets, in fact he transcribed and plagiarized it. I have seen a copy of [the work of] this man which came from the library of al-Ṣūlī and by which he was exposed.

In addition to this, his books were:

The Viziers; Worship; Training of the Secretary, according to Standard;[119] Superiority of the Aged, which he wrote for 'Alī ibn al-*Furāt*

[115] This was the period between A.D. 750 and A.D. 908.

[116] The Arabic word walad may mean either "descendant" or "son." For the members of the family of Abū Ṭālib, see Mas'ūdī, V, 148.

[117] "Al-Ḥimyarī" is not included by the Beatty or Tonk MSS, but is given by Flügel and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137.

[118] Before "traditions about Sudayf" the Beatty MS has "traditions of Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*], with a selection of his poetry."

[119] The Beatty and Tonk MSS have "secretaries", whereas Khallikān, III, 69, has "secretary."

[surnamed] Abū al-Ḥasan;[120] Youths; Varieties, which he did not finish; Questions about Answers of Ramaḍān to (of) Ibn al-Munajjim;[121] Ramaḍān; The Compendium, about knowledge of the Qur'ān—he did not finish it, and although it contained rare forms for the scholars, this is not the place [to describe it]; The Virtues of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-*Furāt*; Traditions about Abū *Tammām*; Traditions about al-*Jubbā'ī* [surnamed] Abū Sa'īd; Al-'*Abbās* ibn Aḥnaf, with a selection of his poetry; his epistle about collecting taxes;[122] Traditions about Abū '*Amr* ibn al-'Alā'; Al-Gharar.[123]

The Poems of the More Recent Writers, Which Abū Bakr [al-*Ṣūlī*] Compiled Alphabetically

Ibn al-*Rūmī*, Abū *Tammām*, al-*Buḥturī*, Abū *Nuwās*, al-'*Abbās* ibn al-Aḥnaf, '*Alī* ibn al-Jahm, Ibn *Ṭabāṭabā*, *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī, [*Sufyān*] ibn 'Uyaynah, [*Sawwār* ibn] Abī Sharā'ah.[124]

Al-*Ḥakīmī*

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Quraysh al-Ḥakīmī was a historical traditionalist, who heard a group [of scholars lecture]. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Adornment of Men of Letters, which contained historical traditions (anecdotes); The Casket of Jewels;[125] Youth, Preferable to Old Age; Joking and Jest.[126]

[120] This title is not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS, while the title which follows is not in the Flügel edition.

[121] The Beatty MS suggests that the word "Ramaḍān" was inserted here by mistake, duplicating the next title. It is not certain which member of the *Munajjim* family Ibn al-Munajjim was.

[122] Flügel lacks this title.

[123] The word *al-gharar* means "peril," but may be the nickname of some poet. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 137, gives this word as a separate title. Flügel gives the word with another form following it, but questions the accuracy. The Beatty and Tonk MSS omit the word.

[124] The Flügel edition repeats the name Ibn al-*Rūmī* and misplaces al-Ṣūlī in the third-to-last name. Flügel alone mentions *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah and *Sawwār* ibn Abī Sharā'ah.

[125] This translation is taken from Flügel and the Tonk MS, which give *Safaṭ al-Jawhar* ("The Casket of Jewels"). The Beatty MS has a word which looks like either *siqṭ* ("extremity") or *saqaṭ* ("defeat"), probably an error.

[126] The Beatty and Tonk MSS lack this title.

Al-*Burjānī*

He was Abū ʿAlī.[127]

Another Group, Different from Those Already Mentioned

Abū al-ʿ*Anbas* al-Ṣaymarī

His origin was from al-Kūfah, but he became judge of al-Ṣaymarah.[128] He was Abū al-ʿAnbas Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Abī al-ʿAnbas. Although he was one of the jesters and clowns,[129] he was also a man of letters, familiar with the stars, about which he wrote a book; I have observed that it was praised by the leading astrologers. Al-*Mutawakkil* included him in the group of his court companions, giving him special attention. Because of his position he had a well-known connection with al-*Buḥturī*. He lived until the days of al-*Muʿtamid*, entering also into the group of his intimates. He satirized the cook of al-Muʿtamid:

> Oh, delicious of my days, and what is passionately desired,
> Though far from the market are we,
> If for bread from Fars I make request,
> Ṣāliḥ blows the trumpet for me.

Among his books there were:

Hindering (Postponing) Knowledge; The Lover and the Beloved; Refutation of the Astrologers; The Tanbur Players;[130] Kūr Iblāʾ;[131] Long-Bearded; Refutation of the Perfumed; ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib;[132] Relaxation and the Advantages of Running Away;[133] The Excellencies

[127] The translation here follows the Tonk MS, which seems to be more correct than the other versions.

[128] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 442, for al-Ṣaymarah.

[129] See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 535, for this form, which in Arabic is *al-murāṭazāt* ("clowns").

[130] This word is so badly written in the various versions that it is impossible to be sure what is meant. It may also be a form for "drummers" or else *al-ṭanbalīn* ("those feigning idiocy").

[131] This form cannot be identified, but may be connected with *al-kūr al-ibl* (see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 319), or as given in the Beatty MS might be *kurz ablā* ("dishonest estate managers").

[132] This was a fabulous bird mentioned in old Persian and Arab stories; see "'Anḳa'," *Enc. Islam*, I, 356.

[133] "Running away" is taken from the Beatty MS. The word given by Flügel seems to be wrong, and the Tonk MS has "al-Qur'ān."

of the Nature of the Head;[134] The Structure of the Mind; Unusual Stories; The Excellencies of the Wine Flask;[135] Refutation of Abū Mikhā'īl al-*Ṣaydanānī* in Connection with Alchemy; Reproaches (Errors) of the Common People and Traditions about the Barbarous Populace (Traditions about the Careless in Speech); Wonders of the Sea;[136] Silenced Replies; Aids to Digestion and Treacles;[137] Preference of the Ladder to the Stairway;[138] The Two Dynasties, about preference between the two caliphates [the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsid]; Al-*Fās* ibn al-Hā'ik.

Destroying (Inciting) of Minds; Al-Saḥḥāqāt wa-al-Baghāyūn [women used for unnatural sexual intercourse and whores]; Stirring (Al-Khaḍ-khaḍah), about masturbation; Traditions about Abū *Far'ūn* Kandar ibn Jaḥdar; Interpretation of Dreams; Rare Forms of al-Ḥūṣā;[139] his [Abū al-'Anbas's] controversy with al-*Buḥturī*;[140] Transcribers (Al-Nuqalā) (*or* Heavy-Hearted [Al-Thuqalā]); Rare Anecdotes about Pimps (*or* Procuresses); Convocation (Pretension) of the Common People; Brothers and Friends; The Surnames of Animals;[141] Judgments of the Stars; Introduction to the Art of Foretelling the Stars; Ṣāḥib al-Zamān;[142] Repudiated (Al-Khalu 'īn);[143] The Camel Seeking Aid from Its Master;[144] Superiority of the Rectum over the Mouth; his rare anecdotes and poems.[145]

[134] Flügel has *al-insān* ("man") instead of "head," but questions its accuracy.

[135] Flügel gives *al-rizq* ("gain"), but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have *al-ziqq* ("wine flask").

[136] Flügel is uncertain about "sea," but it is clear in the Beatty MS.

[137] This translation is taken from Flügel, who seems to be correct. The Beatty and Tonk MSS have a variation.

[138] This title probably refers to special types of stairs used in medieval times.

[139] This title is in the Flügel edition alone, being given as *al-ḥūṣā*, which cannot be identified. It may be meant for a certain desert, see al-Ḥawḍā in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 363. It may be a mistaken or slang form from *khaṣī* ("castrated"), in which case the translation would be *Rare Anecdotes about Eunuchs.*

[140] This title is only in the Flügel edition. The one which follows it is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, but not in Flügel.

[141] Flügel garbles the word for "surnames."

[142] The Shī'ah give this name ("Lord of Time") to their last imam, who is some day to reappear.

[143] This title as translated is taken from the Beatty MS. It is perhaps meant to be *al-jali'īn* ("obscene"), but more likely is a form derived from *khul'ah* ("divorce"). Another title follows here in the Beatty MS. It is omitted in the translation since it is apparently a repetition, badly copied.

[144] There is a variation in the Tonk MS which seems to be due to bad copying.

[145] This title is in the Flügel edition alone.

Abū Ḥassān al-*Namalī*

He was Abū Ḥassān Muḥammad ibn Ḥassān, one of the men of good spirits and culture. He lived during the days of al-*Mutawakkil*, about whom and himself there are numerous anecdotes. Among his books there were:

The large book, Burjān and Ḥubāḥib, with stories of women and sexual intercourse;[146] a small book about the same subject; Adultery; Al-Suḥq;[147] Address of the Muleteer to the Slave Girl of the Vegetable Vendor.

Abū al-'Ibar al-*Hāshimī*

He was surnamed Abū al-'Abbās and was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās. *Jaḥẓah* said, "I never saw anyone who could remember better than he did, even every [letter] '*ayn*, nor anybody better at poetry, nor is there in the world any art which he did not learn to do with his own hand. I have even seen him kneading dough and baking."

His father was nicknamed "al-Ḥāmiḍ." He [al-Hāshimī] was a man who remembered [anecdotes] and was cultured, but [because of] extreme opposition and cursing he was killed at Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah.[148] When he went out to get his belongings, a group of the Shī'ah[149] killed him, because they heard him slandering '*Alī*, for whom may there be peace. They threw things down on him from the roof of an inn (*khān*) where he was spending the night. Thus he died during the year two hundred and fifty [A.D. 864]. From his poetry there was:

[146] Burjān was a robber and Ḥubāḥib a miser; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, pp. 257, 552.

[147] The Flügel edition gives what might be *al-suḥq* ("remoteness"), or *al-saḥq* ("tearing," as of an old garment). The word is not written clearly in the Beatty MS, but the most reasonable way by which to decipher it there is as *al-sanjaq*. In former times this might mean "banner," "cornet," or "waistband," usually the first meaning, But as this author wrote books about sex, the word may imply homosexual practice, as *saḥḥāqah* was used for a Lesbian; see Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1319.

[148] A fortress on the Euphrates near al-Kūfah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 123.

[149] This first part of the sentence follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS. Flügel has variations, although the meaning is the same.

A visitor whose beauty was perfect;
For how can the night hide when the full moon is rising?
He spent time in vagueness until it became possible
To (and) watch the guardian[150] until he went to sleep.
Through terrors did he ride to make his visit,
But no sooner did he give his greeting than he departed.

A book which he called, A Collection of Stupid Women and a Gathering Together of Foolish Ones;[151] Court Companionship and the Characters of the Caliphs and Emirs; Epistles;[152] his rare anecdotes and dictations; his traditions and poems.

Ibn al-*Shāh* al-Ṭāhirī

Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Shāh al-Ṭāhirī was one of the descendants of al-*Shāh* ibn Mīkāl, who was a man of letters, refined, and witty, with extreme beauty and purity of literary style. Among his books there were:

Summons of the Seas;[153] The Glory of Combing at the Mirror; The Dream; The War of Cheese and Olives; The War of Meat and Fish; Wonders of the Sea;[154] Adultery and Its Enjoyment; his poetry, with a selection from "Yā Makānis";[155] Traditions about al-Ghilmān;[156] Traditions about the Women; Masturbation (Al-Khaḍkhaḍah);[157] The Food Vendor.

[150] Flügel gives *al-sāmir* ("one conversing at night"), whereas the other versions have *al-ḥāris* ("guardian"). On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note implying that these verses were interpreted in various ways.

[151] Flügel gives "abode" (*mā'wa*), but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have "comprising" (*ḥāwi*).

[152] This and the two titles which follow are in Flügel but not the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[153] The Beatty and Tonk MSS give "seas" (*al-biḥār*), whereas Flügel has "merchants" (*al-tijār*).

[154] The Beatty and Tonk MSS have "sea" (*al-baḥr*). Flügel gives *al-baḥrah*, which means a tract of land, but is also used as a place name and as a nickname for al-Madīnah; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 506.

[155] "Yā Makānis" is quite clear in the Beatty MS. It apparently means "Oh, Brooms" and was probably the beginning of an amusing poem.

[156] Here *al-ghilmān* obviously refers to boys used for homosexual purposes.

[157] This word means "stirring," but here is used for "masturbation." This and the title which follows are only in the Flügel edition.

A Man Known as al-*Mubārakī*

His name was ———. Among his books there were:

The Uncultivated, the Rabble, and the Characters of the Common People;[158] Rare Anecdotes about Slave Boys (al-Ghilmān) and Eunuchs.

Al-*Kutanjī*

He was ——— and he belonged to the group of Abū al-'*Anbas* and Abū al-'Ibar [al-*Hāshimī*]. It is said that he succeeded Abū al-'Ibar as jester after his death. I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Namandād,[159] that al-Kutanjī wrote to *Sulaymān* ibn Wahb or to [his son] '*Ubayd* Allāh:

The confusion is mine, for truly of all your brothers the most foolish is like me and the most intelligent like you. We are at a time when the opinion of the intelligent is of little use for the mind, so leave it, but the opinion of the foolish has great usefulness for ignorance and is needed. Thus futile are those when they cease and those when they are needed, so we know not with what to live.[160]

Among his books there were:

Compendium of Foolish Things and the Origin of Follies; Witticisms and Fools;[161] Slap-Takers (Clowns, Al-Ṣafā'inah); Al-Makhraqah [charlatanry, juggling, or a wreath used in dancing].

Jirāb al-Dawlah

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alawīyah al-Sijzī, surnamed Abū al-'Abbās. He was one of the people of al-Rayy but he was called Sijzī, and was a tanbur player who affected elegance and used perfumes. He was nicknamed "al-Rīḥ" (Odor, Wind)

[158] The translation follows Flügel in giving "characters" (*akhlāf*), which may be more correct than the word in the Beatty MS, "contrariness" (*ikhtilāf*).

[159] This name is too uncertain to be included in the Biog. Index. Flügel adds, "I think it was Mānī-Dād." In the Beatty MS is might be a compound name taken from *yāmin* ("happy") and the ending *dād*.

[160] The opening phrase of this quotation may be "do not accuse me." As this passage is humorous, containing colloquialisms, the translation is a free one and may not convey exactly what the author meant to say.

[161] This title and the two which follow are in the Flügel edition but not the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

and known as "Jirāb al-Dawlah" (Scrotum of the Government).[162] Among his books there was *Things Rare and Laughable*, about various arts and rarities. He also called the book *Perfuming the Winds and the Key to Joy and Gladness*. He wrote it as a miscellany of arts and it was a large book.

Al-*Barmakī*

He was the secretary of Abū *Ja'far* ibn 'Abbāsah, the friend[163] of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah. His name was ———. He had a withered hand. Among his books there were:

The Compendium, about the poems of the distinguished poets;[164] Things Rare and Laughable.

Ibn Bakr al-*Shīrāzī*[165]

He was gifted, well educated, and pleasing as a companion. He was the secretary of al-*Muṭī'*. He wrote good poetry. Among his books there were:

Methods (Necessities) and Arts; The Composition of Epistles; also, the writings which he took from al-*Muṭī'* li-Allāh.[166]

Another Group Left Over[167] and Representing Miscellaneous Subjects

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī

His name was *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad [ibn Isḥāq] and he was a man of letters, but we do not know anything more about his life. Among his books there were:

The Towns (Regions), about one thousand leaves—he derived it from the people's books and plagiarism from the book of al-*Jayhānī*, [Roads

[162] As the Beatty and Tonk MSS and the Flügel and Yāqūt texts all show variations, an attempt has been made to use what seem to be the most accurate forms for translation. Cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (2), 62.

[163] "Friend" (*ṣāḥib*) is taken from the Tonk MS. Flügel and the Beatty MS give *ṣāḥib jamāl* ("possessor of beauty"), which does not seem to fit this passage.

[164] The translation follows Flügel. The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not give this title clearly.

[165] This account of al-*Shīrāzī* is found only in the Flügel edition.

[166] Probably meaning he took the writings down from dictation.

[167] *Muta'akhkhirūn* ("left over") more often means "late" or "recent."

and Kingdoms]; Mention of the More Recent Poets and the Eloquent and Illustrious among Them.[168]

'*Ubayd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ———, the Secretary

Among his books there were:

Intoxication during the Day and Incessant Wine Drinking;[169] The Preference of Morning Drink and Its Benefits, with the Faults and Defects of Drink at Night.

A Man Known as Ibn al-Mu'tamir or Abū al-*Mu'tamir*

He was Zayd ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd the secretary, whose book was *Courage and the Fecundity of Eloquence*, in which he praised the family of *Aḥmad* ibn 'Īsā ibn Shaykh.

Al-*Mas'ūdī*

This man, from among the people of al-Maghrib (North Africa), was known as Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī. He was a descendant of '*Abd* Allāh ibn Mas'ūd and a compiler of books about the history and traditions of the kings.[170] Among his books there were:

The book known as Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar (Fields of Gold and Mines of Jewels), about the pleasing things (gifts) of the nobles and kings, with the names of those in relationship with them;[171] Treasures of Sciences and What There Was in the Passing of the Ages; Recollection of What Has Gone By in the Passing of the Ages; History, with traditions about the peoples, both Arab and foreign; Epistles.[172]

[168] This title is not in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. Flügel seems to be in error in giving *al-mufḥamūn*, signifying inability to repeat verses, rather than *al-mufakhkhamūn* ("illustrious").

[169] This title is in the Flügel edition but not in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[170] Many authorities think that al-*Mas'ūdī* did not come from North Africa. As he died in Egypt only about thirty years before this passage was written, it is probable that the author of *Al-Fihrist* knew very little about him.

[171] The word translated "pleasing things" or "gifts" is *tuḥaf*, which perhaps means here "favors" or "patronage." For this book, see Bibliography, Mas'ūdī.

[172] This title is only in the Flügel edition. The title preceding it may be the book which Mas'ūdī himself refers to as *Akhbār al-Zamān*; see Mas'ūdī, I, 2.

Al-*Ahwāzī* Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, surnamed Abū Bakr

Among his books there were:

The Bee, Its Species and Its Bride;[173] Agriculture and Cultivation.

Al-*Shimshāṭī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī, whose origin was from Shimshāṭ in the land of Armenia on the frontier.[174] After tutoring Abū *Taghlib*, the son of *Nāṣir* al-Dawlah, and his brother, he became their court companion. He was a poet, compiler, and author, with a good memory, and [he memorized] many quotations, to which he used to add. Thus[175] I used to know him in former times, but it is said that he had greatly deteriorated[176] in character during his old age, for he is still living in this our own time. Among his books there were:

Lights, stringing together descriptions, anecdotes and similitudes (allegories)—first he wrote it and then afterwards added to it; the large book, Habitations; Traditions about Abū *Tammām*, with a selection from his poetry; Knowledge, the compiling of which he improved;[177] The True Triangle.[178]

Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Sarrāj

He was one of the people of Naysābūr, who was quoted by a man known as al-*Muzakkī*. His name was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī. Among his books there were:

Traditions, in which he recorded traditions about the authorities of the Ḥadīth, the viziers, governors, and other persons in various lands, citing each, man after man; The Agreeable Book of Epistles;[179] Selected Poems, Which of Them Were Genuine and Which Plagiarized.

[173] The "bride" is obviously the queen bee. The title which follows is in the Flügel edition alone.

[174] For Shimshāṭ, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 319. The name is given clearly in the Beatty MS, but incorrectly by Flügel.

[175] Before the word "thus" Flügel adds an extra word which is not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

[176] For the word translated as "deteriorated" Flügel gives *tarak* ("left"), but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have *nazal* ("lowered").

[177] The Tonk MS differs from the other versions by giving "pen" (*al-qalam*) instead of "knowledge" (*al-ʿilm*).

[178] Only Flügel gives this title.

[179] This title and that following are in the Flügel edition, but not in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

Ibn Khallād al-*Rāmahurmuzī*

He was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khallād, a judge, good author, and excellent compiler, who followed the method of al-*Jāḥiẓ*. Ibn *Sawwār*, the secretary, told me that he was also a poet and that he studied (heard) and quoted the Ḥadīth. Among his books there were:

The Springtime of Those Enslaved by Love, with traditions about lovers; Defects in Selecting Historical Traditions;[180] Similes (Proverbs) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace; Al-Rayḥānatayn, al-*Ḥasan* and al-*Ḥusayn*, for Whom and Their Families May There Be Peace;[181] The Guide of Revelation, about the Qur'ān; Rarities and Anomalies of Speech; Training of a Speaker (Reasonable Being); Praising the Dead and Giving Condolence; Epistle of the Journey (Book); Old Age and Youth;[182] Culture of the [Dinner] Tables (Table Manners); Places for Watering and Resting and Affection for the Homelands.

Al-*Āmidī*

His name is al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr ibn Yaḥyā, surnamed Abū al-Qāsim. He is one of the people of al-Baṣrah, contemporary with our time, I believe still alive. He is skillful in compiling and good in composing, drawing upon the school of thought of al-*Jāḥiẓ* for whatever writing of books he undertakes. Among his books there are:

The Intensity of Man's Need to Know His Own Power;[183] Disagreement and Agreement about the Names of the Poets; The Meaning of the Poetry of al-*Buḥturī*; Metrical Prose; Parallels between Abū *Tammām* and al-Buḥturī; Refutation of *ʿAlī* ibn ʿAmmār in Connection with His Criticism of Abū Tammām; The Thoughts of Two Poets Are Not in Agreement; Correction of the Measures in the Poetry of Ibn *Ṭabāṭabā*;

[180] Flügel gives *al-ʿilal* ("defects"), but the Beatty MS gives *al-falak*, probably meaning "astronomy," or "the celestial sphere."

[181] When the Prophet spoke of one of his grandsons, he used the word *rayḥānatī* ("my bounties"). In the Beatty and Tonk MSS the form given seems to be the dual of this word, *rayḥānatayn* ("the two bounties"), signifying the two famous grandsons. Flügel does not give this title correctly.

[182] Only Flügel gives this title and the two which follow.

[183] All of these titles are in the Flügel edition, but this is the only one of the list in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. The word "about" precedes some of these titles.

The Difference between the Particular and the Shared in the Meaning of Poetry;[184] Preference for the Poetry of *Imru'* al-Qays over That of the Other Pre-Islāmic Poets.

Chess Players Who Wrote about Playing Chess

Al-*'Adlī*

His name was ——— and among his books there were:

Chess, the first book written about chess;[185] Al-Nard, Its Elements and Play.[186]

Al-*Rāzī*

His name was ———. He was the equal of al-*'Adlī* and they both used to play in the presence of al-*Mutawakkil*. Al-Rāzī wrote *A Delightful Book about Chess*.[187]

Al-*Ṣūlī*

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, who has already been mentioned. He wrote on the subject:

Chess, the first manuscript; Chess, the second manuscript.

Al-*Lajlāj*[188]

He was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. I saw him at one time. He went to Shīrāz, to the King *'Aḍud* al-Dawlah, and some time after the year three hundred and sixty [A.D. 970/71] he died at Shīrāz, where he had excelled [at chess]. His book on the subject was *The Stratagems of Chess* (*Manṣūbāt al-Shiṭranj*),

[184] This title is not given correctly by Flügel. The translation follows Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (3), 58, and Ḥajjī Khalīfah, IV, 415, No. 9026.

[185] The word for chess is *shiṭranj*, often written *shaṭranj*. It comes from the Indian *chaturanga*, corrupted by the Persians and Arabs. Its original meaning referred to military terms. The English word "chess" comes from *shāh* or *shaykh*. The book of al-'Adlī was the first book written about the game in Arabic.

[186] *Al-nard* is a condensed form of *nardashīr*, usually used for games resembling our modern game of backgammon or checkers. For these games, see "Shaṭrandj," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 338. There is also an article in the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, V (June, 1818), 121, which gives valuable information. This publication is not listed in the Bibliography, as unfortunately it is not ordinarily available for reference.

[187] The words "about chess" only appear in the Flügel text.

[188] Flügel gives the death date of al-Lajlāj, as well as his full name and the full name of Ibn al-Uqlīdasī, in the paragraph which follows. The Beatty and Tonk MSS lack this information.

Ibn al-*Uqlīdasī* Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ

He was one of the most skillful [chess players], who wrote *A Collection of the Stratagems of Chess.*

Qarīṣ al-Mughannī

Qarīṣ al-Jarrāḥī belonged to the group of Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Dāʾūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ. His name was ——— and he was one of the most skillful of the singers and the learned among them. He should have been mentioned in the category of *Jaḥẓah*, following and attached to the statement about him, but I neglected to mention him there. Jaḥẓah said in rhyme:

> We ate *qarīṣ* and Qarīṣ sang,
> As we spent the night in the glory of the triumphant one.[189]

Qarīṣ died during the year twenty-four [A.H. 324: A.D. 935/36], in the same year Jaḥẓah died. Among his books there was *The Art of Singing, Traditions of the Singers, and Alphabetical Mention of the Refrains (al-Aṣwāt) Which They Sang.* Although he did not complete it, what he did produce amounted to about one thousand leaves.

Ibn *Ṭarkhān*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan, who had a good method of singing and some share of culture. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Rare Anecdotes and Historical Traditions; Accounts of the Singers and Tanbur Players; Genealogies (Pedigrees) of Pigeons; What Has Developed with Regards to Superiority of Birds Which Lead.[190]

[189] *Qarīṣ* is a dish made of fish, meat, and bread. It was evidently the nickname of the singer. The final word of the poem is *al-fālij*, which can be a proper name, but also signifies "the triumphant one," as translated, or "the paralyzed."

[190] In Asia pigeons were used for carrying messages and it was also popular to fly one's own flock in such a way as to attract the birds from neighboring flocks.

The Fourth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the ancient and modern scholars who were authors and the names of the books which they wrote. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Nadīm, *known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Warrāq.*[1]

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate, to whom I commit myself and whose aid I seek

The Fourth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they wrote, comprising the poets, in two sections.*[2]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: In [the first section of] this chapter we have aimed to make mention of the composers of the ancient poems, the names of those who quoted them, and their anthologies; also the names of the poems of the tribes and those who collected and compiled them.

In the second section of this chapter, which includes the poems of the more recent authors, we shall mention the amount of material in the poetry of each of the poets, indicating who among them was

[1] This much of the heading is not in the Flügel edition or Tonk MS, but is given on a separate page in the Beatty MS. Below it are the words, "Transcribed from his model and his handwriting." Still lower on the page there is the inscription, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq." Below and to the right there is another inscription, "The Fourth Chapter about the Poets."

[2] This part of the heading also follows the Beatty MS, which is more complete than the Tonk MS and varies slightly from the Flügel version.

prolific and who wrote only a small amount. By His bounty and kindness Allāh will grant whatever our souls may need from Him for this task.

[The First Section]

The Names of Those Who Quoted the Tribes and the Poems of the Pre-Islāmic and Islāmic Poets to the Beginning of the Rule of the Banū al-ʿAbbās[3]

Abū ʿAmr al-*Shaybānī*, who has already been mentioned; *Khālid* ibn Kulthūm al-Kūfī, already mentioned; *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb, already mentioned; al-*Ṭūsī*, already mentioned; al-*Aṣmaʿī* ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Qurayb, already mentioned; Ibn al-*Aʿrābī*, also previously mentioned.

In what has preceded we have recorded who among these scholars was among those who quoted [poems and anecdotes], or was a master of literary style, or was an Arabian tribesman. There is, therefore, no need for repetition, since when there is a demand, each can be sought in his proper place, if Allāh so wills.

Imruʾ al-Qays ibn Ḥujr[4]

He was quoted by Abū ʿAmr [al-*Shaybānī*], al-*Aṣmaʿī*, *Khālid* ibn Kulthūm, and *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb. Abū Saʿīd al-*Sukkarī* edited all of the things quoted from him, making improvements. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-*Aḥwal* also edited them, but without finishing, and Ibn al-*Sikkīt* also worked over them.[5]

Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā

A number of persons quoted his poetry, abbreviating it, their quotations differing. Al-*Sukkarī* edited it, improving its rendition.[6]

[3] For well-known translations of some of these ancient poems, see Mufaḍḍal, *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (Lyall) and Tammām, *Al-Ḥamāsah*.

[4] Only the Flügel edition includes "ibn Ḥujr" in the poet's name.

[5] The great language scholars studied early Arab poems, so as to understand the tribal dialects and gain a knowledge of unusual words in the Qur'ān. As some of these poems were heard orally or obtained in crude writing, it was necessary to work over them, edit them, and make improvements.

[6] The Tonk MS adds, "Abū al-ʿAbbās al-*Aḥwal* worked over it, but without finishing." This may be an error by the copyist, a partial repetition of the last sentence in the preceding paragraph.

The Names of the Poets Whose Poems Abū Sa'īd al-*Sukkarī* Edited

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī, whose name was al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn, was the one among the scholars who edited the poems of the poets, improving and correcting them. As I have already dealt thoroughly with him in his proper place, I shall only mention at this point what he edited, to make it available for one desiring to get hold of it. In this place I shall also record he who did as al-Sukkarī did, abridging and improving, so that, if Allāh so wills, there will be no need for repetition.

Among Those[7]

Imru' al-Qays, already mentioned.

Al-*Nābighah* al-Dhubyānī: al-*Aṣma'ī* also edited and condensed; Ibn al-*Sikkīt* and al-*Ṭūsī* improved it.

Zuhayr, already mentioned.

Al-*Ḥuṭay'ah*: edited by al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr al-*Shaybānī*, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-*Nābighah* al-Ja'dī: edited by al-Aṣma'ī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, and al-Ṭūsī.

Labīd ibn Rabī'ah: edited by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣma'ī, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Tamīm ibn Ubayy ibn Muqbil: Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], al-Aṣma'ī, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Durayd ibn al-Ṣimmah: al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī.

'Amr ibn Ma'dī Karib: Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī].

Muhalhil ibn Rabī'ah: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-*A'shā* al-Kabīr:[8] Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], al-Aṣma'ī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Ṭūsī, and Tha'lab.

A'shā Bāhilah: al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.

[7] For the first part of this listing of poets the Beatty MS has two vertical columns, with the names of the editors placed under the poets' names. The other versions have horizontal lines. Beginning with al-Kumayt which is near n. 18, the Beatty MS returns to horizontal listing. Up to this point in the list, mention of a poet's name without any editor's name following evidently means that only al-Sukkarī worked over the poems of that man. When the poet's name is followed by a colon, the name or names following the colon are those of editors who in addition to al-Sukkarī edited the material. The order of the poets is different in the different versions. Compare this list with Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*.

[8] Almost certainly Maymūn ibn Qays, called al-Kabīr ("the elder" or "the great").

Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah:[9] Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī and al-Aṣmaʿī.
Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim:[10] al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.
Al-*Zibraqān* ibn Badr: al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr [al-Shaybānī], and others in addition to them.[11]
Al-*Mutalammis*: al-Aṣmaʿī, and others, too.
Al-*Musayyab* ibn ʿAlas: a group.
Ḥumayd ibn Thawr al-Rājiz:[12] al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr [al-Shaybānī], Ibn al-Sikkīt, and al-Ṭūsī.
Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ: al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr [al-Shaybānī], Ibn al-Sikkīt, and al-Ṭūsī.
ʿ*Adī* ibn Zayd al-ʿIbādī: a group.
ʿ*Adī* ibn al-Riqāʾ al-ʿĀmilī: a group.
Suhaym ibn Wathīl: al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.
Al-*Ṭirimmāḥ*; al-Ṭūsī improved [his poetry] and a group [edited it].
ʿ*Urwah* ibn al-Ward: al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.
Shahīb ibn al-Barṣāʾ.
ʿ*Amr* ibn Shaʾs: al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn Ḥabīb.[13]
Al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī: al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Sikkīt.
Al-*Namir* ibn Tawlab:[14] al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn al-*Aʿrābī*.
Al-*Marrār* al-Faqʿasī.
Abū al-*Ṭamaḥān* al-Qaynī.
Sālim ibn Wābisah.[15]
Al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn ʿUtbah ibn Abī Lahab.
Al-*Shammākh*.
Maʿn ibn Aws.
Al-*Rāʿī* ʿUbayd.
ʿ*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān and his son, *Saʿīd* ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.
ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Qays al-*Ruqayyāt*: al-Aṣmaʿī and al-Ṭūsī.
Abū al-Aswad al-*Duʾalī*: Abū ʿAmr [al-Shaybānī].
Jirān al-ʿAwd al-Numayrī.
Al-*Ḥādirah*: Ibn *Durayd* also [edited his poetry].

[9] Flügel alone gives this name correctly.
[10] The Beatty MS has Bishr ibn Ḥāzim.
[11] Omitted by Flügel.
[12] Flügel gives al-Rabbāḥī, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS have al-Rājiz.
[13] The Beatty and Tonk MSS have Ibn Jundub, but as he was a poet rather than an editor, Flügel is probably correct in giving Ibn Ḥabīb, evidently meaning *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb.
[14] This name is given correctly by Flügel, but seems to be garbled in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.
[15] This name is correct in Flügel but garbled in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

Muḍarras ibn Rib'ī: al-Aṣma'ī and others, too.
Khuraybah:[16] a group.
Khidāsh ibn Zuhayr.
Muzāḥim al-'Uqaylī: a group.
Abū *Ḥayyah* al-Numayrī: al-Aṣma'ī.[17]
Al-*Khansā'*: Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn al-*A'rābī*, and others besides them.[18]
Al-*Kumayt*: Al-Aṣma'ī edited his poetry, Ibn al-Sikkīt made additions, and a group of scholars quoted his poetry from Ibn *Kunāsah* al-Asadī. Ibn Kunāsah quoted the poetry from Abū *Jāzī*,[19] Abū al-*Mawṣūl*, and Abū *Ṣadaqah*, who quoted it from the Banū Asad Tribe. Ibn al-Sikkīt quoted the poetry from his teacher, *Naṣrān*. Naṣrān, moreover, said, "I learned the poetry of al-Kumayt from Abū Ḥafṣ *'Umar* ibn Bukayr." Al-*Sukkarī* also edited the poetry of al-Kumayt.
Dhū al-Rummah: a group of scholars edited and quoted his poetry. It was Abū al-'Abbās al-*Aḥwal* who made an edition from all of these quotations. Al-Sukkarī also edited his poetry, adding to what was done by the group. Those who quoted the poetry of Dhū al-Rummah were al-*Ḥarīsh* ibn Numayr, who learned it from his father; *Hilāl* ibn Mayyās;[20] al-*Muntaji'* ibn Nabhān, quoted by Abū *'Ubaydah*; al-*Layth* ibn Ḍumām,[21] who learned it from Abū al-*Marḍā*; and al-*Nusayr* ibn Qāsim, who quoted Abū *Jahm* al-'Adawī.[22]
Abū al-*Najm* al-'Ijlī: Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī quoted the poetry of Abū al-Najm from *Muḥammad* ibn Shaybān ibn Abī al-Najm and from Abū al-*Azhar*, who was the son of the daughter of Abū al-Najm. Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī also edited his work, improving it.

[16] This name is written clearly in the Beatty MS. It is cited as a name in Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 276, but not as the name of a poet. Flügel gives Ḥarīthah. It is perhaps meant to be the poet *Ḥārithah* ibn Badr, but this is very uncertain.

[17] The Beatty MS inserts the word *muḥdath* ("beginner," "originator"), or *muhaddith* ("relator") at this point. It may be a mistake, or meant to be some other word.

[18] With the next name the Beatty MS again takes up its customary horizontal lines, ending the double vertical columns of poets' names (see n. 7).

[19] In the Beatty MS this name is given as Abū Hurrī, but Flügel suggests that perhaps Abū Jāzī is meant.

[20] In the Beatty MS this name is spelled Manās, probably a mistake. The name may be Mayyās, as translated, but this is too uncertain to identify and place in the Biog. Index. See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 213.

[21] This name seems to be given inaccurately in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[22] In the Arabic texts the name is given as Abū Juhmah al-'Adawī, although it is probably meant to be the name given in the translation. For al-'Adawī, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 130, l. 3.

Al-*'Ajjāj* al-Rājaz; al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī [edited his poetry].

Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj, who was one of the more recent poets: al-Aṣma'ī quoted the poetry of Ru'bah directly from him, as did also Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī and a number of other scholars. Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī edited and improved his poetry.

Al-*Akhṭal*: al-Sukkarī edited his poetry, improving it.

Al-*Farazdaq*: al-Sukkarī also edited his poetry and improved it.

Jarīr: al-Sukkarī did not edit his poetry. Those who did edit it belonged to a group of scholars, among whom were Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], al-Aṣma'ī, and Ibn al-Sikkīt. The person who quoted the poetry of Jarīr directly from him with his contentions[23] was *Miṣḥal* ibn Kasīb ibn 'Ammār ibn 'Aṭṭā ibn al-Khaṭafā. This is what is written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Kūfī*.

The contests between Jarīr and *Farazdaq* were edited by Abū *'Ubaydah* Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, while al-Aṣma'ī quoted them from another source. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn [al-Sukkarī] edited and improved them. Abū al-*Mughīth* al-Awdī also edited them, and Tha'lab quoted them from him.

The Names of Those Who Contended with *Jarīr* and Whom Jarīr Opposed

Contentions of *Jarīr* and al-*Akhṭal*; Abū 'Amr [al-*Shaybānī*] and al-*Aṣma'ī* [edited them].

Contentions of Jarīr and *'Umar* ibn Lajā': Abū 'Amr and al-Aṣma'ī [edited them].

Contentions of Jarīr and al-*Farazdaq*.[24]

The Names of the Children of Jarīr Who Were Poets, and Also of His Grandchildren[25]

Nūḥ ibn Jarīr, a poet who composed only a small amount.

Bilāl ibn Jarīr, a poet who composed only a small amount.

[23] In the Beatty MS this word is "faults" (*naqa'iṣ*), but because *Jarīr* was known for his arguing, "contentions" (*naqā'iḍ*) must be the word meant. See "Djarīr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 1024; also Jarīr, *Naqā'iḍ*.

[24] In this passage Flügel does not give the editors. The Beatty and Tonk MSS give the editors, but give the last title as simply *Contentions of Jarīr*.

[25] Jarīr had eight sons and two daughters; see Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, pp. 283–89. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

A daughter of Jarīr, whose name was ———, a poetess who composed only a small amount.
'*Aqīl* ibn Bilāl, a poet who composed only a small amount.
'*Umārah* ibn 'Aqīl, an excellent and prolific poet.

The Names of the Tribes Whose Poetry Was Edited by al-Sukkarī, as in the Handwriting of Some of the Scholars[26]

Poems of the:

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Banū Dhuhl	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 48, 49.
Banū Shaybān	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 49.
Banū Rabī'ah[27]	Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 280, 502, n. 1.
Banū Yarbū'	"Yarbu'," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1159.
Al-Ṭayyi'	"Ṭaiy," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623.
Banū Kinānah	"Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017.
Banū Dabbah	"Dabba," *Enc. Islam*, I, 884.
Fazārah	"Fazāra," *Enc. Islam*, II, 93.
Bajīlah	"Badjīla," *Enc. Islam*, I, 558.
Al-Qayn[28]	Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 317; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 51.
Banū Yashkur	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 47.
Banū Ḥanīfah	"Ḥanīfa," *Enc. Islam*, II, 260.
Banū Muḥārib	"Muḥārib," *Enc. Islam*, III, 698.
Al-Azd	"Al-Azd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 529.
Banū Nahshal	"Dārim," *Enc. Islam*, I, 924.
Banū 'Adī	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37.
Ashja'	Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 39, 40.
Banū Numayr[29]	"Numair," *Enc. Islam*, III, 951.
Banū 'Abd Wudd	Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part I, p. 851; Part II, p. 479.
Banū Makhzūm	"Makhzūm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 171.
Banū Asad	"Asad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 474.
Banū al-Ḥārith	"Ḥārith," *Enc. Islam*, II, 268.

[26] The phrase "as . . . scholars" is lacking in the Flügel edition. For the sake of convenience, the references are given in the right-hand column after the tribes to which they pertain.

[27] The Beaty MS gives this form, whereas Flügel and the Tonk MS have Abī Rabī'ah.

[28] This name is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS; Flügel gives al-Find.

[29] This form is given in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, although Flügel has Banū Tamīm.

[Tribe]	[Reference]
Banū al-Ḍibāb	"Ḍibāb," *Enc. Islam*, I, 967.
Fahm and ʿAdwān	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 38.
Muzaynah	Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 36.

Among the Poems of the Poets There Was Also:

The poetry of *Hudbah* ibn Khashram and *Ziyādah* ibn Zayd; of al-*Kumayt* ibn Maʿrūf; of al-*Ṣimmah* al-Qushayrī, edited by al-*Mufaḍḍal* ibn Salamah.[30]

[30] This arrangement is taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the other versions and which has a space between the two last names, evidently left for material to be added later.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Fourth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they wrote, including the names of the more recent poets and some of the Islāmic ones, with the amount of their poetry, up to our own time.*[1]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]:[2] At the beginning of this chapter we stated that we do not favor going into detail in connection with the poets, for we have already mentioned the scholars and men of letters who have undertaken this. We ourselves aim to present the names of the poets and the amount of poetry written by each poet among them, especially by the more recent ones, and also the variations occurring in their poems, so that whoever desires to collect books and poems can have this information and an insight into the matter. If we say that the poetry of a certain man fills ten leaves, we mean Sulaymānīyah ones, holding twenty lines, I mean on each side of the leaf.[3] We shall follow this designation in connection with all of the small and large amounts of poetry that are mentioned, giving approximate figures and basing our estimates on what we have observed during the course of years, but without verification or figures of final accuracy.

[1] Flügel inserts "up to our own time," but the other versions omit this phrase. This passage suggests that al-Nadīm wrote his account of the poets as a catalogue for the customers at his father's bookshop to use.

[2] The Tonk MS gives "the author," instead of the proper name.

[3] Sulaymānīyah was evidently the name of a kind of paper. A leaf refers to a single sheet of paper, often inscribed on both sides.

Bashshār ibn Burd

He was nicknamed al-Mura'ath[4] and was a protégé of the Banū 'Aqīl Tribe, said to be of Persian origin. No one has collected all of his poetry. It is not collected into any anthology, but I have seen about a thousand disconnected leaves of it and a number of people have compiled selections of his poems.

Ibn *Harmah*

He was Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Harmah, whose poetry by itself fills about two hundred leaves. In the edition of Abū Sa'īd al-*Sukkarī*, however, there are about five hundred leaves. Although al-*Ṣūlī* also worked over it, nothing came of it.

Abū al-'*Atāhiyah*

The situation with regards to his poetry is like that of [the poetry of] *Bashshār*. Parts of his poetry, which I saw at al-Mawṣil, filled more than twenty sections of half-size Ṭalḥī [paper], written in the handwriting of Ibn '*Ammār*, who was a scribe for the poetry of the more recent poets. But what I saw in separate portions[5] indicated that [altogether] there were thirty sections. A number of persons have collected traditions about him and his poetry. We have mentioned what they wrote as we have discussed them.

Abū *Nuwās*

He is so celebrated that it is unnecessary to go into detail about his lineage and biography. Abū Nuwās died during the civil war in the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16], before al-*Ma'mūn* advanced from Khurāsān.[6] Ibn *Qutaybah* said it was during the year one hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 814/15].

One of the persons who edited the poetry of Abū Nuwās, without alphabetical order, was *Yaḥyā* ibn al-Faḍl, who quoted and edited his work according to ten subjects. Among the scholars, there was Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn al-*Sikkīt*, who commented on his work in

[4] The Beatty MS spells this name Murghath, which is almost certainly incorrect. Cf. Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, p. 476.

[5] Only the Beatty MS contains the phrase "in separate portions."

[6] This was the struggle between the heirs of Hārūn al-*Rashīd*, who died A.D. 809.

about eight hundred leaves, arranged also according to ten subjects. Abū Sa'īd al-*Sukkarī* edited his work, too, but did not finish it. The part which he did edit was two thirds [of the whole], filling a thousand leaves.

Among the men of letters [who edited his work]:

Al-*Ṣūlī* edited his work alphabetically, omitting what was falsely ascribed to him.

'*Alī* ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī also edited his work alphabetically.

Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah wrote an account about him and compiled a selection of his poetry.

Abū *Hiffān* also wrote an account about him, with a selection of his poetry.

Ibn al-*Washshā'* Abū Ṭayyib, too, wrote an account about him and made a selection of his poetry.

Ibn '*Ammār* wrote an account about him and made a selection of his poetry, with also an epistle about his faults and plagiarisms.

In one of the books written by the family of al-*Munajjim* about the poetry of the more recent writers, there is an account about him [Abū Nuwās] with a selection of his poetry. Mention of that has already been made.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Sumaysāṭī* also wrote an account about Abū Nuwās, with a selection of his poetry, and [about] his triumph, with remarks on his excellencies.

Muslim ibn al-Walīd

He is famous, his poetry filling about two hundred leaves arranged alphabetically. Al-*Ṣūlī* edited [his poetry], and also a man known as ———, who is living in our own time.

Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah al-Rashīdī, His Family and Descendants Who Were Poets

Abū *Ḥafṣah* was the first. His name was Yazīd and he lived during the days of '*Uthmān* ibn 'Affān, with whom may Allāh be well pleased.[7] He wrote only a very small amount.

Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah lived at the time of '*Abd* al-Malik ibn Marwān and was a poet who wrote a small amount, about twenty leaves.

[7] The pious phrase is found only in Flügel.

Marwān ibn Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, surnamed Abū al-Samṭ,[8] was a poet whose poetry filled about three hundred leaves.

Abū al-Samṭ *Marwān* ibn Abī al-Janūb ibn Marwān Abū al-Samṭ was a poet whose poetry filled about one hundred and fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb was a poet: about fifty leaves.[9]

Fatūḥ[10] ibn Maḥmūd ibn Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb was a poet: about one hundred leaves.

Abū Sulaymān *Idrīs* ibn Sulaymān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah was a poet: about one hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs was a poet who wrote only a small amount.

Amīnah, the daughter of al-Walīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, was a poetess who wrote a small amount.

Abū al-Samṭ *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Samṭ was a poet: about one hundred leaves.

The Family of *Razīn* ibn Sulaymān, a Poet[11]

'Alī ibn Razīn was a poet: about fifty leaves.

Di'bil ibn 'Alī: about three hundred leaves, which were edited by al-*Ṣūlī*.[12]

Razīn ibn 'Alī was a poet: about fifty leaves.[13]

Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Di'bil was a poet. His poetry: about two hundred leaves.

Abū al-*Shīṣ* Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Razīn was the son of the paternal uncle of Di'bil and surnamed Abū Ja'far. He was a poet; his poetry: about one hundred and fifty leaves, edited by al-Ṣūlī.[14]

'Abd Allāh ibn Abī al-Shīṣ was a poet; his poetry: about seventy leaves.

[8] The Beatty and Tonk MSS misspell this name here, but give it correctly in the rest of the passage. Some authorities spell the name "al-Simṭ."

[9] The number of leaves following the poet's name here and elsewhere refers to the quantity of his poetry.

[10] The Beatty and Tonk MSS have Mutawwaj for the first name. Flügel and Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1467, n. e, give Fatūḥ, which seems to be correct. Muḥammad may be meant instead of Maḥmūd.

[11] The Flügel edition does not give this title in its complete form. The number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

[12] Flügel adds another editor, al-Khuzā'ī, and also "Among his books there were: *Groups of the Poets*; *The Unique* (*'Al-Wahīdah'*)." The Beatty and Tonk MSS omit these additions, as do also the authorities referred to in the Biog. Index under Di'bil.

[13] Flügel omits this name, but it is included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[14] The Tonk MS confuses two of the lines and the Beatty MS garbles the word for "uncle," but the Flügel version gives the passage clearly.

The Family of Abū al-*'Atāhiyah*

Mention of Abū al-'Atāhiyah has already been made, but here we shall record those among his children and grandchildren who were poets. Among them there were:

Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh, was a hermit nicknamed al-'Atāhiyah (the Foolish One). He was a poet whose poetry filled about fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.[15]

Abū Suwayd *'Abd* al-Qāwī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-'Atāhiyah was a poet whose poetry was fifty leaves.

The Family of *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn[16]

Abū al-Ḥusayn *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was seventy leaves.

Sulaymān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet: about thirty leaves.

'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir was a poet; his poetry: about one hundred leaves.

A Statement about the Quantities of the Poems, as Mentioned by *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd in *Kitāb al-Waraqah* (The Leaf)[17]

At the beginning of this section there was mentioned a group of poets recorded by Muḥammad, and here, if Allāh so wills, there begins a statement of what he recorded other than what we have already mentioned.

[15] This poet and the one following are not mentioned by Flügel but are included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

[16] This whole section is omitted by Flügel. This family was famous as the Ṭāhirid Dynasty in Khurāsān, A.D. 820–72.

[17] It is probable that al-*Nadīm* used the book of *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd when he gave accounts of the famous poets at the beginning of this section. Now he uses the same book to add the names of a group of less famous poets. This subsection up to the eleventh name, *Muḥammad* ibn Abī 'Uyaynah, is missing in the Flügel edition, perhaps due to the loss of a page in the manuscript used by Flügel.

Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj, the composer of *rajaz* verse. His poetry was quoted by al-Aṣma'ī and edited by Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-*Sukkarī* in nearly one thousand leaves.

Al-Sayyid ibn Muḥammad al-*Ḥimyarī*, one of the poets of Ahl al-Bayt, among the men of wealth. I saw two sections, about three hundred leaves including only *Al-Rātibāt*[18] by al-Sayyid. I also saw a section of about two hundred leaves containing only *Al-Kaysānīyāt*[19] of al-Sayyid. Then I saw his poetry as a collection: about five hundred leaves.

Sudayf, a protégé of the Banū al-'Abbās: thirty leaves.[20]

Ibn *Jundub* al-Hudhalī: thirty leaves.

'*Alī* ibn Thābit: one hundred and fifty leaves.

Ḥammād 'Ajrad: fifty leaves.

Abū *Nukhaylah* al-Rājiz: about fifty leaves.

Ashja' al-Sulamī: about two hundred leaves.

Salamah ibn 'Ayyāsh: about fifty leaves.

Ibn al-*Mawlā*: about thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Uyaynah: about one hundred leaves.[21]

Salm ibn 'Amr al-Khāsir: about one hundred and fifty leaves.

Sulaymān ibn al-Muhājir: about fifty leaves.

Al-*Mu'ammal* al-Raqqī: about fifty leaves.

Rabī'ah al-Raqqī: one hundred leaves.

Al-*Sarī* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān: a small amount.

The Commander of the Faithful al-*Mahdī*: ten leaves.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Janāḥ: fifty leaves.

Al-*Khalīl* ibn Aḥmad: twenty leaves.

Khalaf al-Aḥmar: fifty leaves.

Jahm ibn Khalaf: fifty leaves.

Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Muṭayr al-Asadī: about one hundred leaves.

Abū *Dulāmah* Zand ibn al-Jawn: fifty leaves.[22]

[18] This is probably a book title. It could mean "rations" or "ranks," among several other things. It is probably correct as written, although there are no consonant marks.

[19] This is also probably a book title. It refers to a sect. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, Part VII, pp. 3, 5; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 34, 58; Khallikān, II, 241, n. 2.

[20] The number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

[21] After omitting nearly a page, the Flügel account starts again at this point (Flügel, p. 162, top).

[22] Flügel omits Abū *Dulāmah*, giving instead Zayḍ ibn al-Jahm. The Beatty and Tonk MSS give both names, each with fifty leaves. As Zayd ibn al-Jahm cannot be identified, it is likely that the original was a corrected combination of the two.

Dā'ūd [ibn Salm] al-Aswad: fifty leaves.
Ibn Ḥassān:[23] fifty leaves.
Sharā'ah ibn al-Zand Būdh: seventy leaves.
'Alī ibn al-Khalīl: one hundred leaves.
Mutī' ibn Iyās: one hundred leaves.
Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī: seventy leaves.
Munqidh al-Hilālī: fifty leaves.
Wālibah ibn al-Ḥubāb: one hundred leaves.[24]
Sa'īd ibn Wahb: fifty leaves.
Abū al-*Tayyaḥān*: fifty leaves.
Ādam ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was accused of *al-zandaqah*: twenty leaves.
'Abd Allāh ibn Muṣ'ab: fifty leaves.
'Ukāshah ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad: thirty leaves.
'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak al-Khayyaṭ: thirty leaves.
Musāwir al-Warrāq: fifty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Subbah: thirty leaves.
Abū *Mālik* al-A'raj: thirty leaves.
Abū al-*Walīd* al-Zindīq: thirty leaves.
Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir; an account of him will be given in the fifth chapter. This man was a poet, most of whose poetry was *musammaṭ* and *muzdawij*.[25] He interpreted in poetry various ideas from books, as I am going to mention. Thus there were [among his books]:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); The Happening of Things; Refutation of the Magians;[26] The Proof to Confirm the Prophecy of the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace; Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Jews; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah; Refutation of the Murji'ah; Refutation of the Khawārij;[27] Refutation of Abū al-*Hudhayl*; Refutation of al-*Naẓẓām*; Refutation of Abū *Shimr*; against *Ziyād* al-Mawṣilī; against *Ḍirār* [ibn 'Amr]; against Abū *Jildah*;[28] against *Ḥafṣ* al-Fard; against *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam; against the adherents of Abū *Ḥanīfah*; Legal Interpretation by Personal

[23] In the different Arabic texts, this name is given in various ways, none of which seem to be correct. It may be Ibn Ḥassān, as given; see Biog. Index, *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit.

[24] This name and the one following are omitted by Flügel.

[25] These words denote forms of poetry.

[26] The Flügel text has *Refutation of the Grammarians.*

[27] For references to books which explain the sects, see the Glossary.

[28] Flügel gives Abū Khālidah, evidently an error.

Opinion;[29] *Aktham* ibn Ṣayfī;[30] against al-*Aṣamm*;[31] The Strife between *'Alī*, for Whom May There Be Peace, and *Ṭalḥah*, with Whom May Allāh Be Well Pleased;[32] also, Against al-Aṣamm, concerning the Imamate; Refutation of the Polytheists.

Abū al-*Shadā'id* al-Fazārī: twenty leaves.

Isḥāq ibn al-Faḍl and his brothers, *'Abd* al-Raḥmān, *Muḥammad*, and *'Abd* Allāh: a small amount.

Ghālib ibn 'Uthmān al-Hamadhānī: twenty leaves.

Abū al-*Tayyār*: fifty leaves.

Abū *'Āṣim* al-Aslamī: twenty leaves.

Al-*Dārimī* al-Madanī: thirty leaves.

'Alī ibn Ruwaym al-Kūfī: fifty leaves.

'Umar ibn al-Mubārak, a protégé of Khuzā'ah: a small amount.

Ibn *Yāmīn* al-Baṣrī: twenty leaves.

Abū *Ḥanash* al-Numayrī: thirty leaves.

The Family of Abū *Umayyah*, from [a Source] Other Than *Kitāb al-Waraqah* (The Leaf)[33]

Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah: fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Umayyah: fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah: one hundred leaves.

'Abd Allāh ibn Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Umayyah ibn Abī Umayyah: thirty leaves.[34]

Abū *Hashshīshah*, the tanbur player, who has already been mentioned and who wrote no poetry that we know of.

Abū *Ḥayyah* al-Numayrī: fifty leaves.

Abū *Najdah* al-Numayrī: thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Dhu'ayb al-'Umānī, the composer of *rajaz* verse: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Kātib (the Secretary): fifty leaves.

[29] See Glossary.

[30] Flügel has al-Ḥusayn ibn Ṣaba'ī; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

[31] This probably refers to al-*Aṣamm* Abū Bakr. But Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 119, suggests that it might refer to a heretical school of thought.

[32] The Beatty and Tonk MSS omit the pious phrases.

[33] See n. 17. The number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his poetry.

[34] The names which follow this one probably should be separated from those of the family of Abū Umayyah. There is an inch of space at this point in the Beatty MS, evidently left for material to be added later.

'Abd al-Ghaffār ibn 'Amr al-Anṣārī: a small amount.
Saqlabī ibn Muntahī al-Madīnī: a small amount.
'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr: a small amount.
Abū al-*Mu'āfī* al-Madanī: twenty leaves.
Al-*Mukhayyas* ibn Arṭāh al-A'rajī, the composer of *rajaz* verse: a small amount.[35]
Al-*Danqashī*: a small amount.
Ibn Abī al-*'Āṣiyah* al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan: a small amount.
Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan: a small amount.
Ma'n ibn Zā'idah: a small amount.
Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Qaddūs, accused of being a *zandīq*: fifty leaves.
Salamah ibn 'Abbād ibn Manṣūr: a small amount.
Abū al-Ḥajnā' *Nuṣayb*: seventy leaves.
Yaḥyā ibn Bilāl al-'Ibādī: a small amount.
Sulaymān ibn al-Walīd, the brother of *Muslim*: a small amount.
Al-*Ḥakam* ibn Qunbur al-Māzinī: fifty leaves.
Abū *Hāshim* al-Ṭālibī: a small amount.
Abū al-*Warrās* al-Khuzā'ī: a small amount.[36]

Abān al-Lāḥiqī and His Family

Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāḥiq ibn 'Ufayr was a prolific poet, most of whose poetry was *muzdawij* and *musammaṭ*.[37] He translated books of the Persians and other [peoples], which I record as follows:

Kalīlah wa-Dimnah; Balawhar and Būdāsāf; Al-Sindbād; *Mazdak*; Fastings and Retreats.[38]
'Abd al-Ḥamīd, his father, a poet: a small amount.[39]
Lāḥiq, Abū 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a poet: a small amount.
'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, the brother of Abān, a poet: a small amount.

[35] Al-Mukhayyas is taken from the Tonk MS. It is not clear in the Beatty MS, and is given as al-Muhsin in the Flügel edition. The next name, Al-Danqashī, seems to be the name intended, but none of the versions give it in exactly that form.

[36] Omitted by Flügel.

[37] *Muzdawij* and *musammaṭ* are technical terms, used for special types of poetry.

[38] The Beatty and Tonk MSS add a title which seems to be a repetition of *Mazdak*. For the first three titles, see the Glossary.

[39] Flügel gives a different series of names and confuses *ibn* with *abū* in several instances. The translation follows the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

Ḥamdān ibn Abān ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd: fifty leaves.[40]
Sahl ibn Hārūn, a poet already mentioned: a small amount.[41]
Al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn al-Aḥnaf, whose poetry al-Ṣūlī edited: about one hundred and fifty leaves.
Zanbūr al-Kātib (the Secretary), a poet: fifty leaves.
Bakr ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, a poet: one hundred leaves.
Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-Najm: fifty leaves.
Abū *Shihāb* al-Khayyāṭ: twenty leaves.
Abū al-*Hawl* al-Ḥimyarī: fifty leaves.
Dāʾūd ibn Razīn al-Wāsiṭī: thirty leaves.[42]
Kulthūm ibn ʿAmr al-ʿ*Attābī*; one hundred leaves.
Manṣūr ibn Salamah al-*Namarī*: one hundred leaves.
Abū *Qābūs* al-Shaybānī: one hundred leaves.
Yūsuf ibn Ṣayqal: fifty leaves.
Al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn Abī al-Shaʿlī: one hundred leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Sayyār al-Jurjānī: fifty leaves.
Al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn al-Ḥasan al-ʿAbbāsī: fifty leaves.
ʿ*Utbah* al-Aʿwar al-Kūfī: a small amount.
ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Ayyūb al-Taymī: one hundred leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyābah: fifty leaves.
Al-*Ḥusayn* al-Khalīʿ ibn al-Daḥḥāk: one hundred and fifty leaves.
ʿ*Amr* al-Warrāq: fifty leaves.
Yaʿqūb ibn al-Rabīʿ: seventy leaves.
Al-Faḍl al-*Raqāshī*: one hundred leaves.
Ibn al-Aswad al-*Shaybānī*: fifty leaves.
Abū al-ʿ*Udhāfir* al-ʿAmī: a small amount.
The brothers of al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī; *Aḥmad*, al-ʿ*Abbās*, and ʿ*Abd* al-Mubdī' [ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad]: a small amount.
Abū al-*Musbiʿ* al-Madanī: a small amount.
ʿ*Amr* ibn Naḍr al-ʿIsāmī: fifty leaves.
Al-*Buṭayn* ibn Umayyah al-Ḥimṣī: a small amount.

[40] Flügel seems to repeat the reference to the name ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. After this name the Beatty MS leaves an inch of space, evidently with hopes of adding other names. There is a note on the margin of this manuscript which looks like "*bin bin* ('the son of the son of') ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd," perhaps confirming the fact that Ḥamdān was a grandson. The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

[41] Sahl starts a new list, not connected with Abān. Flügel omits the name of al-Ṣūlī in the next item.

[42] Flügel confuses this name. On the lower margin of the Beatty MS a garbled note has been inserted.

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-*Faqʿasī*: one hundred leaves.
Ibn Abī *Ṣubḥ*: a small amount.[43]
Muḥammad ibn Munādhir al-Ṣubayrī: seventy leaves.
Abū al-*Naḍīr*[44] and Abū al-*Maḍraḥī*: small amounts.
Abū al-*Shamaqmaq*: seventy leaves.
Sahl ibn Ghālib al-Khazrajī: a small amount.

The Family of Abū ʿ*Uyaynah* al-Muhallabī

ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿUyaynah: one hundred leaves.
Abū ʿ*Uyaynah* ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿUyaynah: one hundred leaves.[45]
ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Mubārak al-Yazīdī: one hundred leaves.
[Hārūn] al-*Rashīd*: ten leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī: one hundred leaves.
Abū al-*Haydhām* al-Murrī: a small amount.
ʿAlī ibn Ḥamzah al-*Kisāʾī*: a small amount.
Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak al-*Yazīdī*: a small amount.
Al-*Aṣmaʿī*: a small amount.
Razīn al-ʿArūḍī: one hundred leaves.
Al-*Faḍl* ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Jaʿfar al-Khuzāʿī: a small amount.

Women: The Free and the Slaves

ʿ*Ulayyah*, the daughter of al-Mahdī: twenty leaves.
Zarzar al-*Zarqāʾ*: ten leaves.
ʿ*Inān*, the slave girl of al-Nāṭifī: twenty leaves.
Al-*Dhalfāʾ*: a small amount.
Khansāʾ: a small amount.
Malak: a small amount.
Ṣadūf: a small amount.[46]
Mukhannithah: a small amount.[47]

[43] Flügel gives Ibn Abī Shaykh.

[44] Flügel gives Abū al-Baṣīr, but the Beatty MS clearly indicates the name as translated.

[45] Flügel omits *ibn* before Muḥammad, but the Beatty MS correctly does not. The Beatty MS leaves an inch of space between this name and the one which follows it, evidently for material to be added later. ʿAbd Allāh begins a new list, unconnected with the family of Abū ʿUyaynah.

[46] This name is omitted by Flügel and carelessly written in the Beatty MS. Ṣadūf is a guess.

[47] Flügel gives a different form, but in the Beatty MS the name might be as given, or Mukhannathah. This and the name following cannot be identified.

Mudām: a small amount.
Khashf: a small amount.
ʿIlm: a small amount.
Raym: a small amount.
Sakan: a small amount.
Danānīr, the slave girl of Ibn Kunāsah: a small amount.[48]
Faḍl al-Shāʿir: twenty leaves.
Baydūn al-Khādim: at least twenty leaves.
ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Saʿīd al-Musāḥiqī: fifty leaves.
Al-*Ḍamrī*: a small amount.
Abū Faraʿūn al-*Shāshī*: thirty leaves.
ʿAmr al-Khārakī: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq al-Khārijī: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-*Bahdalī*: thirty leaves.
Abū al-*Duhmān*: a small amount.
Abū al-Baydāʾ al-*Riyāḥī*: thirty leaves.
Abū al-Rumayḥ *Jundub* ibn Sūdab: a small amount.
Maymūn al-Ḥaḍramī: a small amount.
Al-*Mustahall* ibn al-Kumayt: fifty leaves.
Ismāʿīl ibn Jarīr al-Ḥarīrī (al-Jarīrī): a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn Kunāsah al-Asadī: fifty leaves.
ʿAbd al-Qadūs and *ʿAbd* al-Khāliq, the two sons of ʿAbd al-Waḥīd ibn al-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr: small amounts.
ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥuwayy [al-Sukkarī]: a small amount.
Ṭālib and *Ṭālūt*, the two sons of Azhar: small amounts.
Abū al-Ḍilaʿ al-*Sindī*: thirty leaves.
Al-*Munajjim* al-Rāsibī: thirty leaves.
Tawbah al-Baṣrī: a small amount.
Maʿqil ibn Tawq: a small amount.
ʿAbbād ibn al-Mumazzaq: fifty leaves.
Ismāʿīl [ibn Muʿammar] al-Qurāṭīsī: seventy leaves.

[48] In the Beatty MS there is a space below Danānīr, and below the space, the two names which follow in the translation, Faḍl al-Shāʿir and Baydūn al-Khādim, are written together on the same line. There are two possible interpretations of this arrangement. The two names below the space may begin a new list of poets, this one male, since Baydūn was a man and Faḍl al-Shāʿir may refer to some male poet such as al-*Faḍl* ibn al-ʿAbbās. But it is more likely that the space was left to be filled in later with the names of other women poetesses, the list to be terminated with the name of the famous poetess *Faḍl* al-Shāʿirah. If this is the case, then the manuscript is written carelessly at this point, for nothing is inserted to indicate the end of the list of female poets and the beginning, with Baydūn, of a new list of male poets.

Abū Ya'qūb al-*Khuraymī*: two hundred leaves.
'*Alī* ibn Jabalah al-'Akawwak: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Ḥāzim al-Bāhilī: seventy leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Bashīr: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.[49]
Al-*Qāsim* ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.
'*Awf* ibn Muḥallim: thirty leaves.
Al-*Ghassānī* Abū Muḥammad: a small amount.
Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Ṭalḥah al-Qurashī: a small amount.
'*Alī* ibn Abī Kathīr: fifty leaves.
Al-'*Ashannaq* al-Ḍabbī: fifty leaves.
Muḥammad and Isḥāq, the two sons of Ibrāhīm al-*Fazārī*: small amounts.
Waraqah al-Asadī: a small amount.
Abū *Dulaf* al-'Ijlī: one hundred leaves.
Ma'qil ibn 'Īsā, the brother of Abū Dulaf: a small amount.
Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-*Mawṣilī*]: fifty leaves.
Al-*Ma'mūn*: twenty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḍabbī: thirty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-'Uqaylī: a small amount.
Abū *Ṣa'ṣa'ah* al-Ḍarīr al-Kūfī: a small amount.
Abū Bakr al-'*Arūdī*: fifty leaves.
Al-'*Alā'* ibn 'Āṣim al-Ghassānī: a small amount.
Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Bāhilī: a small amount.
Abū al-'*Amaythal*: one hundred leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Hishām: fifty leaves.
'*Alī* ibn Hishām: fifty leaves.
Abū Ḥafṣ al-*Shiṭranjī*: fifty leaves.
Abū al-*Yanbughī*: ten leaves.
Ja'far ibn 'Affān al-Ṭā'ī, one of the poets of the Shī'ah, whose poetry amounted to two hundred leaves.
Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Sukūnī: a small amount.
Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥajjāj: a small amount.
Al-*Qāsim* ibn Sayyār al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Ibn Abī al-*Zawā'id*: fifty leaves.
Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-Salām: a small amount.
Abū *Daffāfah* Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr al-Baṣrī: a small amount.
Al-*Marāghī*: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn Abī Badr al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.

[49] This man and his brother, who follows, were important secretaries serving al-*Ma'mūn*.

Abū *Ziyād* al-Kilābī: thirty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Maslimah al-Ḥiṣnī: one hundred leaves.
Isḥāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ash'athī: a small amount.[50]
Abū *Rāsib* al-Bajlī: fifty leaves.
Abū *Mūsā* al-Makfūf: fifty leaves.
Al-*Akhfash* al-Baṣrī: a small amount.
Al-*Ḥirmāzī*: fifty leaves.
Abū Hammām *Rawḥ* ibn 'Abd al-A'la: fifty leaves.
'*Aṭā'* ibn Aḥmad al-Madīnī: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Jawālīqī: fifty leaves.
Al-'*Addā'* al-Ḥanafī al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.
Sa'īd ibn *Ḍamḍam* al-Kilābī: fifty leaves.
Abū '*Adnan* al-Sulamī: thirty leaves.
Ismā'īl ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī: fifty leaves.
Manṣūr al-Hindī, the pupil (servant) of *Ḥafṣuwayh*: a small amount.
Abū '*Imrān* al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.
Abū Shunbul (Shanbul) al-'*Uqaylī*: a small amount.
Al-*Haytham* ibn Maẓhar al-Fā'fā' (the Stutterer): a small amount.
Al-*Faḍl* ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī: one hundred leaves.

The Family of al-*Mu'adhdhal*

Al-*Mu'adhdhal* ibn Ghaylān ibn Muḥārib ibn al-Buḥtarī al-'Abdī, surnamed Abū 'Amr: fifty leaves.
'*Abd* al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal, a poet: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Aḥmad, '*Īsā*, and '*Abd* Allāh, poets already mentioned: small amounts.[51]
Abū *Ḥizām* al-'Uklī: fifty leaves.[52]
Muḥammad al-*Baydhaq*: thirty leaves.
Al-'*Arrāf* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.
Al-*Khaṭṭāb* ibn al-Mu'allā: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Kalb al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Najjāḥ: fifty leaves.
'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī: thirty leaves.[53]

[50] The final name is given as al-Shī'ī in the Beatty MS and differently by Flügel, but it is evidently meant to be al-Ash'athī.

[51] The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not include the words "already mentioned." After this name there is an inch of space in the Beatty MS, evidently left for material to be added later. Apparently the names which follow begin a new list, not connected with the family of al-Mu'adhdhal.

[52] Flügel gives variations for this name and the two which follow; the translation follows the Beatty MS.

[53] This was very likely '*Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khayyāṭ (see Biog. Index), but may have been some less important author.

Yūsuf ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Abān al-Qusayrī: a small amount.[54]
Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.
Al-Jaml al-Miṣrī [al-*Ḥusayn*] ibn ʿAbd al-Salām: fifty leaves.
Al-*Khalīl* ibn Jamāʿah al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.
Hishām ibn al-Akhḍār al-Iyādī al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.
Isḥāq ibn Muʿādh al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mudabbir: seventy leaves.
Abū *Saʿd* al-Makhzūmī: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Al-*Kisāʾī* ʿAlī ibn Ḥamzah: ten leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Wuhayb: fifty leaves.
ʿ*Umārah* ibn ʿAqīl: three hundred leaves.
Farwah ibn Ḥumayḍah al-Asadī: fifty leaves.
Abū al-ʿ*Āliyah* al-Shāmī: fifty leaves.
Muknif Abū Salamah al-Madanī: a small amount.
Abū *Tammām* Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ṭāʾī, among whose books there were: Al-Ḥamasah; Selections from the Poetry of the Poets; Selections from the Poems of the Tribes; The Great Poets (al-fuḥūl).[55]

What amounted to two hundred leaves of his poetry remained unpublished until the days of al-*Ṣūlī*, who edited his work alphabetically in nearly three hundred leaves. ʿ*Alī* ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī edited it too, and improved it according to subjects rather than alphabetically.[56]

ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUtbī: fifty leaves.
ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿĀʾishī: fifty leaves.
Isḥāq ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī: seventy leaves.
Abū *Nahshal*, Abū *Naḍīr*, and *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥumayd: small amounts.
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Dāʾūd al-Kātib: seventy leaves.
His brothers, *Ḥamdūn* and *Dāʾūd*, poets: each one fifty leaves.
Al-*Buḥturī*, al-Walīd Abū ʿUbādah, whose poetry was not arranged alphabetically until the time of al-*Ṣūlī*, who edited and arranged it according to the alphabet. ʿ*Alī* ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī also edited it, improving it according to subjects. Among his books there were: Al-Ḥamāsah, similar to "Al-Ḥamāsah" of Abū Tammām; Meaning of the Poets (Maʿānī al-Shuʿarāʾ).[57]

[54] Flügel has Yūsuf ibn al-Muʿtazz.
[55] Only the Flügel edition includes these four titles.
[56] There is an inch of space at this point in the Beatty MS.
[57] These anthologies are not mentioned in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.

Ibn al-*Rūmī*, ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās.[58] His poetry was not arranged alphabetically, but al-*Musayyabī*[59] quoted it and then al-Ṣūlī edited and arranged it alphabetically. Abū al-*Ṭayyib*, the copyist of Ibn *ʿAbdūs*, collected it from all of the manuscripts, adding what each of them contained, without reference to alphabetical order, to the extent of about one thousand verses.

Mithqal, the pupil of Ibn al-*Rūmī*: one hundred leaves. *ʿAlī* ibn al-ʿAṣb, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan al-Milḥī, quoted Ibn al-Rūmī from Mithqal.[60]

Ibn al-Ḥājib, a pupil of Ibn al-Rūmī: one hundred leaves.[61]

Aḥmad ibn Abī Fanan al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.

Khālid al-Kātib, whose poetry was edited and arranged alphabetically by al-Ṣūlī: two hundred leaves.

The Names of the Poets Who Were Secretaries, as Mentioned by Ibn *Ḥājib* al-Nuʿmān in His Book in Which He Repeated What Came from the Book of *Muḥammad* ibn Dāʾūd[62]

Al-*Qāsim* ibn Ṣabīḥ: fifty leaves.

Yaḥyā ibn Khālid: a small amount.

Al-*Faḍl* ibn Yaḥyā: a small amount.

ʿAlī ibn ʿUbaydah al-Rayḥānī: a small amount.

Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā: a small amount.

Al-*Fayḍ* ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ: a small amount.

Yūsuf ibn al-Qāsim: fifty leaves.

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: a small amount.

Yaʿqūb ibn Nūḥ: fifty leaves.

Ibn al-*Muqaffaʿ*: a small amount.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ṣabāḥ al-Madāʾinī: fifty leaves.

Al-*Faḍl* ibn al-Rabīʿ: a small amount.

[58] Flügel adds a name evidently meant to be a transliteration of the Greek form for George.

[59] This name is given clearly in the Beatty MS, but is not made clear by Flügel.

[60] This reference to ʿAlī is given by Flügel but not by the other versions.

[61] This might be meant for Ibn *Ḥājib*, mentioned in the Biog. Index, as he was interested in literature and a boy when Ibn al-*Rūmī* was alive, but it is more likely a less important person.

[62] Some of the following government officials who wrote poetry were men of secondary importance, whose names cannot be identified. The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

Yaʿqūb ibn al-Rabīʿ: thirty leaves.
Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl: a small amount.
Al-*Faḍl* ibn Sahl: a small amount.
Zunbūr ibn al-Faraj: fifty leaves.
Yūsuf Laqwah: fifty leaves.
Sandī ibn Ṣadaqah: fifty leaves.
Sahl ibn Hārūn: fifty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Bakr: fifty leaves.
Ḥamzah ibn Khuzaymah al-Kātib: a small amount.
Ḥammād ibn Najjāḥ al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.[63]
Al-*Qāsim* ibn Yūsuf, the brother of *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Yazdād: a small amount.[64]
Maslamah ibn Salm: a small amount.
Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-Najm: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Shuʿayb: a small amount.
Dāʾūd ibn Jahwar: an anthology.
Abū al-Ḥārith *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥarrānī: an anthology of fifty leaves.
Abū Jaʿfar *Aḥmad* ibn Abī ʿUthmān al-Kātib: thirty leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī: twenty leaves, which al-*Ṣūlī* edited.
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt: fifty leaves.
Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wahb: one hundred leaves.
Sulaymān ibn Wahb: a small amount.
Abū ʿUthmān *Saʿīd* ibn Ḥumayd al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Saʿīd ibn Wahb, not from the family of Wahb: fifty leaves.
Mūsā ibn ʿAbd al-Malik: twenty leaves.
Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Rajāʾ ibn Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk: fifty leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Dāʾūd: seventy leaves.
ʿ*Amr* ibn Masʿadah and his brother *Mujāshi*ʿ: both together, fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn al-Mudabbir, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan: an anthology of fifty leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mudabbir: a small amount.
Abū al-Jahm *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAlī al-*Baṣīr*: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Ṭayyib ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-*Ḥarrānī*: twenty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Abī Salamah, the secretary of al-ʿAyyāsh:[65] fifty leaves.

[63] This is a known poet. The Beatty MS appears to have the name Khabbāz ibn Janāh, which is unidentified.

[64] Flügel gives "ibn Dāʾūd" instead of "ibn Yazdād," probably mistakenly.

[65] Flügel gives al-ʿAbbās, but the Beatty MS has al-ʿAyyāsh. This official cannot be identified.

Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-*Balādhurī*: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿ*Aṭawī*: one hundred leaves.
Jād al-Kātib:[66] a small amount.
Sulaymān ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht: fifty leaves.
Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl: a small amount.
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Zaydūnah[67] al-Kātib: thirty leaves.
Abū Ḥakīmah *Rāshid* ibn Isḥāq al-Kātib: seventy leaves.
Abu *Hārūn* ibn Muḥammad, the secretary of al-*Ḥasan* ibn Zayd: fifty leaves.
Harthamah ibn al-Khalīʿ: a small amount.
Abū Jaʿfar *Muḥammad* ibn Jaʿfar al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā al-Madāʾinī: fifty leaves.
ʿ*Alī* ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm: thirty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāʾūd al-ʿAbartāʾī:[68] fifty leaves.
Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn Hārūn ibn Mukhlid ibn Abān: a small amount.
Abū ʿAlī *Yaḥyā* ibn Hārūn ibn Mukhlid al-Kātib: a small amount.[69]
Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā, whose poetry I have read written in the handwriting of ʿ*Alī* ibn Yaʿqūb:[70] a small amount.
Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdād: thirty leaves.
ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Naṣr al-Kātib: thirty leaves.
ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Yazīd: a small amount.
Al-*Qāsim* ibn Yūsuf al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Khālid al-Riyāshī: a small amount.
Ghālib ibn Aḥmad, known as al-Faṭin (the Intelligent One): thirty leaves.
ʿ*Umar* ibn ʿUthmān ibn Istidbār, one of the poets of Egypt:[71] fifty leaves.
ʿ*Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn, one of the poets of Egypt and a secretary: thirty leaves.
Sahl ibn Muḥammad, a secretary and an Egyptian: fifty leaves.
ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.

[66] Flügel gives Janān, but the Beatty MS gives Jād. It is possible that there is an *n*, *b*, or *y* between the *j* and the *ā*. The name has not been identified.

[67] Zaydūnah is taken from Flügel; the Tonk and Beatty MSS do not make the name clear enough to identify it.

[68] Flügel divides this name into two names, but the Beatty MS is evidently correct in giving the form indicated here.

[69] This name is omitted by Flügel. Beatty gives the name without the *ibn* before Hārūn.

[70] The Tonk and Beatty MSS omit "written in the handwriting of."

[71] Istidbār is suggested in the Beatty MS. It was perhaps the name of the grandfather of ʿUmar.

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt: a small amount.
Abū al-Saqr *Ismāʿīl* ibn Bulbul: a small amount.
Abū al-Faḍl *Aḥmad* ibn Sulaymān ibn Wahb: fifty leaves.
Ḥamd ibn Mihrān al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Dāʾūd al-Yaʿqūbī: fifty leaves.
ʿUbayd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaʿqūb, his brother: a small amount.
Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Khiyār al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAlawīyah al-Iṣbahānī al-Kātib: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-*Yūsufī*: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Jarjarāʾī, who though blind was a secretary: fifty leaves.[72]
Abū al-Ḥusayn *ʿAbd* al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAmr al-Shalmaghānī: one hundred leaves.
Abū ʿAlī *Aḥmad* ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Mādharāʾī: fifty leaves.
Maymūn ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kātib: twenty leaves.
ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the sister of Abū al-*Wizīr*: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥikmah: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, known as Daydān: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Jarjarāʾī, secretary and vizier: thirty leaves.
ʿĪsā ibn Farrukhān-shāh al-Kātib: a small amount.
Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl *Naṭṭāḥah*: fifty leaves.
ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn Manṣūr ibn *Bassām*: one hundred leaves.
Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-*Nāshī*: fifty leaves.
Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭālaqānī: fifty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Ghālib, [nicknamed] *Bāḥ*, al-Iṣbahānī: seventy leaves.
Abū al-Qāsim *Jaʿfar* ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān, an Egyptian, the secretary of the Ṭūlūnīyah: seventy leaves.[73]
Abū Muḥammad al-*ʿAbbās* ibn al-Faḍl al-Fāsī: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Shīrzād al-Kātib: thirty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Kātib, known as *Badhinjānah*: a small amount.
Mūḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Khiyār:[74] fifty leaves.

[72] Flügel omits "though blind," but the Tonk and Beatty MSS include it.

[73] The Ṭūlūnīyah, the dynasty of *Aḥmad* ibn Ṭūlūn, ruled Egypt A.D. 868–905; see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 452–57.

[74] Flügel gives Ḥayyān instead of Khiyār, evidently a mistake. The name Sayyār in the next line is not clearly written and may not be correct.

ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sayyār al-Mādharā'ī: fifty leaves.
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭālib al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.
Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar, known as Ibn al-Khansā': thirty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Fayyāḍ: an anthology of fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAlī *ʿAbd* al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĪsā al-Hamadhānī, the secretary of *Bakr* [ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz]: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mutawakkil, a resident of Egypt: fifty leaves.
Abū Saʿīd *ʿAbd* al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī al-*Baghl*: fifty leaves.
Abū Muḥammad al-*Qāsim* ibn Muḥammad al-Karkhī: fifty leaves.
Abū Muqātil *Naḍr* ibn al-Munqaḍī al-Daylamī: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥusayn *Aḥmad* ibn Khālid al-Mādharā'ī: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥusayn *Muḥammad* ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mādharā'ī: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAlī *ʿĀṣim* ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib: thirty leaves.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq al-Mādharā'ī: a small amount.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Ḥakam* ibn Maʿbad al-Iṣbahānī, whose poetry we have not seen.
Abū ʿAlī *Muḥammad* ibn ʿArūs al-Kātib: thirty leaves.
Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn *Thawābah*: twenty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn *Thawābah*: a small amount.
Al-*Qāsim* ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān: a small amount.
Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn al-*Furāt*: a small amount.
Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Nawbakhtī: two hundred leaves.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Aḥmad* ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Nawbakhtī: one hundred leaves.
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Sīrāfī: one hundred leaves.[75]
Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah: one hundred leaves.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Mufajjaʿ* al-Baṣrī: about two hundred leaves.[76]
Abū al-Faḍl al-*ʿAbbās* ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār: fifty leaves.
Abū al-Qāsim *ʿAlī* ibn Muḥammad al-Tustarī: a small amount.
Abū al-Ṭayyib *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī al-Bukhārī: one hundred leaves.
Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rashīd al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.

[75] Different versions give different forms for this name. Cf. Ibn al-*Ṣayrafī*.
[76] Flügel has "about one hundred leaves."

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghālib ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh Bāḥ al-Isbahani: fifty leaves.
Abū al-*Qāsim* ibn Abī al-ʿAlāʾ: fifty leaves.
Ḥamdūn ibn Ḥātim al-Anbārī: a small amount.
Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyāʾ ibn Yaḥyā al-Uqlīdisī: a small amount.
Abū ʿAlī al-*Ḥasan* ibn Yūsuf, unknown to us.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Aḥmad* ibn Kāmil: a small amount.
Abū ʿAlī *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Fayyāḍ: a small amount.
Abū Ghālib *Muqātil* ibn al-Naḍr: a small amount.
Abū Jaʿfar *Muḥammad* ibn Saʿīd al-Jarjarāʾī: fifty leaves.[77]
Junādah: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAlī *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAlī ibn Muqlah: thirty leaves.
Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib: a small amount.[78]
Abū al-Ḥusayn *Saʿīd* ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī, a Christian and a secretary: one hundred leaves.

This ends what was contained in the book of Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn *Ḥājib* al-Nuʿmān al-Kātib from among the names of the secretaries who were poets and from whose poetry he made selections.

The Names of a Group of Recent Poets Who Were Not Secretaries and [Lived] after Three Hundred [A.D. 912/13] in This Our Time

Mudrik ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī: two hundred leaves.[79]
Abū Bakr ibn al-*ʿAllāf*. Some of his relatives edited his poetry, with traditions about him, with something from those who praised him. The amount [of his poetry] was four hundred leaves.
Al-Tujībī[80] Abū Bakr: one hundred leaves.
Al-*ʿAbdūsī*, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḍarīr: one hundred leaves.[81]

[77] The translation follows the Beatty MS, as Flügel gives variations with the last two parts of the name.

[78] Here the Beatty MS is so carelessly written that the translation follows Flügel.

[79] The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.

[80] Al-Tujībī is taken from Flügel. In the Beatty MS it cannot be deciphered, but is obviously something quite different, and so it is not included in the Biog. Index. After this name the translation follows the Beatty MS; the order of sequence in the Flügel edition is different.

[81] Flügel introduces the name Abū al-Ḥasan Maṭbuʿ before al-ʿAbdūsī, but omits al-Ḍarīr.

Al-*Qurāṭīsī*, whose name was ———: three hundred leaves.

Abū *Ja'far* al-Ḍarīr,[82] whose name was ———: two hundred leaves.

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣilī, the jurist: two hundred leaves.[83]

Kushājim, a descendant of al-*Sandī* ibn Shāhik: one hundred leaves. He [wrote] a book, *Training of a Court Companion*.[84]

Al-*Iskāfī*, whose name was ———: two hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad[85] al-Ṣanawbarī, surnamed Abū Bakr, one of the people of Antioch, whose poetry al-*Ṣūlī* edited and arranged alphabetically: two hundred leaves.

——— Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, one of the people of Antioch: one hundred leaves.[86]

Abū al-Mu'taṣim *'Āṣim* ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī, whose poetry was edited by Abū *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥallāb. [He lived] before three hundred.[87]

Ibn Abī Zur'ah al-*Dimashqī*, [who lived] before three hundred [A.D. 912/13]: one hundred and fifty leaves.[88]

Al-*Khubz* Aruzzī, whose name was Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma'mūn[89] and who was a poet of al-Baṣrah, refined in expression, but not expert in the technique of poetic composition. He edited and arranged his own poetry alphabetically, but this [editing] was ascribed to al-*Ṣūlī*: about three hundred leaves.

Abū al-'Abbās al-*Nāmī*, whose poetry up to the time when he died was one hundred and fifty leaves. Abū *Aḥmad* al-Ḥallāb edited it.[90]

Abū *Manṣūr* ibn Abī Barrāk, the teacher of al-*Sarī* ibn Aḥmad al-Kindī, was an excellent poet. It is said that al-Sarī stole and plagiarized his poetry. The amount of it which I have seen is about two hundred leaves.

[82] Flügel adds "ibn Jilbāb" to this name.

[83] Flügel gives the name as Abū Ja'far Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Jahān.

[84] This book title is not found in the Beatty MS.

[85] The Beatty MS omits these two first name elements.

[86] The first part of the name was probably al-*Badīhī*. This man was a contemporary poet; see Ziriklī, Part V, p. 143.

[87] Flügel omits " 'Āṣim ibn Muḥammad," but includes "three hundred leaves." The Beatty MS has "before three hundred. [A.D. 912/13]."

[88] The Flügel text gives "killed" instead of "before."

[89] The Beatty MS gives only the two first elements; the other part of the name is in the Flügel edition.

[90] Flügel gives the editor's name incorrectly and adds at the end of this sentence the name al-Khāli'. Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Part II, p. 292, calls the poet al-Khalī' al-Nāmī.

Al-*Khabbāz* al-Baladī, whose name was Muḥammad ibn ———, surnamed Abū Bakr. Al-*Khālidīyān* edited his poetry at al-Mawṣil, making it excellent:[91] about three hundred leaves.

Al-*Shayẓamī*, whose name was ———, wandered about and then attached himself to *Sayf* al-Dawlah. Before he died he edited his own poetry, which amounted to about five hundred leaves.

Abū Ṭāhir *Sandūk* ibn Ḥabībah al-Wāsiṭī, whose poetry is well edited: five hundred leaves.[92]

Al-*Salāmī*, one of the people of al-Baṭīḥah:[93] less than two hundred leaves.

Al-*Maghnam* al-Miṣrī, one of the poets of Sayf al-Dawlah. His name was Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Sāmī al-Sha'bānī. He is not remembered for what he wrote, except for a poem "*Al-Dalālah*": less than two hundred leaves.

Al-*Babbaghā'*, surnamed Abū al-Faraj, was 'Abd al-Waḥīd ibn Naṣr al-Shāmī, a poet of natural genius who fell in with *Sayf* al-Dawlah and wrote epistles and poetry: three hundred leaves.

Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-*Mutanabbī*, whose fame makes it unnecessary to say much about him. He was from al-Kūfah and became attached to Sayf al-Dawlah. The poetry composed for him [Sayf al-Dawlah] became famous: three hundred leaves.

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn fell in with Sayf al-Dawlah. His books: ———.

Abū *Naṣr* ibn Nubātah al-Tamīmī was one of the poets of *Sayf* al-Dawlah. He died after four hundred [A.D. 1009/10] in hiding: about four hundred leaves.

Ibn *Zamkūn*, Abū ———, al-Mawṣilī, was skillful in connection with satirical poetry, going deep into the meaning. His poetry was about three hundred leaves.

Al-Khālidīyān, Abū Bakr and Abū 'Uthmān, *Muḥammad* and *Sa'īd*, the two sons of Hāshim, were from a village of the district of al-Mawṣil, known as al-Khālidīyāh.[94] Both of them were poets and men of

[91] In the Arabic, simply the word "excellent" is inserted in the margin of the Beatty MS and may be intended to go with the poet who follows.

[92] This poet and the seven who follow are not mentioned in the Beatty MS. As they lived quite late in the tenth century, their names were evidently added to the source from which Flügel obtained his information.

[93] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 668, for al-Baṭīḥah.

[94] Al-Khālidīyān is in the dual form, and the names which follow belong to these two. In other words, the two men from al-Khālidīyāh were *Muḥammad* ibn Hāshim, surnamed Abū Bakr, and *Sa'īd* ibn Hāshim, surnamed Abū 'Uthmān. Flügel gives al-Khālidīyān as a separate heading.

letters, who memorized [verses] and were quick with extemporaneous recital. One of these two, Abū Bakr, whose capacity for memorization and impromptu recitation, and whose ability to commit to memory made me marvel, said to me, "I retain in my memory a thousand passages, each one about one hundred leaves in length."[95]

But in spite of all this, if they admired anything they plagiarized it, whether the author was alive or dead, not because of inability to compose poetry, but because that was their nature. Abū 'Uthmān edited his own and his brother's poetry before he died and I believe that a young man known as Rishā'[96] also edited it [to the extent of] about one thousand leaves. Abū Bakr died ——— and Abū 'Uthmān died ———. Among their books there were:

Ḥamāsah, poetry of the recent [authors]; Traditions of al-Mawṣil; about traditions of Abū *Tammām* and the beauties of his poetry; about traditions of the poetry of Ibn al-*Rūmī*; Selections from the Poetry of al-*Buḥturī*; Selections from the Poetry of *Muslim* ibn al-Walīd.

Al-*Sarī* ibn Aḥmad ibn ——— al-Kindī[97]

He came from al-Mawṣil, and was a poet with natural genius, but he plagiarized a great deal. He had agreeable diction and good presentation. He was versatile in using similes and descriptions, which he attempted even when they lacked pleasing appearance and form. The only art in which he did well was the recitation of poetry. Before his death he edited his poetry [to the extent of] three hundred leaves. Later more was added and some of the recent men of letters have edited and arranged it [his poetry] alphabetically.

Abū al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Najīḥ

His name was ——— and he was one of the people of Baghdād, but for a long time he resided at al-Mawṣil. He was a theologian and a poet, and before his death edited his own poetry: about five hundred leaves.

[95] The Beatty MS gives clearly "said to me." Al-*Nadīm* probably met him at al-Mawṣil. For data about this period, see Khallikān, I, 557–59; Ziriklī, Part III, p. 128, article on al-Sarī.

[96] This name is not in the Biog. Index. He was probably a pupil or transcriber.

[97] Flügel gives this name and the names of the two poets who follow as separate headings, but the Beatty and Tonk MSS include these names in the long list of recent poets which precedes.

Al-*Tamīmī* Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad

He was from the people of Baghdād. He lived at al-Mawṣil and edited his own poetry: about five hundred leaves.[98]

From among the Syrian Poets Who Were Earlier than These [Poets Just Mentioned]

Abū al-Jūd al-*Rasʿanī*, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad and whose poetry amounted to about one hundred leaves.

Abū *Miskin* al-Bardhaʿī, a modern poet, who wandered among the towns. He was an excellent poet, whose poetry amounted to about one hundred leaves.

Al-*Khalīʿ* al-Raqqī, also called al-Ḥarrānī, although he was not from that region. His name was Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ghamz[99] and he was an excellent poet, who inserted into his poetry homonyms (*al-tajnīs*)[100] and contrasts (*al-taṭbīq*), rarely having a verse without them. His poetry was not edited, but it amounted to [about] three hundred leaves. It is said that some of the men of letters of our own time have edited and arranged it alphabetically and that Abū Muḥammad al-*Muhallabī* has made a selection of a portion of it.[101]

Poems Recited about the Unusual (Strange)

Poem of al-*Sharqī* ibn al-Qaṭāmī, who has already been mentioned; poem of *Yaḥyā* ibn al-Nujaym; poem of al-*Abzārī*, whose name was ———; poem of *Shubayl* ibn ʿAzrah, who has already been mentioned; poem of *Mūsā* ibn Ḥazanbal; poem of al-*Anbārī*.[102]

[98] From the manuscripts available, it appears that when he wrote his original manuscript, al-*Nadīm* omitted many of the well-known tenth-century poets from the list of recent poets, which ends here in the Beatty and Tonk MSS. This fact makes it clear that he must have completed his book before the end of the tenth century. It indicates also that the Beatty MS was an early copy of the original. The extra material in the Flügel edition which is included in the translation shows that some copyist in later times added names to the original.

[99] The name is lacking in the Beatty MS.

[100] After this point a group of pages is missing in the Tonk MS. The text of the Tonk MS resumes in Chap. V, almost immediately after the Beatty MS ends, although at least one page must have been lost from the manuscript between the end of the Beatty MS and the resumption of the Tonk. See Chap. V, sect. 1, nn. 237, 238.

[101] The Beatty MS omits the reference to al-Muhallabī.

[102] This name is in the Beatty MS but not the Flügel edition.

Poems with the *Hamzah*[103]

Poem of Ibn *Harmah*, beginning "Inna Sulaymā, Allāh will watch over her." Poem of *Ḥafṣ* ibn Abī al-Nu'mān al-Umawī, one of the Banū al-Qirrīyah,[104] which most of the transmitters quote as belonging to Abū *Ṣa'ṣa'ah* al-'Āmirī. Its beginning is, "She watched the flashing of the lightning as it glittered." Because of its diction the people preferred this saying to the poem of Ibn Harmah, even though Ibn Harmah came before him.[105]

What Has Been Composed about the Cooing of Pigeons and about Their Breeds

Poem of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Mūsā al-*Nahrutīrī* about the breeds of pigeons. Book: Sayings of the Arabs about the Conversations of Pigeons, by Ibn *Rabī'ah* al-Baṣrī;[106] Species, by *Thābit*; Traditions of the Arabs and What They Have Said about the Lamentations of Pigeons and the Cooing of Birds.

Mention of Books about Literary Pursuits Which I Have Happened Upon, but Which Are Composed by Persons Whose Status Is Not Known after Careful Investigation[107]

Pardon and Expiation, by Abū al-Ḥusayn *Aḥmad* ibn Najīḥ ibn Abī Ḥanīfah; Pronunciations (Dialects), by *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib; Pardon and Forgiveness, by Abū 'Āṣim al-*Nabīl*; He Who Composed a Verse and Was Nicknamed for It, and He Who Composed

[103] Immediately after this heading there is a gap in the Beatty MS where some material has been lost. The manuscript begins again with the title of the fifth chapter. In the paragraph which follows, the poems of Ibn Harmah and Ḥafṣ are mentioned together because the line from Ibn Harmah's poem begins with the letter *hamzah*, and the line from Ḥafṣ ends with *hamzah*. Flügel misspells the name Ibn Harmah.

[104] For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 206; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 202.

[105] After this paragraph Flügel gives a title with the word *qaṣīdah* ("poem") written four times, but without an author or description to accompany it.

[106] This may be an error, meant for the poet *Rabī'ah* al-Baṣrī himself.

[107] This heading and what follows to the end of the chapter are taken from Flügel, as are the two preceding paragraphs. This material may never have been in the Beatty MS or may be in the lost pages. As it does not seem to go with the accounts of the poets, it is likely that some scribe inserted it into another copy of the book at a later period, after the Beatty MS had been completed.

a Verse and Received from It His Name of Descent, by al-*Kindī*;[108] Excellence and Eloquence, by Ibn al-Ḥarūn;[109] Excellence and Eloquence, by Ibn Abī al-'*Awādhil*; Gifts, by al-*Jundaysābūrī*; Poems Selected from the Sayings of the Islāmic Poets, by Abū al-Faḍl *Ja'far*;[110] Songs of al-*Quṭrabbulī*, by *Sa'd* al-Bāri'; Witnesses, by Ibn *Khashnām*; Connections, by Abū al-*Jahm*; The Disposition of Man, by Abū *Mālik*; History, by *Sinān*;[111] Perfume, by al-*Shiṭranjī*; Translation; Agriculture of the Rūm (Greeks, Byzantines), by '*Alī* ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd; Culture of Poetry, by al-*Khath'amī*; The Potion, by Ibn Zakarīyā' al-*Rāzī*; Agriculture, by Ibn *Waḥshīyah*.

Instruction in Law, by al-*Bandanījī*; Coitus, by al-*Rāzī*; The Decorated (Poetic Acrostic), by '*Alī* ibn 'Ubaydah; The Ages (Periods of Time), by al-*Muhallabī* [Muḥammad] ibn 'Abbād; The Ancients (Beginnings), by *Sa'īd* ibn Sa'dūn al-'Aṭṭār; Resemblances, by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Azdī*; book of al-*Sarakhsī* addressed to al-*Mu'taḍid*, about self-discipline; The Dynasty of the Daylamīyah, by Abū Ja'far al-*Dāmaghānī*;[112] Pronunciations (Dialects), by '*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn 'Īsā al-Hamadhānī;[113] Generations (Categories) of Preachers, by '*Alī* ibn Ismā'īl; Generations (Categories), by *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'd; Knowledge and History, by Abū *Sufyān*; The History of Ismā'īl al-*Khuṭabī*; White Hair and Dye, by '*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Sa'īd; The Remedy for Grief, Derived from Legacies of the Wise Men; The History of Wāsiṭ, by *Baḥshal*; The Bountiful Giver, by Ibn Rūsand[114] of the Banū Ṭayy; Refutation of the Ignorant, by al-Ḥasan ibn Badr al-*Laythī*, showing preference for al-*Kindī* in connection with [the poetry of] chivalry;

[108] This title is not mentioned with the works of the famous al-*Kindī* given in Chap. VII, sect. 1.

[109] This man cannot be identified. He may have been a son of either al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarūn (see Ziriklī, Part II, p. 276) or al-Ḥarūn al-'Alawī (see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2025–26).

[110] Perhaps *Ja'far* ibn al-Furāt.

[111] This may be the same book as the one mentioned in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (4), 257, entitled *Kitāb Ta'rīkh Mulūk al-Rayyān* by Sinān ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah. The Flügel edition gives "Abū" instead of "Ibn" in this name. For a book by al-Rāzī about the potion (*al-sharāb*), see the epistles of al-Rāzī listed near the end of Chap. VII, sect. 3. *Coitus* (*Al-Bāh*), three titles further, is listed with al-Rāzī's books in the same section.

[112] The Daylamīyah probably refers to the Buwayh dynasty, which gained control of the caliphate A.D. 945. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 470, and "Būyids," *Enc. Islam*, I, 807.

[113] See Chap. III, sect. 2, near n. 219.

[114] The form Rūsand is probably a mistake, so that it is not included in the Biog. Index. Ruwayshid may be the name meant; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 433.

Abridgment of "Book of the Bee" (Kitāb al-Naḥl), by Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Ahwāzī*;[115] The History of *Yaḥyā* ibn Abī Bakr al-Miṣrī; Swords and Their Characteristics, by al-*Kindī*.[116]

Epistles for Which There Is Solely the Mention of Their Authors[117] Epistle of[118] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn *Thawābah*; *Yaḥyā* ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī; Abū 'Alī al-*Baṣīr*; *Aḥmad* ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib; *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ṭayyib al-*Sarakhsī*; Abū al-Ḥasan ibn *Ṭarkhān*; al-Sharīf al-*Rāḍī*; Abū al-Ḥasan *Muḥammad* ibn Ja'far; al-Naysābūrī al-*Iskāfī*; *Aḥmad* ibn Sa'd al-Iṣbahānī; Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Tūnisī*; *Muḥammad* ibn Mukram; *Aḥmad* ibn al-Wizīr—*'Alī* ibn Muḥammad al-'Askarī edited it;[119] *Muḥammad* ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, the brother of *Yaḥyā*; Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī [ibn 'Abd Allāh], about extracting the erroneous and ambiguous.

Epistles of Abū al-Ḥasan *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī; epistles of Ibn *'Abdakān*;[120] epistles of al-*'Usharī*, about the salaries of governors; epistle of Abū *Ghazawān* al-Qurashī, about pardon; epistles of *Bāḥ* [Muḥammad ibn Ghālib]; a selection of portions and epistles of *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib; epistles of al-*Babbaghā'*; epistles of al-*Ṣābī*.

Completed is the fourth chapter of Kitāb al-Fihrist *and finished entirely is the first part. If Allāh the Exalted wishes, it will be followed by the fifth chapter of the book, with accounts of the scholars and the various books which they compiled, in five sections. To Allāh be praise, for He is worthy and deserving of it and it is His due. For our Master Muḥammad and his holy family*[121] *and honored Companions be prayer and peace.*[122]

[115] See Chap. III, sect. 3, near n. 173.

[116] For another mention of this book, see the book entitled *Kinds of Swords and Iron.* in Chap. VII, sect. 1, near n. 249.

[117] This subsection is probably out of place and was inserted after al-*Nadīm* had died. Flügel suggests in a note that there is a mistake in the title. The correct meaning is probably as translated. The last word is *arbāb*, which instead of meaning "authors" may refer to government chiefs who wrote epistles.

[118] The phrase "epistle of" is repeated before each name in the first paragraph. It is given only the first time in the translation.

[119] The word translated as "edited" is *ṣana'* (usually translated "made" or "wrought").

[120] See Chap. III, sect. 2, near n. 219.

[121] The word translated as "holy" is *ṭāhirīn*, which means "pure" but is used by the Shī'ah to signify the special quality of their imams, who were descendants of 'Alī.

[122] This conclusion was probably contained in the author's original copy of *Al-Fihrist*.

The Fifth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist,[1] *with accounts of the ancient and modern scholars, who were authors, with the names of the books which they composed about the rest of the sciences.*[2] *The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm, known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Warrāq.*

[1] This heading and the first segment of Chapter V are found only in the Beatty MS, as explained below. Under the heading, on the left-hand side of the page, there is written, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq." On the right-hand side there is "The fifth chapter about dialectic theology and the dialectic theologians (*al-kalām wa-al-mutakallimīn*)." For further information, see Arberry, *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I (1948), 19.

Most of Chapter V, Section 1, is found only in the Beatty MS. After the termination of the Beatty MS, a few pages follow which are found only in the Tonk MS (see nn. 237, 238). Evidently one or more pages have been lost between the end of the Beatty MS and the beginning of the Tonk MS (see n. 238 for probable content of the missing material). As the Beatty and Tonk MSS are not easily available for study, an attempt has been made to give the transliteration of some of the more important words in the book titles in this segment. With the account of al-*Wāsiṭī*, very near the end of Section 1, the Flügel text resumes, and MS 1934 begins (n. 266). See Introduction for more information on these manuscripts.

The Cairo edition of *Al-Fihrist*, printed by the Raḥmānīyah Press in 1929, has a very short Appendix, the content of which was taken from Aḥmad Taymur, who took the material from *Die Kunde des Morgen Landes*, 1889, a work which is not generally available. This Appendix contains accounts of nearly a dozen scholars, almost all of whom are mentioned in Chapter V by either Flügel or the Beatty MS. It is referred to in the footnotes as these men appear in the text. The one scholar in the Cairo Appendix who is not mentioned by the Beatty MS or the Flügel text is a judge named Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, called Ibn Zubd. He may be the man of that name, although called Ibn Zanū, who is mentioned in the Index to Ṭabarī, *Annales*. Perhaps "Ibn Zubd" is meant to be "Ibn Zayd."

In this chapter, certain technical words and the names of many religious sects are mentioned over and over again. For explanation, the Glossary should be consulted.

[2] In writing this phrase, "the rest of the sciences," the author probably had in mind the theology in the fifth chapter and law in the sixth chapter, as those two fields of study were included in the Islāmic sciences.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, in five sections.*

The First Section

with accounts of the dialectic theologians (al-mutakallimūn) *of the Mu'tazilah and the Murji'ah, and of the beginning of dialectic theology* (al-kalām) *and disputation* (al-jidāl).[3]

Why the Mu'tazilah Were Called by This Name[4]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Abū al-Qāsim al-*Balkhī* said that the Mu'tazilah were called by this name because of the disagreement occurring in connection with the terms for those who committed great sins among the people of prayer.[5] The Khawārij said that these were unbelievers and polytheists, as well as sinners.[6] The Murji'ah said that they were believers and Muslims, but at the same time sinners. The Zaydīyah and Ibāḍīyah said that they did not believe in [God's] grace, and were neither polytheists nor Muslims, but sinners. The companions of al-Ḥasan[7] said that they were hypocrites and also sinners.

[3] Most of the theological discussions were carried on by members of the heretical sect of the Mu'tazilah, until al-*Ash'arī* persuaded the orthodox scholars to use dialectic methods to defend their own doctrines.

[4] At the beginning of the Arabic title there is the letter *lām* (*l*) which is evidently meant to express interrogation. Al-Mu'tazilah means those who are separated from others. This passage explains the reason for calling this sect by this name. For the founding of the Mu'tazilī movement, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 222–23; Khallikān, II, 513; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (7), 224; Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, p. 2; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 4; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 121; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 47. The various sects and technical words are explained in the Glossary.

[5] This evidently refers to pious Muslims.

[6] This means that these rebels were not only transgressors against the ordinances of the Qur'ān, but also regarded as being outside of the Muslim community.

[7] This evidently refers to the disciples of al-*Ḥasan* al-Baṣrī; see Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, pp. 25, 44, 46, 49; "al-Ḥasan ibn abi'l-Ḥasan," *Enc. Islam*, II, 273.

All of the Mu'tazilah separated themselves from the things about which these [groups] differed. They said, "We agree about what they join in calling sin, but we avoid matters about which they disagree concerning unbelief, belief, hypocrisy, and polytheism."

Abū Bakr ibn al-*Ikhshīd* said, "'Separation' (*al-i'tizāl*) became attached to the Mu'tazilah during the days of al-*Ḥasan* [al-Baṣrī], according to what some people record, but this is not confirmed among us, nor do we have quotations about it." He said, "What is [better] known among our scholars is that the name originated after [the time of] al-Ḥasan." He said:

The basis for it was that after al-Ḥasan had died and *Qatādah* had taken his place, '*Amr* ibn 'Ubayd and a group with him separated themselves from him [Qatādah]. So Qatādah called them *al-Mu'tazilah* (the Separatists). When 'Amr heard about this name, he accepted and approved it, saying to his companions, "*Al-i'tizāl* is a term which Allāh has praised in His Book,[8] so that this is unexpected good fortune,"[9] and thus he accepted it.

Mention of the First to Speak About Predestination, Justice, and Oneness

Al-*Balkhī* said that the first person to speak about predestination and separation was Abū Yūnus al-*Aswārī*, a man from among the Aswārīyah known as Sinsawayh, who was followed by *Ma'bad* al-Juhanī. It is also said that *Sulaymān* ibn 'Abd al-Malik spoke about this matter.

The Names of Those from Whom Justice and Oneness Were Derived

I read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū 'Ạbd Allāh ibn 'Abdūs [al-*Jahshiyārī*], that Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim said:

[8] *Al-i'tizāl* means "separation" or "turning aside." It is mentioned in the Qur'ān 18:15(16), where it is said that Allāh will show mercy to those who separate from false worshipers to enter the cave; also in 19:50(49), where it speaks of Allāh's reward for Abraham, when he turned aside from false worshipers.

[9] For the idiom "good fortune," see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 17; in Arabic it is *ittifāq ḥasan*.

My father informed me, and my paternal uncle Aḥmad as well as my paternal uncle Hārūn[10] also informed me, saying, "Abū Yaʿlā *Zurqān*, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Shaddād, the companion of Abū al-*Hudhayl*, related to me saying, 'Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl told us saying, "I received[11] what I know about justice and oneness from *ʿUthmān* al-Ṭawīl, who was the teacher of Abū al-Hudhayl." Abū al-Hudhayl said, "'Uthmān told me that he learned about the matter from *Wāṣil* ibn ʿAṭāʾ, and that Wāṣil derived this from Abū Hāshim *ʿAbd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. ʿAbd Allāh received it from his father, *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥanafīyah. Muḥammad informed him that he obtained it from his father *ʿAlī*, for whom be peace, and that his father received it from the Apostle of Allāh, for whom be peace.[12] The Apostle of Allāh told him that Gabriel (Jibrīl) revealed it from Allāh, Glorious and Almighty."'"[13]

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, surnamed Abū Saʿīd

He was born two years before the end of the caliphate of *ʿUmar* and died when eighty-nine years old, during the year one hundred and ten [A.D. 728].[14] Al-Ḥasan served as secretary to al-*Rabīʿ* ibn Ziyād in Khurāsān and for about three years was the secretary of *Anas* ibn Mālik at Sābūr.[15] He was one of those who gave allegiance to Ibn al-*Ashʿath*, but was also one of the ascetics and pietists.[16] When Ibn al-Ashʿath was overthrown, his adherents were hunted down and he [al-Ḥasan] went to al-*Ḥajjāj*, who after disciplining him gave him amnesty. But as al-Ḥasan did not feel safe near al-Ḥajjāj, he hid until he [al-Ḥajjāj] died.[17]

[10] See Biog. Index, Munajjim family.

[11] In this passage forms of the Arabic word *akhad* are translated as "received," "obtained," "derived," etc., to make the meaning clearer.

[12] On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, "Abū Hudhayl and ʿUthmān lied."

[13] There is a second note on the margin of the Beatty MS, saying that this passage is a lie against Allāh and His Apostle, with some extra words which are not clear.

[14] ʿUmar was the second caliph, who died A.D. 644. The age of al-Ḥasan is reckoned in lunar years.

[15] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 4–6.

[16] The word for "giving allegiance" implies electing him as the caliph. Ibn al-Ashʿath revolted when al-Ḥajjāj was the governor in al-ʿIrāq. The rebel was killed A.D. 701/2. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was more famous as an early ascetic than as a man interested in politics.

[17] Al-Ḥajjāj was famous for his tyranny. He died A.D. 714.

Among his words despising al-Ḥajjāj, when news of his death reached him, there was "Oh, our God, thou it is who has killed him and cut short his way of life." Then he said, "Thou gavest us a little blind bat, emitting poison (burning), miserable and afflicted, with flapping of sides and shaking of buttocks, saying 'Know us, know us!' Truly we have known thee; Allāh has abhorred thee and abhorred thee also have the righteous." [He also said] "He stretched out to me a hand with short fingers, and, by Allāh, it has never perspired from holding the reins to drive along the way of God."

Among the books of al-Ḥasan there were:

Commentary on the Qur'ān (Tafsīr li-al-Qur'ān), which a group quoted from him;[18] a book addressed to *'Abd* al-Malik ibn Marwān refuting the Qadarīyah.

Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā'

Abū Ḥudhayfah Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' was a protégé of the Banū Ḍabbah, or it is also said of the Banū Makhsūm.[19] His birth was at al-Madīnah and he was called al-Ghazzāl because of his frequenting Sūq al-Ghazl in order to become acquainted with the chaste women, to whom he distributed his alms.[20] He had a long neck and also mispronounced the letter *rā'* (*r*) but as he was a master of style, eloquent and vigorous in speech, with versatility of expression, it was possible for him to avoid the letter *rā'* (*r*) in his speech.

It was related that Wāṣil said about *Bashshār* ibn Burd, "Is there not someone to kill this blind man (*a'mā*) who is surnamed Abū Mu'ādh? By Allāh, if it were not for the malice which is one of the characteristics of the Ghulāt,[21] I would have sent someone to rip open his stomach on his bed. An 'Uqaylī or Sadūsī would attend

[18] The members of this group were probably his pupils, who quoted his teachings and wrote commentaries about them.

[19] For these tribes see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 34, 36.

[20] The Sūq al-Ghazl was the bazaar where the women spun thread. The word "chaste" probably refers to elderly women, needing aid and with no one to depend upon.

[21] The Arabic text gives the form al-Ghāliyah, but the Glossary and translation give the usual form, Ghulāt.

to that."[22] Thus he avoided pronouncing *rā'*, for he spoke of the "blind man surnamed Abū Mu'ādh," not saying either Bashshār or Ibn Burd. He mentioned *al-a'mā* instead of saying *al-ḍarīr*[23] and spoke of the characteristics of the Ghulāt, rather than of the Mughīrīyah or the Manṣūrīyah. He also said *ba'atha* instead of *arsala*[24] and mentioned *'alā muḍṭaja'ihi* rather than saying *'alā firāshihi*.[25] He spoke of the Banū 'Uqayl, because Bashshār was a protégé of theirs, and mentioned the Banū Sadūs because he dwelt among them. Avoiding letters is very difficult, especially one like *rā'*, which is used so much.

Wāṣil fell in with Abū Hāshim *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah and also attended the session (class) of al-*Ḥasan* [al-Baṣrī]. Because he kept very silent, he was thought to be dumb. His neck was very long, so that *'Amr* ibn 'Ubayd remarked about it, saying "A man with such a neck cannot be of any use!" But when Wāṣil became proficient, his excellence being evident, 'Amr said, "Perhaps I made a mistake about his sense of perception."

Al-*Balkhī* said, "Wāṣil was one of the people of al-Madīnah. His birth was during the year eighty [A.D. 699] and he died in the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748]." Among his books there were:

The Middle Position (Al-Manzilah bayn al-Manzilatayn);[26] Judicial Interpretation (Al-Futyā); Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd).

Among the books of his associates (pupils), the authors being unknown, there were:

The Mashraqīyīn,[27] from the pupils of Abū Ḥudhayfah [*Wāṣil* ibn 'Aṭā'] to their brothers in North Africa, which included a number of chapters (books), among which there was, The Way to a Knowledge of the Truth (Al-Sabīl ilā Ma'rifat al-Ḥaqq).

[22] For these tribes see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 181, 211. The translation is given freely so as to make the passage readable.

[23] These are both words for "blind."

[24] Synonyms meaning "sent."

[25] These words might be translated "bedding" and "mattresses," signifying the same thing.

[26] See Glossary for this phrase.

[27] The Mashraqīyūn was a name used for those living in the east. In North Africa it applied especially to members of the Shī'ah.

'Amr ibn 'Ubayd

He was Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd ibn Bāb, a protégé of the Banū al-'Adawīyah [clan] of the Ḥanẓalah [branch] of the Banū Tamīm Tribe.[28] Al-*Balkhī* said that *Bāb* [the grandfather] was one of the prisoners from Kābul, a prisoner of *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Samurah[29] and a protégé first of the Banū 'Uqayl, but later of the Banū 'Arārah.[30]

He was born during the year in which Wāṣil was born, which was the year eighty [A.D. 699]. He was a man of medium stature, calloused between the eyes as the result of prostrating.[31] He was a friend of [the Caliph] Abū Ja'far al-*Manṣūr* and there were stories about them. He preached to al-Manṣūr a number of times with a famous and well-known message (word). 'Amr died while returning along the way to Makkah from al-Baṣrah, at a place known as Marrān,[32] during the year one hundred and forty-four [A.D. 761], when he was sixty years of age.

Although it has never been heard of for a caliph to make an elegy for a person of lower rank, al-Manṣūr composed an elegy for him, saying:

May Allāh bless you lying in the tomb, which I passed on the way at Marrān;
It is a tomb enshrouding a believer, who revered and worshiped Allāh, believing the Qur'ān.
Had time spared a righteous man, it would have spared for us 'Amr Abū 'Uthmān.

Among his books there were:

The Commentary (Al-Tafsīr), taken from al-*Ḥasan* [al-Baṣrī]; Justice and Oneness (Al-'Adl wa-al-Tawḥīd); a refutation of the Qadarīyah.

[28] See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 37.

[29] This was a Companion of the Prophet who conquered Kābul; see Biog. Index.

[30] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 181, 254.

[31] He prayed so often, touching his forehead to the ground, that the skin over his eyes became calloused.

[32] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 479, where there is mention of a tomb at Marrān in Arabia.

Naming of Those Who Drew upon *'Amr* [ibn 'Ubayd] and *Wāṣil* [ibn 'Aṭā']

One of those who drew upon 'Amr and Wāṣil, but no book of whom is known, was Abū 'Amr *'Uthmān* ibn Khālid al-Ṭawīl, the teacher of Abū *Hudhayl* [al-'Allāf]. There was also Abū Ḥafṣ *'Umar* ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Sāmarrī, who drew upon the *Commentary* (*Kitāb al-Tafsīr*) of 'Amr and al-Ḥasan.

Abū al-*Hudhayl* al-'Allāf

He was Abū al-Hudhayl Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, a protégé of 'Abd al-Qays and al-Hudhayl ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Makḥūl al-'Abdī.[33] Abū al-Hudhayl was born during the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748/49]; it is also said thirty-four. He learned theology from *'Uthmān* ibn Khālid al-Ṭawīl, not coming into contact with either *Wāṣil* [ibn 'Aṭā'] or *'Amr* [ibn 'Ubayd]. Abū al-*'Aynā'* said that Abū al-Hudhayl died at Sāmarrā during the year two hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 840/41],[34] when he was one hundred and four years old.

When Abū al-Hudhayl was asked about his birth, he replied, "I was born during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 752/53]." On another occasion, when he was asked about this he said, "My parents told me that *Ibrāhīm* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan was killed when I was a child of ten years old." Ibrāhīm was killed during the year forty-five [A.H. 145: A.D. 762/63]. This remark of Abū al-Hudhayl indicates, therefore, that his birth was during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 752/53].

Abū al-Hudhayl died during the caliphate of al-*Mutawakkil*, in the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50], when he was one hundred [lunar] years old. At the end of his life he was stricken with senility. Although he did not lose sight of the fundamental principles of doctrine, he became weak in opposing adversaries and disputing with persons who disagreed with him, as his intelligence became weak.

[33] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 45, for 'Abd al-Qays. The second name may be that of a chief or a subtribe.

[34] This date and those given by Mas'ūdi, VI, 369, and Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 125, seem to be too early. Khallikān, II, 667, says he died A.D. 849/50, which is also the date given by al-Nadīm in the next paragraph.

It was said that when a son of *Ṣāliḥ* ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs died and [the father] grieved for him, Abū al-Hudhayl came to mourn with him. Upon finding him distraught Abū al-Hudhayl said to him, "I do not know the reason why you grieve for your son if man, according to you, is like what is planted (*al-zar'*)." Ṣāliḥ replied, "Oh, Abū al-Hudhayl, I grieve for him because he never read the *Book of Doubts* (*Kitāb al-Shukūk*)." Then he [Abū al-Hudhayl] asked him, "The *Book of Doubts*, what is that, oh, Ṣāliḥ?" He answered, "It is a book which I have written, in order that whoever reads it will be doubtful about what exists, imagining that it is non-existent, and about what does not exist, imagining that it is existent." So Abū al-Hudhayl said to him, "Be doubtful about the death of your son, acting as though he did not die, even though he has passed away. Be uncertain about his reading the *Book of Doubts*, even though he never read it."

Abū al-Hudhayl wrote a book known as *Mīlās*. This *Mīlās* was a Magian, who embraced Islām because of a meeting which he arranged between Abū al-Hudhayl and a group of dualists. When Abū al-Hudhayl silenced them, Mīlās immediately embraced Islām.[35] Abū al-Hudhayl had a son, whose name was al-*Hudhayl*. Although he was a theologian, no book of his exists.

A person coming up behind Abū al-Hudhayl stopped him and, seizing his throat, said, "Take off your clothes, so that I can see the proof you have of this [circumcision]." Then Abū al-Hudhayl retorted to him, "My proof is that you are saying 'Take off your clothes,' when to remove them while you are holding my throat is impossible. Let go your hand, so that I can take them off!" So he said, "Go in the care of Allāh, for if I postpone the proof for a day, you will take them off immediately." So he did not take off his clothes.[36]

[35] Cf. this passage with Khallikān, II, 668.

[36] Because Abū al-*Hudhayl* was a heretic, who was not born as a Muslim, he was accused of not being circumcised. Accordingly, he was told to take off his clothes, so as to show whether or not he was circumcised. In the second-to-last sentence, the implication is that if Abū al-Hudhayl could have a day's notice, he would immediately become circumcised. The last line is not clear, and the whole passage is so confused that the translation is given freely. The translation assumes that the word given in Arabic as *ḥajj* ("pilgrimage") is meant for *ḥujjah* ("proof").

Abū al-Hudhayl came to Baghdād during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. He lived to be over a hundred, but lost his sight. Among his books there were:

The Imamate, against Hishām;[37] against Abū *Shimr* in connection with al-irjā'; Obedience, Not for the Desire of Allāh (Ṭa'ah Lā Yurād Allāh biha);[38] against the Sophists; against the Magians; against the Jews; Birth, against al-*Naẓẓām*;[39] The Promise and the Threat (Al-Wa'd wa-al-Wa'īd); The Killing of *Ghaylān*;[40] book to the Damascenes; The Sessions; The Proof (Al-Ḥujjah); Describing Allāh as Justice and the Rejection of Evil;[41] Pretence (Proof) of the Heretics (al-Mulḥidīn); Naming of the Innovators (Ahl al-Iḥdāth); against *Ḍirār* [ibn 'Amr] who said that Allāh oppresses His creatures (inna Allāh yaghḍab min fi'lihi);[42] against the Christians; Questions about Motions and Other Things; against *'Ammār* the Christian, which was a refutation of the Christians; A Description of the Oppression and Good Will of Allāh, Exalted Is He;[43] Oppression and Good Will; What Is Created [the Qu'rān], against *Ḥafṣ* al-Fard; Refutation of *Muknif* al-Madanī; Ordinance, against Ibrāhīm [al-*Naẓẓām*]; Refutation of the Ghaylanīyah in Connection with al-Irjā'.

Against Ḥafṣ al-Fard in connection with fa'ala wa-yaf'al;[44] against al-*Naẓẓām* in connection with [God's] approval of the foreordainment of injustice;[45] against al-Naẓẓām in connection with creation of a phenomenon, and the reply from him; Refutation of the Qadarīyah and the Mujbirah; against *Ḍirār*, *Jahm*, Abū *Ḥanīfah*, and *Ḥafṣ*, in connection

[37] Probably *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam. See Glossary for "imamate."

[38] The heresy of those who are obedient without the intention of pleasing Allāh; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 129.

[39] Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 139–40.

[40] See *Ghaylān* ibn Marwān in the Biog. Index.

[41] In Arabic this is *Ṣifat Allāh bi-al-'Adl wa-Nafī al-Qabiḥ*. Perhaps *ṣifat* ("describing") should be translated as "attribute." For the terms in this title, see Mu'tazilah in Glossary and Galland, *Essai sur les Mo'tazélites*, p. 66.

[42] See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 94.

[43] A word in the manuscript is not clear, but also unimportant. "Oppression" probably refers to the orthodox doctrine that God foreordains man to sin and then punishes him, while "GoodWill" refers to the contrary doctrine of the Mu'tazilah.

[44] These forms of the verb had theological importance as the first required an object, whereas the second did not. See MacDonald, *Development of the Muslim Theology*, p. 137; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 131.

[45] See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 138 ff.

with the created [the Qur'ān];[46] against al-Naẓẓām, about man;[47] about totality (composition) of forms;[48] Al-Istiṭā'ah; Motions;[49] about the creation of a phenomenon from a phenomenon; Refutation of Ahl al-Adyān [ritualists]; Understanding, Also, the Movements of the People of Heaven;[50] answer of al-*'Attābī* [Kulthūm ibn 'Amr]; against whoever speaks of punishing infants;[51] The Leaps,[52] against Ibrāhīm [al-*Naẓẓām*]; against the dualists; Essential and Accidental Properties (Al-Jawāhir wa-al-A'rāḍ); Water, Intercession, and Punishment in the Tomb (Al-Ḥawḍ[53] wa-al-Shafā'ah wa-'Adhāb al-Qabr); against the authorities for the Ḥadīth (aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth) in connection with metaphor; Relationship (Qualification) of the Essential Elements;[54] Hearing and Sight: Are They Active or Employed Phenomena?;[55] Man: What Is He?;[56] Indications of the Validity of the Apostle; The Duration of Man, His Color and Composition;[57] Sound: What Is It?[58]

Among His Associates

There was Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad ibn Shaddād, known as *Zurqān*, among whose books there were:

The Delightful Book of Discourses; The Created [the Qur'ān].

[46] These men were almost certainly *Ḍirār* ibn 'Amr, *Jahm* ibn Safwān, Abū *Ḥanīfah* al-Nu'mān, and *Ḥafṣ* al-Fard.

[47] Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 139, bottom.

[48] See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 135.

[49] See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 168.

[50] This may refer to the heresy which holds that the people of Heaven are active, drink, and intermarry, among other things; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 127.

[51] This evidently refers to the foreordaining of infants to go to Hell.

[52] See Glossary.

[53] Al-Ḥawḍ was the "watering trough of the Apostle," from which believers would be given a drink on the Day of Resurrection; see Lane, *Lexicon*, Part II, p. 670.

[54] Abū al-Hudhayl defined the body as containing six elements; see Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 150, 151, 278.

[55] This is a free translation; the book evidently dealt with problems connected with the attributes of God.

[56] See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 268 ff.

[57] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 164, for atomic composition and death of man; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 135, for the body and color of man.

[58] See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 144, for the heresy about hearing.

Al-*Aswārī*[59]

He was Abū 'Alī 'Amr ibn Fāyid al-Aswārī, one of the important theologians among the people of al-Baṣrah. He was attached to *Muḥammad* ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī. Coming from Asāwarah he fell in with '*Amr* ibn 'Ubayd, from whom he learned and with whom he had disputes. He died shortly after two hundred [A.D. 815/16].

'Amr ibn Fāyid [al-Aswārī] said to Abū al-*Mundhir* Sallām al-Qāri' (the Qur'ānic Reader) in the presence of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, "From whom is the truth?" Sallām answered, "From Allāh." Then he said, "Who is the revealer of the truth (*al-muḥiqq*)?" He answered, "Allāh." He said, "From whom is the false?" He replied, "From Allāh." He said, "Who is the teller of falsehoods (*al-mubṭil*)?" Whereupon Sallām was silent, cutting short [the conversation]. Among his books there were: ———.

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir

Abū Sahl Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir was born at al-Kūfah, or some say Baghdād. He was one of the great men and chiefs of the Mu'tazilah. The leadership was passed to him during his time. He quoted poetry and historical traditions and was also a poet, most of whose poetry was *muzdawij*.[60] He turned prose books about theology, law, and other subjects into poetry. We have already mentioned, in the proper place [in connection] with poetry and the poets, the things which he transcribed.

A group of scholars preferred him to *Abān* al-Lāḥiqī. He wrote a poem nearly three hundred pages long about his arguments (evidences). No one was ever seen who was more capable than he was in [composing] *mukhammas*[61] and *muzdawij*. He had skin trouble,[62] and died during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26] when he had grown old.

[59] This man was very likely the father of the better known 'Alī al-*Aswārī*.

[60] A type of poetry composed of rhymed couplets.

[61] A type of poetry in the form of five-line verse.

[62] *Abraṣ* is the word translated as "skin trouble." It means "leprous," but other skin diseases were often confused with true leprosy.

Al-*Jāḥiẓ* said:

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir slandered Abū al-*Hudhayl*, whom he accused of hypocrisy. He said in describing Abū al-Hudhayl, "For him to be ignorant, when the people think that he is learned, pleases him more than being learned but considered by the public to be ignorant. Moreover, to belong to a low social class, but to be considered by the people to be a member of an upper class, is better liked by him than that he should belong to the upper class, but by the people be assigned to a lower class. He also prefers to be stupid but appear to be intelligent, rather than to be intelligent but appear to be stupid. Thus he prefers hypocrisy to sincerity, and falsehood which is accepted to truth which is repudiated."

Bishr wrote [the following] prose works, in addition to the books already mentioned as being transmuted into poetry:

Refutation of Anyone Who Reproached Theology; Refutation of the Khawārij; Unbelief and Faith; The Threat (Al-Wa'īd), against the Mujbirah; against Kulthūm [ibn 'Amr al-*'Attābī*] and his associates; Interpretation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; against al-*Naẓẓām*; against *Ḍirār* in connection with the created [the Qur'ān]; Refutation of the Hypocrites; Refutation of the Ignorant; Refutation of Abū al-*Hudhayl*; The Imamate; Al-Istiṭā'ah, against *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam; Justice (Al-'Adl); against al-*Aṣamm*, about the created [the Qur'ān]; Al-Tawallud, against al-Naẓẓām; against upholders of predestination; against Mazīd[63] in connection with al-istiṭā'ah; about the middle position (al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn);[64] about children (al-aṭfāl), against the Mujbirah.

Al-*Naẓẓām*

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār ibn Hānī al-Naẓẓām was a freedman (protégé) of the Ziyādīyūn.[65] He was born a slave,[66] the servitude having befallen one of his ancestors. He was a theologian, poet, and man of letters, with a passion[67] for Abū *Nuwās*, about whom he composed a number of short poems. Abū Nuwās had him in mind when he said,

[63] This name is mentioned by Jār Allāh, *Mu'tazilah*, p. 226, but cannot be definitely identified and is omitted in the Biog. Index.

[64] See Glossary.

[65] See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1754.

[66] Instead of "slave," the Arabic word may indicate that he was a member of the tribe of al-'Ubayd; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 258.

[67] The Cairo Appendix has "upbraiding" instead of "with a passion for."

Tell anyone who with learning lays claim to philosophy,
That you have remembered some things, but other things have gone from you.[68]

In his poetry he adhered to the school of thought of philosophical dialectic, but at the same time he was eloquent in literary style, excellent in expression, and good in deliberate speaking. When describing *'Abd* al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī there was among his sayings:[69] "He, by Allāh, was sweeter than security after fear, recovery after illness, fertility after barrenness, and wealth after poverty; [sweeter] than the obedience of the beloved, the rejoicing of the distressed, and unceasing association with tender youth."[70]

From his poetry there was:

He was so slender that if his garments were torn
The sky would hold him, because of his fineness.
Repeatedly looking at him will wound him
And if you ogle him with the eye he complains.[71]

It is said that when Abū al-Hudhayl was with him he [al-Naẓẓām] repeated these two couplets. Then he [Abū al-Hudhayl] said to him, "Oh, Abū Isḥāq, such [poetry] could not have been offered without some nobleness of mind." From his poetry there was [also]:

I censure him, but with forgiving, turning my back on what my soul feels;
I fear the persistent tattle of blame, feeling pain,
For ignorance smites the heart of a forbearing man.
I am humble with him, as though I were expressing to him repentence for his [own] sin committed against me.

[68] The Cairo Appendix adds the following lines to the poem from the Beatty MS: " 'Do not ban a benefit, as though it were something prohibited,/For refusing is like repudiation in religion.' This was because he was appealing to him to accept the doctrine of the threat (*al-wa'īd*), which he refused."

[69] Here the Cairo Appendix adds, "apparently nothing was seen better than this."

[70] In the Beatty MS the word for tender is *al-nā'im*, but the Cairo Appendix has *al-dā'im* ("lasting," "eternal").

[71] This poem is given in Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, Part VI, p. 98, and also in the Cairo Appendix.

Al-Naẓẓām died in the house of *Ḥammawayh*, [nicknamed] Ṣāḥib al-Tawāwīs (Owner of the Peacocks). Among his books there were:

Confirmation of the Apostles; Oneness of Allāh (Al-Tawḥīd); against the materialists (aṣḥāb al-hayyūlā); Refutation of the Dahrīyah; Refutation of Adherents of the Dualists; Refutation of the Types of the Heretics (al-Mulḥidūn); Rectifying and Making Legal; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Foreordaining (Al-Taqdīr); Predestination; about the self-contradictory (the impossible, al-muḥal); The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah); about justice (al-'adl); Substitution (Al-Badal);[72] Compliance (Al-Mustaṭī'); Al-Tawallud; The Threat (Al-Wa'īd); Replies; Unraveling (Breaking an Agreement, Al-Nakth).

The Atom; Al-Ma'ānī, against *Mu'ammar* [al-Sulamī]; The Leap;[73] Al-Makāmanah;[74] Al-Mudākhalah [one who becomes a proselyte to a heresy]; about The Great World; The Small World; Event (Al-Ḥadath); Man;[75] Logic (Al-Manṭiq); Motions; Essential and Accidental Properties (Al-Jawāhir wa-al-A'rāḍ); Bridegroom (Sulphur, Al-'Arūs) (*or* Thrones [Al-'Arūsh]); Riches (Possessions, Al-Arzāq); The Movements of the People of Heaven;[76] Creation of the Phenomenon; The Attributes;[77] about the Qur'ān, what is it?;[78] Al-Afā'īl [actions within the limits of space and time]; Refutation of the Murji'ah.

Al-*Dimashqī* Qāsim ibn al-Khalīl[79]

He was in the group (class) of *Ja'far* ibn Mubashshir. Among his books there were:

The Imamate of Abū *Bakr*; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Commentary of the Qur'ān; The Threat (Al-Wa'īd); Justice (Al-'Adl), about the categories of the Mu'tazilah; The Created [the Qur'ān].

'Īsā ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Murdār

He was Abū Mūsā 'Īsā ibn Ṣabīḥ al-Murdār, one of the early chiefs of the Mu'tazilah, who was a pupil of *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir, the man who introduced the Mu'tazilī schism [*al-i'tizāl*] at Baghdād

[72] If a diacritical mark is added, the word might be *al-bazl* ("clarification").

[73] See Glossary.

[74] This Arabic word probably means "places of safe keeping," or "places of hiding," but it may have some religious significance in this title.

[75] See Nādir, *Système philosophique*, pp. 268 ff.

[76] See n. 50.

[77] The Mu'tazilah denied the attributes of Allāh (see "attributes," Glossary).

[78] The Mu'tazilah claimed that the Qur'ān was created.

[79] Some authorities spell this name al-Dimishqī.

and because of whom it was spread and made known.[80] Al-Ṣilḥī[81] said that 'Īsā died during the year two hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 840/41].

Al-*Khayyāṭ* remembered him, saying, "When he met one of his friends he told him, 'We did not show sincere friendship when we met, but when we agreed.'" When Abū Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*[82] addressed al-*Ma'mūn*, he referred to 'Īsā ibn Ṣabīḥ [in the following verse]:

Oh, king, whose God is oneness,
Your judge *Bishr* ibn al-Walīd is a jackass;
He rejects the testimony of him who believes
What the Book has proclaimed and the Ḥadīth handed down.
He considers to be correct the man who says that his deity
Is a ghost, his body surrounded by the regions [of the world],
According to al-*Marīsī*, who believed in his lord,
Even though his [doctrine of] oneness was that of the Ajbār [Mujbirah].[83]

He was one of those who were fond of Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir. Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of the Mujbirah; Justice (Al-'Adl); Questions and Answers; Kindness (Al-Luṭf); Refutation of the Christians; against Abū Qurrah, the Christian; Refutation of the Heretics (al-Mulḥidūn); Considering What Is Lawful and Permited (Al-Ta'dīl

[80] Bishr founded the Mu'tazilī movement at Baghdād, A.D. 825/26. See "al-Mu'tazila," *Enc. Islam*, III, 790.

[81] As this name cannot be identified, it is not included in the Biog. Index. It may refer to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sahl, who had a residence at al-Ṣilḥ near Fam al-Ṣilḥ. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 413.

[82] As Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī died A.D. 817/18 and *Bishr* ibn al-Walīd was appointed as judge A.D. 824/25, this is probably meant for the son, Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*, who was an intimate associate of al-*Ma'mūn*.

[83] This poem is given in Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1067. Page 1126 also throws light on it. Ṭabarī evidently makes bad mistakes, but, as he omits the two last lines, they may not belong to the poem. Al-Yazīdī was probably making fun of *'Īsā* ibn Ṣabīḥ, because *'Īsā* was unable to persuade the friendly scholar *Bishr* ibn al-Walīd to accept his heretical ideas and those of Bishr ibn Ghiyāth al-*Marīsī*. Al-Marīsī was influenced by the Murji'ī doctrine that Allāh does not wish believers to condemn sinners, but rather to leave their punishment for the Day of Judgment. The reference to the Book evidently is connected with the Mu'tazilī claim that passages from the Qur'ān itself prove that it was created. See Steiner, *Mu'taziliten*, p. 30; Galland, *Essai sur les Mo'tazélites*, p. 67; Nādir, *Système philosophique*, p. 99. Mention of the ghost probably refers to the heresy which held that although Allāh could be seen in Heaven, He would be without form; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 172.

wa-al-Tajwīz); against the Aḥbar[84] and Magians, in connection with justice and legalizing (ʿAlā al-Aḥbār wa-al-Majūs fi al-ʿadl wa-al-tajwīz); Refutation of the Jahmīyah; The Sources of Religion; The Created [the Qur'ān], against al-*Najjār*; Justice (Al-ʿAdl), against the Mujbirah; Dialectic Theology (Al-Kalām) of the Learned and the Ignorant; Instruction (Al-Taʿlīm); Substitution (Al-Badal), against al-*Najjār*;[85] Knowledge (Al-Maʿrifah), against *Thumāmah*.

Knowledge, against al-*Shaḥḥām*; Creation of the Qur'ān (Khalq al-Qur'ān); Power over Injustice (Al-Qudrah ʿalā al-Ẓulm), against al-*Naẓẓām*;[86] What Took Place between Him and the People of al-Baṣrah; The Arts of Dialectic Theology (Funūn al-Kalām); against those who uphold legal interpretation by personal opinion (ʿAlā Aṣḥāb Ijtihād al-Raʾī); Justice (Al-Adl); concerning what the Mujbirah are to be questioned about; Melodious Singing, a reply to the "Book of Repentence";[87] Counsel (Al-Naṣīḥah); He Who Speaks of the Punishment of Infants;[88] Piety (Al-Diyānah); Repentance (Al-Tawbah); The Right (Middle) Way (Al-Iqtiṣād); Traditions of the Qur'ān (Akhbār al-Qur'ān).[89]

Muʿammar al-Sulamī

He was Abū al-Muʿtamir, the chief of those who upheld *al-maʿānī*.[90] It is also said that he was [called] Abū ʿAmr Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād al-Sulamī [descended] from the Banū al-Sulaym.[91] He was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah, but he went to Baghdād, where he had disputes with al-*Naẓẓām* about matters connected with the doctrine (sect). Muʿammar satirized *Bishr* ibn al-Muʿtamir, the only poetry which he composed being as follows:

> A blond-skinned man, his face overflowing with whiteness,
> Considers slander a religion, his heart being diseased.

[84] These were Hebrew scribes, but the word is perhaps meant to be *al-ajbār*, another form for the Mujbirah.

[85] Cf. the heresy mentioned in Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 10, n. 2.

[86] See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 138, middle.

[87] This word is not clearly written in the manuscript, but looks like *al-nagham* ("melodious singing"). It very likely is intended for *al-baghan* ("obscure speech"). *Book of Repentance* ("*Kitāb al-Tawbah*") is the title of one of the author's own books and also a title used by other scholars.

[88] See n. 51.

[89] There is another title, but the text is not clear enough to be deciphered.

[90] For *al-maʿānī*, see Frank, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXVII, No. 3 (July–September 1967), 248–59.

[91] See "Sulaim," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 518.

He died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Among his books there were:

Al-Ma'ānī; Al-Istiṭā'ah; Falsifying of Weights, and Deceit ('Allat al-Farasṭūn wa-al-Murā'ah); The Atom Which Is Not Divided and the Proposition of Accidental and Essential Properties (Al-Qawl bi-al-A'rāḍ wa-al-Jawāhir).

Thumāmah ibn Ashras

He was Abū Bishr Thumāmah ibn Ashras al-Numayrī, whose relationship was with the Banū Numayr.[92] He was one of the important men among the theologians of the Mu'tazilah and also a writer with an eloquent literary style. He attained an excellent position with al-*Ma'mūn*, who wished to make him a vizier, but he begged off. In connection with this there was a famous statement presented in an address to al-Ma'mūn, who released him. It was also he who advised him [al-Ma'mūn] to appoint *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Khālid instead of himself.

Before the time of al-Ma'mūn he was with [Hārūn] al-*Rashīd*, who being displeased with him because of the Barmak family,[93] placed him in the custody of one of his employees. When he was in custody, he wrote to al-Rashīd from his place of confinement:

I am a slave who confesses, a protégé who has sought
The grace of him about whom nomads and townsmen speak.
You can bestow upon him grace, repeating the grace
Of the past and the present, which will be known among the people.
Although absent, my obedience continues and my loyalty
Has not been marred for an hour by falsehood or shame.
If you pardon, it is a thing which I expect,
And if you give me aid, your Lord [Allāh] will aid you.

Among his books there were:

The Proof; The Particular, the Universal, and the Threat (Al-Wa'īd);[94] Knowledge, Which Is Learning; against all who speak of the created

[92] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 178, 184, for the Banū Numayr.

[93] Evidently Thumāmah was a protégé of the members of the Barmak family, so that he suffered with them when al-Rashīd persecuted the Barmak family. See Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 294–96.

[94] This evidently deals with the different kinds of sins. For the threat, see Glossary.

[the Qur'ān]; Refutation of the Mushabbihah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah; Ease (Favors) of the People of Heaven; The Laws (Al-Sunan).

Ja'far ibn Mubashshir

He was Abū Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Mubashshir al-Thaqafī, one of the Mu'tazilah of Baghdād, a jurist, theologian, and authority for the Ḥadīth. He had a place as a speaker with eloquence and leadership among his associates. He was also pious, ascetic, and virtuous. He had a brother named *Ḥubaysh* who, although acquainted with theology, did not equal Ja'far or come up to him. Ja'far died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/49]. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Laws and Judgments (Al-Sunan wa-al-Aḥkām); Legal Interpretation; Narrative and What Is Told; Learning (Al-Ma'ārif), against al-Jāḥiẓ; Tanzīh al-Anbiyā';[95] The Proof, against the innovators (al-iḥdāth); The Abrogating and the Abrogated; Ritual Purification (Al-Ṭahārah); the large book, Traces (Al-Āthār); The Meaning of Historical Traditions (Ma'ānī al-Akhbār) and Their Disclosure; The Court (Al-Dār); against the people of favor ('alā aṣḥāb al-luṭf);[96] The Command for Good and Avoidance of Evil (Al-Amr bi-al-Ma'rūf wa-al-Nahy 'an al-Munkar); Questions and Answers; The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); Refutation of the Book of Ibn *Shabīb*, about al-irjā'; What Is Certain, against *Burghūth* about the created [the Qur'ān]; Consensus of Opinion (Al-Ijmā'), What Is It?; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd), according to the classifications of the Mushabbihah, the Jahmīyah, and the Rāfiḍah; against those who uphold analogy and personal opinion ('alā aṣḥāb al-qiyās wa-al-ra'y).[97]

Al-*Jāḥiẓ* Abū 'Uthmān[98]

He was Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr ibn Maḥbūb, a protégé of Abū al-Qallamas '*Amr* ibn Qal' al-Kinānī, then al-Fuqaymī, whose

[95] This means literally "Purifying of the Prophets," but it more likely should be translated, "The Prophets' Declaration of the Purity of Allāh." See Ash'arī, *Al-Ibānah 'an Uṣūl al-Diyānah*, pp. 36, 87 n.

[96] This is probably an attack on persons who depend upon the grace of Allāh rather than their own free will to choose what is right.

[97] See Glossary for the terms in this paragraph.

[98] This account should be compared with those in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 56, and Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, Part XII, p. 213. See also Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 51.

ancestor was one of the Nasāh (Nasā'ah). The grandparent of al-Jāḥiẓ was a Negro called *Fazārah*, who was a porter of 'Amr ibn Qal'.[99]

Abū *'Ubayd* Allāh told us that Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad related that Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd [al-*Mubarrad*] the grammarian[100] said:

I never saw anyone more avaricious for learning than these three: al-*Jāḥiẓ*, al-*Fatḥ* ibn Khāqān, and *Ismā'īl* ibn Isḥāq al-Qāḍī (the Judge). Whatever book came into the hands of al-Jāḥiẓ, he read it from start to finish, while al-Fatḥ carried a book in his slipper and if he left the presence of al-*Mutawakkil* [the caliph] to urinate or pray, he took up [the book] as he walked, looking it over until he reached his destination. Then he did the same thing again while returning, until he regained his seat. As for Ismā'īl ibn Isḥāq, whenever I went in to him there was in his hand a book which he was reading, or else he was turning over some books so as to choose one of them to read.[101]

Abū 'Ubayd Allāh [also] said, "*Muḥammad* ibn Yaḥyā said to me, 'I heard Abū Mūsā al-Hāshimī relate that al-Jāḥiẓ said, "I am about the age of Abū *Nuwās* and older than al-*Jammāz*."'" Al-Jāḥiẓ was

[99] The name Qal' is also written Qila'. In the Beatty MS there is probably an error, as it is given as Qaṭ'. The significance of the name "al-Fuqaymī" is not clear. Probably 'Amr ibn Qal' was given this name as well as "al-Kinānī" because of some connection with the Fuqaym Tribe. Al-Anbārī quotes a tradition that 'Amr ibn Qal' was called al-Kinānī al-Fuqaymī. For the tribes of Kinānah and Fuqaym, see "Kināna," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1017, and Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 150.

The ancestor of 'Amr ibn Qal' was called Abū al-Qallamas; see Ma'sūdī, III, 116. He was the first of the Nasāh (Nasā'ah), who were members of the tribe of Kinānah engaged in supervising observance of the sacred months. During these months raiding ceased, making it safe to conduct trade and go on the pilgrimage. For the Nasāh, see Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Volker*, p. 12, l. 1, or Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 13 l. 19.

Fazārah was evidently the grandfather of al-Jāḥiẓ. Either his name was Maḥbūb and his nickname was Fazārah, or else he was the maternal grandfather and Maḥbūb was the paternal grandfather. It is also possible that the names have been given erroneously, confused with those of other ancestors. Fazārah may have been a porter (*ḥammāl*) or a camel herder (*jammāl*); the texts differ.

[100] Abū 'Ubayd Allāh was evidently a friend of the author of *Al-Fihrist*. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad may have been a son of al-Mubarrad.

[101] See Chap. III, sect. 2, near n. 12, where the same anecdote is told.

substituted for *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī in the secretariat for a time.[102]

Al-*Ṣūlī*[103] said:

Aḥmad ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī passed on to me from his father, [who said] that "[The Caliph] al-*Mu'tazz* said, 'Oh, *Yazīd*, news of the death of al-Jāḥiẓ has come!' Then I [Yazīd] said to the Commander of the Faithful, 'The long-lasting of existence and the duration of glory!'"[104] He [Yazīd] said that this was during the year two hundred and fifty-five [A.D. 869]. [Yazīd continued,] "Al-Mu'tazz [once] said, 'I desired to bring him to me and to have him remain with me,' but I replied to him that even before dying he was crippled by paralysis."

Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Abī Ja'far, said to me, "One day al-Jāḥiẓ said to a physician, while complaining to him about his illness, 'I have experienced contrary reactions in my body, for when I ate something cold it affected my foot, whereas if I ate something hot it affected my head.'"

Abū *'Ubayd* Allāh said to me that *Muḥammad* ibn al-'Abbās the grammarian related:

I heard al-Jāḥiẓ say, "I am paralyzed on my left side, so that even if I pinch with scissors I do not feel it, whereas on my right side there is a swelling of the joints [neuritis], so that even if flies pass over it I feel the pain. I also have stones because of which my urine does not flow, but the most oppressive thing for me is ninety-six years [of age]."[105]

Al-Jāḥiẓ said:

When al-*Ma'mūn* read my books about the imamate, he found them to be in accordance with what I had been ordered to undertake. When I went to him, after he had instructed al-Yazīdī[106] to inspect them and to tell him about them, al-Ma'mūn said to me, "A man whose intelligence we respect and who gives information accurately has submitted a report

[102] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 58, says that al-Jāḥiẓ worked in the government secretariat of al-Ma'mūn for three days and then left. Abū Mūsā al-Hāshimī cannot be identified. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-*Hāshimī*.

[103] Probably Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-*Ṣūlī*. These anecdotes are translated freely.

[104] In Arabic without case endings: *ṭūl al-baqā' wa-dawām al-'izz*.

[105] Khallikān, II, 408, gives this interpretation, but the words might also be understood with a somewhat modified meaning.

[106] See the Yazīdī family in the Biog. Index. It is impossible to be sure which member of the family is indicated here.

to us about these books, with precise details about the workmanship and abundance of useful material. He said to us,[107] 'The evaluation [of the books] might have been more favorable than what [actually] appears, but when I looked into them, I saw that what I found was even better than the evaluation. Then when I examined them carefully, the investigation disclosed even more than what had appeared [at first reading], just as what [actually] appeared amounted to more than the [preliminary] evaluation. For these books, moreover, there is no need for the author or for anyone else to be present in order to explain them, for the author has combined a study of the significant implications with a study of all of the rights [of the caliphate, expressed] in eloquent phraseology, with the easy manners of speech of the market place, of the kings, the populace, and special classes.' "[108]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I suppose al-Jāḥiẓ elaborated this statement, glorifying himself and honoring his composition, for how could al-Ma'mūn have spoken these words, praising the composition and commending the authorship?

He [al-Ma'mūn] wrote to the king of the Burghar[109] a letter over one hundred pages in length, but although he did not seek anyone's aid or quote any verse from the Book of Allāh, may His name be exalted, or any word from any wise man preceding him, al-Jāḥiẓ cajoled his tongue into saying, "This letter we have regarded as being taken in a favorable way from a discourse of al-Jāḥiẓ." In his [al-Jāḥiẓ's] epistle to *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik he said:[110] Benefit involves love, harm involves hatred, opposition involves enmity,

[107] The Arabic form is abbreviated, while the sentences which follow are given in such a colloquial way that it is difficult to be sure of the original meaning. "Evaluation" is *ṣifah*, "more favorable" is *arbā*, "appears" is *'īyān*. The translation is given freely, so as to make sense, but it may not be entirely accurate, as the structure is somewhat confused.

[108] The books about the caliphate undoubtedly tried to prove that it was the 'Abbasīd caliphs who had the divine right to rule the Islāmic theocracy. Al-Jāḥiẓ put these words into the caliph's mouth to show that his arguments were not only sound, but were not exaggerated, and were told in a clear way, showing a wide knowledge of language.

[109] Almost certainly al-Ma'mūn wrote this statement, which al-Jāḥiẓ, according to a satirical anecdote, claimed was taken from one of his own compositions. For the Burghar, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 568.

[110] This was probably an epistle from al-Jāḥiẓ to one of his patrons, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.

incompatibility involves vexation, whereas agreement involves friendship, trustworthiness involves peace of mind, perfidy involves controversy about honor, justice involves a joining of hearts, oppression involves dissension, being good natured involves comradeship, withdrawal involves incivility, haughtiness involves hate, humility involves love, liberality involves praise, miserliness involves contempt, lassitude and being easy going involves impatience, good management involves delight, reprimanding involves repentence, caution involves preparations, efficiency of administration involves prosperity, disdain involves coolness, strife forms the preliminaries of evil and is the cause of destruction.

Moreover, for each one of these qualities there may be excess or deficiency. The results are realized when the limits are overstepped. Thus excess of liberality involves waste, excess of humility involves contempt, excesses of self-importance involve hate, excesses of faithlessness involve lack of trust in a person to whom there is access, excess of familiarity involves blending with what is wrong, whereas excess of withdrawal renders a man of good counsel uncivil.

In a passage of one of his books, he [al-Jāḥiẓ] said:

When I was writing these two books, [one] about [the doctrine of] the creation of the Qur'ān, which was the tenet given importance and honor by the Commander of the Faithful,[111] and [a second] about superiority in connection with the Banū Hāshim, the ʿAbd Shams, and Makhzūm[112] what was my due but to sit above the Simakān, Spica and Arcturus, or on top of the ʿAyyūq,[113] or to deal with red sulphur, or to conduct the ʿAnqā by her leading string to the Greatest King.[114]

[111] This probably refers to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who made a special point of the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 429, and "created" in the Glossary. As al-Jāḥiẓ wrote numerous books about the caliphs, it is impossible to know which two books are referred to here.

[112] This book evidently praised the lineage of the ʿAbbāsids, showing that their ancestors, the Banū Hāshim, were preferable to the ancestors of the Umayyads, that is, the ʿAbd Shams, and to the great rival family of Makhzūm.

[113] The Simakān were two stars: al-Simāk al-Aʿzal or Spica, and al-Simāk al-Rāmiḥ or Arcturus. The ʿAyyūq was either Aldebaran in the constellation of Taurus, or else Capella. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1040, and Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2199.

[114] The ʿAnqā was a fabled bird, also called Sīmurgh, that reigned as queen on Mount Qāf. The Ṣūfīs sometimes used the bird as an allegorical symbol of divine truth, so that the "Greatest King" probably refers to God. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1032, and Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 33 n., 512–14.

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Al-Jāḥiẓ died during the year two hundred and fifty [A.D. 869], during the caliphate of al-*Mu'tazz*. Among his books there were: The Animal (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān).[115] It is well known that it has seven sections and that there is appended to it another book entitled The Women (Kitāb al-Nisā'), about the differences between male and female. There is another book, The Mules (Kitāb al-Bighāl).[116] I saw these two books written in the handwriting of *Zakarīyā'* ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abu Yaḥyā, who was the *warrāq* of al-Jāḥiẓ. Added to these there was The Camel (Kitāb al-Ibil), which was not in the style of al-Jāḥiẓ and did not resemble it.

He composed this book [Kitāb al-Ḥayawān] in honor of *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.[117] *Maymūn* ibn Hārūn related: I said to al-Jāḥiẓ, "Do you have an estate at al-Baṣrah?" He smiled and said, "Verily, there is myself, a concubine, the handmaid who serves her, a manservant, and a donkey. I presented *The Book of the Animal* (*Kitāb al-Hayawān*) to *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik [al-Zayyāt], who gave me five thousand gold coins (s., *dīnār*); I presented *The Book of Eloquence and Exposition* (*Kitāb al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn*) to Ibn Abī *Dā'ūd*, who gave me five thousand gold coins; and I presented *The Book of Sowing and the Palm Tree* (*Kitāb al-Zar' wa-al-Nakhl*) to *Ibrāhīm* ibn 'Abbās al-Ṣūlī, who gave me five thousand gold coins.[118] Then I went to al-Baṣrah and had an estate which did not require renovation or fertilizing."

Order of the Sections of the Book[119]

The first:

Its beginning: "Allāh has kept you clear of doubt, guarded you from perplexity, and established a relationship between you and learning."

[115] See the Bibliography for a modern edition of this famous book.

[116] This title is evidently given incorrectly by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 75. For a modern edition of this book, with the title *Al-Qawl fī al-Bighāl* ("The Saying about the Mules"), see the Bibliography.

[117] *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* is assumed to be the book meant because of its mention in the statement which follows.

[118] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 76, gives *Kitāb al-Zar' wa-al-Naḥl* ("The Book of Sowing and the Bees"), but the Beatty MS gives the title as translated.

[119] This is a list of the first and last words of the different sections of *The Book of the Animal* ("*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*"). These quotations should be compared with the lines in the modern edition of this book; see Bibliography.

Its ending: "To men of the Khawārij, [when] one strikes an open wound, healing it is like [mending] the border of striped cloth."[120]

The second:

Its beginning: "Abū al-*Yaqẓān* said about comparison of this derivation."[121]

Its ending: "And by Allāh I do not know where I put it," about the cutting (*ḥazz*) of *Sahl* ibn Hārūn.[122]

The third:

Its beginning: "We begin it, and with Allāh there is success, by mentioning the dove and what Allāh has bestowed upon it."

Its ending: "In that there is praiseworthy work, benefit with great usefulness and with manifest good effects."[123]

The fourth:

Its beginning: "The discussion about the ant and the grub."[124]

Its ending: "Kurdūs al-Murādī said."[125]

The fifth:

Its beginning: "We begin in the name of Allāh by completing the statement about the fires of the Arabs and Persians."

Its ending: "As though when we came to it we encamped at the side of the garden spot, its freshness quenching thirst."[126]

The sixth:

Its beginning: "We have spoken about scripts, their benefits and their advantages in general."[127]

[120] Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, I, 3, main text.

[121] *Ibid.*, II, 10. This passage has to do with an analysis of the word for "dog" (*kalb*), giving examples.

[122] *Ibid.*, II, 375. This refers to an amusing anecdote about Sahl ibn Hārūn, telling about the cutting off of a rooster's head and its disappearance.

[123] *Ibid.*, III, 5 nn., p. 59. The ending refers to the meat of bats.

[124] *Ibid.*, IV, 5. The word translated "grub" (*al-dharrah*) may also be the egg of the ant.

[125] *Ibid.*, IV, 492. The proper name cannot be identified.

[126] *Ibid.*, V, 5, 604.

[127] *Ibid.*, VI, 5. For the statement about scripts referred to here, *ibid.*, I, 62.

Its ending: "Abū al-*Muthannā* prospered in al-'Irāq and taught his people to eat *al-khabīṣ*."[128]

The seventh:

Its beginning: "Knowing the animals. Oh, our God, verily we seek Thy protection from Satan."[129]

Its ending: "Clad with encirclement of iron as though."[130]

[Additional Books by al-*Jāḥiẓ*]

Explanation and Exposition (Kitāb al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn)[131]—there are two manuscripts for this book, the first and the second, the second being the more accurate and excellent;[132] Sowing and the Palm Tree (al-Zar' wa-al-Nakhl);[133] The Difference between a Prophet and One Claiming to Be a Prophet (Al-Farq bayn al-Nabī wa-al-Mutanabbī); Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); The Replies of the Book of Knowledge;[134] Questions of the Book of Knowledge; Refutation of Those Who [Claim to] Have Divine Inspiration; Order of the Qur'ān, three copies (Naẓm al-Qur'ān, thalāthat nusakh); Questions in the Qur'ān;[135] Excellence of the Mu'tazilah; Refutation of the Mushabbihah; The Imamate, according to the Doctrine of the Shī'ah. Statement about the Declaration of the Branches of the Zaydīyah (Ḥikāyat Qawl Aṣnaf al-Zaydīyah); The 'Uthmānīyah;[136] Historical Traditions and How They Are Valid; Refutation of the Christians; The Heavy-Spoken Man of al-Mirbad;

[128] *Ibid.*, VI, 510. The translation follows this passage cited, as the Beatty MS has the preposition *'alā* instead of *'allam* ("taught"). *Al-khabīṣ* is a dish of dates with butter.

[129] *Ibid.*, VII, 5. In al-Jāḥiẓ's own text, the first phrase is "Knowing the species of animals."

[130] *Ibid.*, VII, 263. This line comes at the end of a poem and is metaphorical, following a simile about a mountain.

[131] For this translation of the title, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 347 top. The titles in the following list should be compared with the ones given in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 76, 77.

[132] The following incomplete statement is found at this point; it is not translated in the text: "The beginning of the first section of the second."

[133] See n. 118.

[134] In the Beatty MS the word *jawabāt* ("replies") followed by several letters has been inserted under the word for book. Flügel gives the singular, "reply."

[135] The passage of Yāqūt (see n. 131) omits *fī* ("in").

[136] This refers to the adherents of *'Uthmān*, the third caliph.

Refutation of the 'Uthmānīyah;[137] The Caliphate of *Mu'āwiyah*; The Caliphate of the 'Abbāsids (Imāmat Banī al-'Abbās).

The Two Youths (Al-Fityān);[138] The Leaders (Military Chiefs, Al-Quwwād); The Robbers (Al-Luṣūṣ); Mention of What There Is [Shared] between the Zaydīyah and the Rāfiḍah; Discourse about Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); The Art (Formation) of Speech;[139] Praising of *'Alī*, about giving authority to the judges (Taṣwib 'Alī fī taḥkīm al-ḥakamīn);[140] Things Necessary for the Caliphate (Wujūb al-Imāmah); Idols (Al-Aṣnām); Deputies and Guardians (Al-Wukalā' wa-al-Muwakkalīn);[141] The Drinker and What Is Drunk (Al-Shārib wa-al-Mashrūb); The Glory of Winter and Summer (Iftikhār al-Shitā' wa-al-Ṣayf); The Teachers (Al-Mu'allimīn);[142] Slave Girls (Al-Jawārī) (*or* Associates [Al-Ḥawārī]); Rare Forms of Goodness (Nawādir al-Ḥusn) (*or* Rare Anecdotes about al-Ḥasan [Nawādir al-Ḥasan]); The Misers (Al-Bukhalā');[143] The Difference between the Banū 'Abd Shams and Makhzūm;[144] The Lame and the Lepers (Al-'Urjān wa-al-Burṣān);[145] Nobility of the Members of Qaḥṭān and 'Adnān;[146] Making a Quadrangle and a Circle (Al-Tarbi' wa-al-Tadwīr).[147]

[137] Yāqūt (see n. 131) gives *'Iṣām al-Murīd*, which might refer to a man called 'Iṣām the Seeker (after knowledge). The translation is taken from the Beatty MS, which seems to indicate either *'Abām al-Mirbad* or, if a consonant point is placed over the first letter of the Arabic, *Ghannām al-Mirbad*. *'Abām* is a person with heavy speech, probably a nomad. *Ghannām* is "sheep owner." Al-Mirbad was the market place of al-Baṣrah, where al-Jāḥiẓ used to talk with the nomads who came to sell their animals, so as to learn the tribal vernaculars. See Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 63.

[138] This very likely refers to al-*Ḥasan* and al-*Ḥusayn*, the two grandsons of the Prophet, although it might signify "day" and "night."

[139] The Arabic is *Ṣinā'at al-Kalām*, from the Beatty MS. Yāqūt (see n. 131) gives *Ṣiyāghat al-Kalām*, which would imply *Goldsmithing Speech* and must be wrong.

[140] The last word may be *al-ḥakamayn*. This may refer to the appointment of arbitrators to settle the famous dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah.

[141] The final word may be *muwakkilīn* ("those who appoint deputies") instead of *muwakkalīn*.

[142] This may be instead *The Instructed* ("*Al-Mu'allamīn*").

[143] For a modern French translation, see Jāḥiẓ, *Le Livre des avares*.

[144] 'Abd Shams was the ancestor of the Umayyads, while Makhzūm was a noble family of Makkah. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 189; "Makhzūm," *Enc. Islam*, III, 171. Yāqūt (see n. 131) has *al-fakhr* ("glory"), whereas the Beatty MS has *al-farq* ("difference").

[145] The translation follows the Yāqūt passage (see n. 131). Instead of *al-'urjān* ("lame"), the Beatty MS has a word which seems to be an error in copying.

[146] These were the two original divisions of the Arabian tribes; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 32.

[147] Reference to a modern edition of this book will be found in the Bibliography. To understand the significance of this book, see Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 51 ff.

Humble Companions (Al-Ṭufaylīyīn); Dispositions of the Kings (Akhlāq al-Mulūk); The Judicial Interpretation (Al-Futyā); Excellence of the Troops of the Caliphate and Superior Qualities of the Turks (Manāqib Jund al-Khilāfah wa-Faḍā'il al-Atrāk);[148] The Envious and the Envied (Al-Ḥāsid wa-al-Maḥsūd); Refutation of the Jews; The Pure [-Blooded] and the Sons of Slave Mothers (Al-Ṣuraḥā' wa-al-Hujanā'); The Blacks and the Whites (Al-Sūdān wa-al-Bīḍān); Life in the Next World and the Present Life (Al-Ma'ād wa-al-Ma'āsh); Women (Al-Nisā'); Comparison between the Arabs and Persians (Foreigners) (Al-Taswīyah bayn al-'Arab wa-al-'Ajam); The Government (Al-Sulṭān) and the Dispositions of Its People (Administrators); The Threat (Al-Wa'īd); The Towns (Regions); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhbār); The Demonstration that the Imamate is a Divine Command (Al-Dalālah 'alā an al-Imāmah Farḍ); Al-Istiṭā'ah wa-Khalq al-Af'āl;[149] The Artisans (Saddle Makers), Wealth and Craftwork (Al-Muqayyinīn wa-al-Ghanā' wa-al-Ṣan'ah); Gifts (Al-Hadāyā); The Emaciated (The Plagiarized, Al-Manḥūl); The Brothers (Al-Ikhwān); Refutation of Whoever Has Apostatized, about the Book of Allāh (Al-Radd 'alā man Alḥad fī Kitāb Allāh); What Is the Qur'ān? (Āy al-Qur'ān); The Amorous: Growing Hot, Growing Cold[150] (Al-'Āshiq al-Nāshī al-Mutalāshī).

A Perfume Shop (Ḥanūt 'Aṭṭār); The Comparison (Al-Tamthīl); The Excellence of Learning (Faḍl al-'Ilm); Gaity and Earnestness (Al-Mirāh wa-al-Jadd);[151] The Assembly of Kings (Jamharat al-Mulūk); Polo Sticks (Al-Ṣawālijah);[152] Denouncing Fornication (Dhamm al-Zinā'); Meditation and Consideration (Al-Tafakkur wa-al-I'tibār); Proof and Prophecy (Al-Ḥujjah wa-al-Nubūwah); to *Ibrāhīm* ibn al-Mudabbir about correspondence (al-mukātabah);[153] The Trickery of Force [Employed] against Oppression (Iḥālat al-Qudrah 'alā al-Ẓulm); Freed Slave Mothers of Children (Ummahāt al-Awlād); The Doctrine of the Mu'tazilah and Its Excellence Due to Superior Virtue (Al-I'tizāl

[148] For the Turkish bodyguard of the caliphs, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 466.

[149] *Al-istiṭā'ah* is man's ability to appropriate a foreordained action; see Glossary for references. *Khalq al-af'āl* is the divine "creation of actions," before man appropriates them.

[150] Yāqūt (see n. 131) omits *al-'āshiq* ("the amorous"). The other words mean literally, "increasing and vanishing."

[151] Yāqūt (see n. 131) has *al-muzāḥ wa-al-jadd*, which might be translated as "humorous and serious speech."

[152] Sticks with bent ends used for a game of ball on horseback, which was probably the origin of polo.

[153] Yāqūt (see n. 131) has *Āl* ("family of") instead of *ilā* ("to") before Ibrāhīm.

wa-Faḍluhu ʿan al-Faḍīlah); Dignities, Ranks, and Professions (Al-Akhṭār wa-al-Marātib wa-al-Ṣināʿāt); Story of the World (Uḥdūthat al-ʿĀlam); Refutation of Whoever Supposes that Man Is One Piece (Juz') and Not Divided (Yatajazza'); Abū al-Najm and His Reply;[154] The Apple (Al-Tuffāḥ); Social Life and Contentment (Al-Uns wa-al-Salwah); Steadfastness and Resolution (Al-Ḥazm wa-al-ʿAzm); The Great, the Beautiful, and the Ugly (Al-Kibar al-Mustaḥsan wa-al-Mustaqbaḥ); Refutation of Medicine (Naqḍ al-Ṭibb); The Elements of Morals (ʿUnāṣir al-Ādāb); Preserving Possessions (Taḥṣīn al-Amwāl); Similes (Proverbs); Superiority of the Horse over the Pack Animal (Faḍīl al-Faras ʿalā al-Himlāj).

What Has Been Regarded as an Epistle among the Works of al-Jāḥiẓ[155]

His epistle to Abū al-*Faraj* ibn Najjāḥ about examining the wise ideas (minds) of the ancients (imtiḥān ʿuqūl al-awliyā'); his epistle to Abū al-*Najm* about the land tax (al-kharāj); his epistle about the pen (script, al-qalm); his epistle about excellence in choice of books (faḍl ittikhādh al-kutub[156]); his epistle about keeping a secret (kitmān al-sirr); his epistle about praise of wine (madḥ al-nabīdh); his epistle about the reproach of wine (dhamm al-nabīdh); his epistle about forgiveness and pardon (al-ʿafw wa-al-ṣafḥ); his epistle about the offense of drunkenness (ithm al-sukr); his epistle about hope and the hoped-for (al-amal wa-al-maʾmūl); his epistle about ornament (elegance of literary style, al-ḥilyah); his epistle about the reproach of secretaries (dhamm al-kuttāb); his epistle about praise of the warrāqūn; his epistle about reproaching them; his epistle about who among the poets was named 'Umar;[157] his epistle about the excess of the ignorance of Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-*Kindī*; his epistle about generosity (al-karm), addressed to Abū al-*Faraj* ibn Najāḥ; his epistle about the unique (al-yatīmah);[158] his epistle about the death of Abū Ḥarb al-*Ṣaffār* al-Baṣrī; his epistle about inheritance (al-mīrāth);

[154] Abū al-Najm may be one of the men of this name listed in the Biog. Index, or the character in a story, or perhaps a friend of al-Jāḥiẓ.

[155] See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 77–78, for these epistles.

[156] This might be *al-kutab*, an unusual plural for "secretaries."

[157] For this epistle, the translation follows Yāqūt (see n. 155).

[158] This was a popular title for books, the most famous one being *The Unique Pearl* ("*Al-Durrah al-Yatīmah*") by Ibn al-*Muqaffa*ʿ; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 401 top.

his epistle about kīmiyā' wa-al-kīmiyā';[159] his epistle about obstinate arbitrariness and consultation in war (al-istibdād wa-al-mushāwarah fī al-ḥarb); his epistle about refutation of the qawlīyah.[160]

The Lion and the Wolf (Al-Asad wa-al-Dhi'b);[161] The Kings and the Nations: Those Extinct and Those Surviving (Al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam: al-Sālifah wa-al-Bāqiyah); Judges and Governors (Al-Quḍāh wa-al-Wulāh); The Wise and the Ignorant (Al-'Ālim wa-al-Jāhil); Al-Nard[162] and Chess (Al-Nard wa-al-Shaṭranj); Adulteration of the Crafts (Ghashsh al-Ṣina'āt); Dispute between the Cross-Eyed Man and the Man Blind in One Eye (Khuṣūmat al-Ḥūl wa-al-'Ūr); Stricken by Blights (Dhawī al-'Āhāt); The Singers (Al-Mughannīyīn); The Manners of Those Who Pester Their Friends (Akhlāq al-Shuṭṭār).[163]

I have found written in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Furāt*, near the epistles of al-Jāḥiẓ, what has not been mentioned and is added to al-Nadīm ———.[164]

Epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn Isrā'īl; epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn al-Munajjim,[165] about care of speech (ḥifẓ al-lisān); another epistle to Aḥmad ibn al-Munajjim; epistle to *Sulaymān* ibn Wahb; epistle to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wahb; epistle to *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Malik, about anger and satisfaction (al-ghaḍab wa-al-riḍā'); epistle about thanks (praise, al-shukr); epistle about earnestness and joking (al-jidd wa-al-hazl); epistle about the description of the important matters concerning the creation of the Qur'ān, about which there are also five other epistles; epistle to Muḥammad al-*Yazīdī*; four epistles to Ibn Najāḥ [Abū al-*Faraj*], about the mind, judgment, and other things (al-'aql al-ḥukm wa-ghayrihi); epistle to Abū 'Amr *Aḥmad* ibn Sa'īd, to whom three other epistles were also addressed.

[159] Yāqūt (see n. 155) gives *Kitāb al-Kīmiyā'* ("The Book of Alchemy"). The repetition of the word *kīmiyā'*, in the Beatty MS, may be an error in copying, or meant to be "elixir," or have some other significance. See "al-Kīmiyā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1010.

[160] *Qawlīyah* is sometimes used for the "multitude," with its Biblical significance. It may also refer to some sect, which cannot be identified, or else to the uneducated, common people.

[161] This second paragraph is a list of book titles.

[162] An old game similar to backgammon or checkers. See Chap. III, sect. 3, n. 186.

[163] Yāqūt (see n. 155) ends his list at this point, omitting the epistles which follow.

[164] This is an attempt to translate what is legible in a marginal note of the Beatty MS. The list which follows was evidently added to the text by some scribe.

[165] Probably *Aḥmad* ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim.

Epistle to *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Yaḥyā [ibn Khāqān]; epistle to Ibn Abī *Dā'ūd* about the book "Order of the Qur'ān" (Naẓm al-Qur'ān); also an epistle addressed to him about the qualities of the book "The Judicial Interpretation (Al-Futyā);[166] epistle to Abū al-*Walīd* ibn Aḥmad about cauterization (al-kayy); epistle to *'Abdān* ibn Abī Ḥarb, to whom he also addressed two other epistles; epistle about the reproach for what is plagiarized;[167] epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm about the qualities of a court companion (ṣifāt al-nadīm); epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn al-Mudabbir; epistle to Aḥmad ibn al-Mudabbir 'Awn,[168] about guarding a secret and [use of] the tongue (ḥifẓ al-sirr wa-al-lisān); epistle to the Commander of the Faithful al-Muntaẓar bi-Allāh [*Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan]; epistle to *Aḥmad* ibn al-Khaṭīb, which was the last [epistle] that I found [listed] in the handwriting of Ibn al-*Furāt*.

Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād[169]

Although no book of his is recorded, we mention Ibn Abī Duwād because he was one of the superior members of the Mu'tazilah, unsullied, a part of the pure living of the sect, upholding his people and his responsibility for them.[170]

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād ibn Jarīr ibn Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbād ibn Salām ibn Mālik ibn 'Abd Hind ibn Lakhm ibn Mālik ibn Qamas[171] ibn Man'ah (Mana'ah) ibn Daws ibn al-Dīl ibn[172] Umayyah ibn Ḥudhafah ibn Zuhr ibn Iyād ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add.

[166] This book and the one preceding it may have been those listed as the works of al-Jāḥiẓ. The word translated as "qualities" in this title and the fourth one to follow, is probably meant for *ṣifāt*, although the *a* is not given in its long form.

[167] "What is plagiarized" is written *al-manḥūlah*, but perhaps *al-manḥūl* is the word meant.

[168] In the marginal note in the Beatty MS the name al-Mudabbir is crossed out, and the name Abī 'Awn is inserted underneath. See Biog. Index, Abū *'Awn*, Aḥmad ibn al-Najm.

[169] Some authorities spell the last element "Du'ād."

[170] The word translated "upholding" is not clear and may have some other significance. A.D. 851, the Caliph al-*Mutawakkil* turned against the Mu'tazilah. He became angry with the son of Aḥmad and dispossessed the father of his property. This sentence may refer to Aḥmad's fortitude at this time.

[171] The Beatty MS is not clear; "Qamas" is taken from Khallikān, I, 61, and Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 31 top.

[172] The Beatty MS has *min* ("from") instead of *ibn*.

His birth was at al-Baṣrah and he was one of the protégés of *Yaḥyā* ibn Aktham, who introduced him to al-*Ma'mūn*. Then, through al-Ma'mūn he became associated with al-*Mu'taṣim*. Among the sons of the people of his kind, there was never seen a more honorable, excellent, or liberal person. It is said that he was adopted by Iyād, his status being recorded in the book *Faults* (*Kitāb al-Mathālib*). *Mukhallad* ibn Bakkār said, lampooning him:

With me thou art of Iyād, this is not mere talk.[173]
An Arab art thou, an Arab in truth, not by coercion.[174]
The hair of your legs and thighs is *khuzāmā* and *thumām*,[175]
Your chest bones show with moles.
If you make a motion, there will not flee from you even an ostrich,
Or prolific gazelles with large loins.
What fault of mine is it if people lie about thee?
For verily they say that he is a Ḥām of the Banū Anbāṭ.[176]
Verily a true Arab art thou in lineage; So farewell.[177]

Aḥmad had a number of sons with Arabicized names and surnames. The most distinguished of the group was Abū al-*Walīd*, who served as a judge during his father's lifetime, but died about a month before his father's death. Abū al-Walīd wrote a number of books about the law, agreeing in point of view with Abū *Ḥanīfah*. We will give a thorough account of him in his proper place.

Aḥmad ibn Abī Duwād died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 854/55], during the caliphate of al-*Mutawakkil*, due to a paralysis which befell him. No compositions or books of his are known.

[173] The phrase translated "this is not mere talk" is literally "there is not a word." For the tribe, see "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 266; II, 379; III, 343.

[174] In this passage there is probably a satirical reference to the fact that the Iyād Tribe, to which Ibn Abī Duwād claimed to belong, fled to the Byzantines for protection, fought against the army of the early caliphate and only joined Islām under compulsion; see "Iyād," *Enc. Islam*, II, 565.

[175] *Khuzāmā* is lavender (*Lavandula spica*) and *thumām* is the herb *Panicum dichotomum*. This simile implied that he was truly an Arab.

[176] Ḥām of the Banū Anbāṭ would be a Nabataean Ḥamite, and therefore not a true Arab.

[177] "In lineage" is a free rendering of *ḥāsim* ("consecutive"). The last word is abbreviated, but evidently meant for *al-salām* ("peace"), which was often used to say farewell.

Ja'far ibn Ḥarb

He was Abū al-Faḍl ibn Ḥarb al-Hamadhānī from Hamadhān, to whom the leadership passed during his time. He was an ascetic, who abstained from the unlawful, fearing Allāh. He was also an anchorite.

It is said that he once attended a session of [the Caliph] al-*Wāthiq* for controversial discussion. When the time came to pray, those in attendance arose, al-Wāthiq leading and praying with them. But Ja'far, going aside and removing his slippers, prayed by himself. It was said that *Yaḥyā* ibn Kāmil was the nearest to him among them and that tears dripped down his cheek, fearing death for Ja'far. It was also said that when Ja'far put on his slippers and returned to the gathering, al-Wāthiq regarded him with disapproval.[178]

Then they resumed their controversy, but after they had departed *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Du'ād said to Ja'far, "This lion [al-Wāthiq] does not tolerate this kind of behavior. If you are persistent with it, don't attend the audience." Ja'far replied, "I don't want to attend it, unless you take me there!" So he [Aḥmad] told him, "Then don't attend!" It is said, moreover, that when al-Wāthiq was at a second session he remarked, after observing those present and failing to find Ja'far, "Where is the righteous shaykh?" Aḥmad replied to him, "As he has tuberculosis he has to lie down, a thing to which the audience of the Commander of the Faithful is superior." Then al-Wāthiq said, "May he be a ransom for you!" But he did not attend to Ja'far.

Ja'far died during the year two hundred and thiry-six [A.D. 850/51], when he was fifty-nine years old. Among his books there were:

Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān (Mutashābih al-Qur'ān); The Thorough Investigation (Al-Istiqṣā'); The Sources (Al-Uṣūl); Refutation of Those Upholding the [Concept of] Natures (Aṣḥāb al-Ṭabā'ī').[179]

Al-*Iskāfī*

Al-*Balkhī* said that he was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī, whose origin was from Samarqand. He had an

[178] This is a free translation, which may not be entirely correct, as the Arabic use of pronouns is not very definite. It was insulting for Ja'far to refuse to pray with the caliph, so his friend probably feared that the caliph might execute him.

[179] See Nādir, *Falsifat al-Mu'tazilah*, Part II, pp. 74–86.

extraordinary degree of learning, intelligence, and knowledge, as well as self-control, superiority of purpose, and purity from defilement.

He reached a point of old age not reached by his companions, so that [the Caliph] al-*Mu'taṣim*, marveling at him with great astonishment, advanced and enriched him. I have been told that when he spoke, he [the Caliph] paid attention to him, while those in the audience kept silence. They did not utter a word until, when he finished, al-Mu'taṣim turned to them saying, "Who can deviate from this opinion and explanation?" He [the Caliph] used to say to him, "Oh, Muḥammad, declare this doctrine to the judges (*al-mawālī*) and inform me about any one of them who refuses [to accept it], so that I may deal with him and take action."[180]

Al-Iskāfī died during the year forty [A.H. 240: A.D. 854/55]. When news of his death reached Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā *Burghūth*, he prostrated himself. Six months later he, too, died.

Al-Iskāfī was at first a tailor. His father and mother prevented him from going often to seek theology,[181] imposing upon him the necessity of earning his living. But *Ja'far* ibn Ḥarb took charge of him,[182] sending his mother twenty silver coins (s., *dirham*) each month, in lieu of his earnings. Among his books there were:

The Delightful (Al-Laṭīf); The Substitute (Al-Badal); against al-*Naẓẓām*, about the tenet that the two different natures (al-ṭabi'ayn al-mukhtalifayn) are formed together as one agent;[183] The Sessions, about giving superiority to *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace; Confirmation of the Creation of the Qur'ān (Athbāt Khalq al-Qur'ān); Refutation of the

[180] The last clause is literally, "so that I will deal with him what I shall do." This passage refers to the inquisition (*al-miḥnah*), which was begun A.D. 833, but maintained by al-Mu'taṣim. Any judge who did not subscribe to the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān was liable to be discharged from his office. See "Miḥna," *Enc. Islam*, III, 483; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 429. As the inquisition was directed especially against the judges and religious authorities, the word *al-mawālī* is translated "judges," although usually it is used for "masters" and "lords," or else for "slaves" and "protégés."

[181] This probably meant that the boy wished to leave his work in the tailor's shop, to attend classes and lectures at some mosque.

[182] It was the custom for a scholar to have a boy work for him, in return for some pay and instruction.

[183] See Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 139 bottom, 140.

Mushabbihah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah; Explanation of the Obscure (Bayān al-Mushkil), against Burghūth; Explanation of Falsifying, invalidating the book of *Ḥafṣ* (Bayān al-Tamwīh, naqḍ kitāb Ḥafṣ); Refutation of the Book of al-Ḥusayn al-*Najjār*; Refutation of Whoever Has Denied (Ankar) the Creation of the Qur'ān.

Explanation of the Declarations of the Mujbirah (Sharḥ Aqāwīl al-Mujbirah); Making Void the Statement of Anyone Who Has Spoken of the Punishment of Infants (Ibṭāl Qawl man qāl bi-Ta'dhīb al-Aṭfāl);[184] A Compendium of the Dogma of the People of Truth (Jumal Qawl Ahl al-Ḥaqq);[185] Grace (Al-Na'īm); about what the theologians disagree on; against al-Ḥusayn [al-*Najjār*] about al-istiṭā'ah; The Virtues of *'Alī*, for Whom May There Be Peace; Drinks (Al-Ashribah); Al-Quṭb;[186] against *Hishām*;[187] Refutation of the Book of Ibn *Shabīb* about the Threat (Al-Wa'īd).

Ibn al-*Iskāfī*

He was Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Iskāfī, a secretary with good literary style, to whom al-*Mu'taṣim* assigned one of his government offices and who was superior to many of the secretaries. Among his books there was *The Standard of Measure and Balance* (*Al-Mi'yār wa-al-Muwāzanah*).

Mention of the Persons among the Mu'tazilah Who Adopted Innovations and Individual Doctrines

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: We mention these men at this point of time, after which we shall return to mentioning the sincere members of the Mu'tazilah, whom we shall record in sequence until our own time. In Allāh is confidence.[188]

[184] This evidently refers to the foreordaining of infants to go to hell.

[185] In this paragraph, *Qawl* ("saying") and *aqāwīl* ("sayings") are translated in different ways to fit the context.

[186] This word is used for the Prophet Muḥammad, but may also mean the Pole Star or that upon which an affair depends, among other meanings. See also Sprenger, pp. 1166 ff.

[187] Almost certainly *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam.

[188] Further mention of the "sincere members of the Mu'tazilah" is not made in the Beatty MS, the pages referring to them having been lost. Some of them are mentioned in the Tonk MS, following the termination of the Beatty MS.

Al-*Aṣamm*

It is related that *Thumāmah* once described Abū Bakr [al-Aṣamm] to al-*Ma'mūn* with eloquence of portrayal. Thumāmah said [about this incident], "One day I said to him [al-Ma'mūn], 'Oh, Commander of the Faithful, you are the caliph, whereas he [al-Aṣamm] is a subject. If you should see him, you would treat him generously.' When he [the caliph] came to al-'Irāq he said, 'Where is your friend, whom you were describing. Present him, that we may give him patronage.'[189] Then he went on to relate, "I said, 'He has gone before you, oh, Commander of the Faithful, for he died before your arrival.'"

He was poor, bearing his poverty with great patience. His friends said to him, "All have benefited by their companions, who have given property and other worldly things, but we do not give you anything." It is related that he replied, "By Allāh, I have not expected that your companionship would bring me the world!"[190]

In his time he was counted as one of the Mu'tazilah, but because he turned against the Commander of the Faithful *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace, he was slandered and ruled out from the sincere group of the Mu'tazilah.[191] He died during the year of the Hijrah two hundred [A.D. 815/16], but it is also said [during the year], one [A.H. 201]. Among his books there were:

Commentary on the Qur'ān (Tafsīr al-Qur'ān); Creation of the Qur'ān (Khalq al-Qur'ān); Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); The Proof and the Apostles;[192] The Things about Which the Mujbirah Ask;[193] An Explanation of the Names of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; The Imamate; Division of the People and Dissention of the Partisans (Iftirāq al-Ummah wa-Ikhtilāf al-Shiya'); The Command for Good and Prohibition of Evil (Al-Amr bi-al-Ma'rūf wa-al-Nahy 'an al-Munkar); Refutation of *Hishām*[194] regarding al-Tashbīh; The Created [the Qur'ān]; Motions; The Compendium, against the Rāfiḍah.

[189] The Arabic word translated as "give him patronage" (*istakaff*) probably implies that the caliph will benefit by the presence of al-*Aṣamm* if he includes him in the entourage of the court.

[190] This passage is translated freely.

[191] See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 170.

[192] Instead of *al-hujjah* ("proof"), this may be *al-hijjah* ("pilgrimage").

[193] The word translated "things" is *al-āy*, which may also mean "signs" or "verses."

[194] Probably *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam.

Refutation of the Mujbirah about the created [the Qur'ān]; Refutation of the Dahrīyah; against the heretics (al-mulḥidah); Refutation of the Jews; Refutation of the Magians; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Epistles of the Imams about Justice (Rasā'il al-A'immah fī al-'Adl); Refutation of Whoever Has Spoken with the Sword (al-Sayf); against those who give legal interpretations ('alā ahl al-fatwā); The Compendium about the Apostles (Al-Mūjaz fī al-Rusul); Refutation of the Zanādiqah; Knowledge of Aspects of Theology (Ma'rifat Wujūh al-Kalām); What Is Directed by the Book and the Sunnah, with a Description of the Great and the Small.[195]

Al-*Fūṭī*

He was Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Fūṭī, the second letter being quiescent as is required in Arabic. He was one of the friends (disciples) of Abū al-*Hudhayl*, though he deviated from him [his teachings]. The Mu'tazilah were uncertain with regards to him and, according to what Ibn al-*Ikhshīd* recorded, they turned away from him. He was one of the people of al-Baṣrah, but traveled to numerous lands of the sea.[196]

A group of people from the cities accepted his call to the Mu'tazilī doctrine [*al-i'tizāl*]. Hishām asserted that Satan does not enter into a man, but whispers to him from outside. Allāh is greater than this, for his whispering reaches the heart of a son of Adam, to test him. Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān]; Refutation of al-*Aṣamm*, about rejecting of motions (fī nafy al-ḥarakāt); Creation of the Qur'ān; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Answer of the People of Khurāsān; To the People of al-Baṣrah; The Five Sources (Al-Uṣūl al-Khams);[197] against the Bakrīyah; against Abū al-*Hudhayl*, about grace (al-na'īm).

Ḍirār ibn 'Amr

He was surnamed Abū 'Amr and was one of the persons claimed by the Mu'tazilah. It is said that it was the custom of Abū *Yūsuf*,

[195] The Book refers to the Qur'ān and "great" and "small" to different types of sins.

[196] Instead of "sea" (*al-baḥr*) this might be "trade" (*al-tajr*).

[197] The jurist al-*Shāfi'ī* adopted four sources for the law: the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, analogy, and consensus of opinion. Al-*Fūṭī* may have adopted a fifth, such as personal opinion, or this may refer to a theological rather than a legal theory.

the friend of Abū *Ḥanīfah*, to pass by [the house of] Ḍirār when he wished to go to the place of prayer.[198] It happened that when he passed by him, seeking to observe the prayer for the feast on the Day of Sacrifice (Yawm al-Naḥr), Ḍirār was with the sacrifice (body) of his sheep, which was being skinned. So Abū Yūsuf said to him, "Oh, Abū 'Amr, what does this mean, you are slaughtering before the imam (prayer leader) prays!" It is said that Ḍirār replied to him, "I thought that the sessions of the scholars (*al-'ulamā'*) had already educated you, so who is this imam here, for whose prayer I should wait?" Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of All the Heretics (al-Mulḥidah); The Created [the Qur'ān]; Contradiction of the Ḥadīth (Tanāquḍ al-Ḥadīth); The Inducement (Al-Mad'awah);[199] Guidance, about the occurrence of things (Al-Dalālah, 'alā ḥadath al-ashyā'); Refutation of the Heretics (Al-Mulḥidūn); combining thirteen books (chapters) about a refutation of the Mushabbihah; combining six books about a refutation of the heretics (al-mulḥidīn); combining ten books about a refutation of the people of sects (sectarians); Equation (Comparison, Al-Musāwāh); Al-Kharā'iṭ;[200] Confirmation of the Apostles.

Refutation of Aristotle, about essential and accidental properties (al-jawāhir wa-al-a'rāḍ); four epistles against innovators (ahl al-ahwā');[201] The Two Governments (Al-Dawlatayn);[202] Incitement and Impulses (Al-Taḥrīsh wa-al-Ighrā'); to whoever among the Muslims matures (attains knowledge); Friday (Al-Jum'ah); Kindness and Gratitude (Al-Ma'rūf wa-al-Shukr); Commentary on the Qur'ān; Refutation of the Zanādiqah; The Threat (Al-Wa'īd); The Enemy Who Is a Reconciler (Al-'Adw al-Muṣliḥ); Thought about Allāh on the Day of Judgment (Al-Fikr fī Allāh 'alā al-Wāqi'ah), which has five books (chapters); against the Murji'ah, about intercession (al-shafā'ah).

[198] For the two men almost certainly referred to in this passage, see Biog. Index, Abū *Yūsuf* Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm and Abū *Ḥanīfah*; see also Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 91.

[199] This word is given as "inducement" which seems to be what is intended, although in the Beatty MS it is written, perhaps incorrectly, as *al-mad'ūwah*, an unidentified form.

[200] This is used for leather strips bound together, often in the form of an official briefcase. It might be an unusual form for the plural of "purge."

[201] For *ahl al-ahwā'* ("innovators," "unconventional persons"), see Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, II, 2204, left side, ll. 4–6.

[202] The two governments were almost certainly the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties.

Disagreements about Atoms (Ikhtilāf al-Ajzā'); Refutation of Those Upholding the [Concept of] Natures (Aṣḥāb al-Taba'i');[203] Refutation of the Christians; Epistle of the Ṣūfīs (Risālat al-Ṣūfīyīn); Disagreement of the People and Confirmation of the Proof (Ikhtilāf al-Nās wa-Ithbāt al-Ḥujjah); Refutation of the Khawārij; Predestination; The Desire (Al-Irādah); Similitude (Allegory); Assistance, about the Forsaken (Al-Ma'ūnah fī al-Khadlān); Possessions, Property, Periods (Deaths), and Children (Al-Arzāq wa-al-Mulk wa-al-Ājāl wa-al-Aṭfāl); The Copied (The Quoted, Al-Manqūlīn); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhbār).

Reasons and Knowledge in Connection with Prophecy (Al-Asbāb wa-al-'Ilm 'alā al-Nabūwah); against the Fuḍaylīyah and the Muḥakkimah, in connection with their assertion that people belong to the Faith, even if there appears among them wrongdoing; against the Murji'ah in connection with the names [of Allāh]; The Middle Position (Al-Manzilah bayn al-Manzilatayn); Interpretation of the Qur'ān (Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān); The Two Regimes (Al-Ḥukmayn);[204] Morals of the Theologians (Ādāb al-Mutakallimīn); against the Azāriqah, the Najadāt, and the Murji'ah.

Refutation of the Wāqifah, the Jahmīyah, and the Ghaylānīyah; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah and the Ḥashawīyah; Refutation of the One Who Thinks That the Prophets Disagreed about an Attribute of Allāh, Glorified and Exalted; Refutation of Mu'ammar about His Saying That Muḥammad Is Lord;[205] The Imamate; The Will; Refutation of the Mughīrīyah and the Manṣūrīyah, about their saying that the earth is never without a prophet; Refutation of the Ḥashawīyah, about their saying that if the Prophet was asked forgiveness for a man, he would pardon him; against anyone who thinks that the Prophet omitted anything from the Faith (al-Dīn), or understood[206] the invisible (al-ghayb); that the names [of Allāh] are not compared (al-asmā' la tuqās).

'*Abbād* ibn Sulaymān

Abū Sahl 'Abbād ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī is counted among the Mu'tazilah of al-Baṣrah. He was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah and an associate (pupil) of Hishām ibn 'Amr [al-*Fūṭī*], but he

[203] See Nādir, *Falsifat al-Mu'tazilah*, Part II, pp. 74–86.

[204] Al-Ḥukmayn must refer to the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties.

[205] Mu'ammar probably refers to either *Mu'ammar* ibn 'Abbād or *Mu'ammar* ibn al-Ash'ath. "Lord" (*al-rabb*) is used for Allāh, but not Muḥammad.

[206] The word translated "understood" might be "knew" or "taught."

disagreed with the Mu'tazilah about some points, having particular ideas which he himself invented. Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī* described him as skillful in theology, but then he said, "If it were not for his craziness!"

When 'Abbād was speaking with a Sophist, it is related that the Sophist said to him, "A thirsty man once came to drink what he supposed to be water, but he found it to be something else. How can you deny that this is the way of all suppositions?"[207] 'Abbād replied to him, "If this man, who desired a drink which he supposed to be water but found to be some other beverage, had come to the Tigris, he would have supposed that it also contained that other beverage. But by his experience he would have learned from the Tigris and the water in it what the truth really was, just as he learned previously about that other beverage, recognizing the difference between water and the beverage by his sense perceptions." Thereupon the man stopped [talking].[208]

Among the books of 'Abbād there were:

Denial That Men Create Their Actions (Al-Inkār ann Yakhliq al-Nās Af'ālahum); Determining Guidance for Accidents (Tathbīt Dalālat al-A'rāḍ[209]); Confirmation of the Atom Which Does Not Divide (Ithbāt al-Juz' al-Ladhī La Yatajuzza').

Abū Sa'īd al-*Ḥuṣrī* al-Ṣūfī

He was one of the Mu'tazilah, but he confused and invented [doctrines]. Among his books there were:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Al-Istiṭā'ah; The Created [the Qur'ān], against the Mujbirah; Oaths (Al-Aymān);[210] The Virtues (Faḍā'il) of *'Alī*, for Whom May There Be Peace.

[207] In the Beatty MS the word "thirsty" (*al-aṭshān*) is crossed out and on the margin there is given the word "mistaken" (*sādir*).

[208] This passage has been translated freely. The point is that the Sophists denied reality. The word translated "beverage" (*al-sharāb*) is often used for "syrup" or "wine."

[209] Instead of "accidents" this may refer to "bodies."

[210] This may be *The Faith* (*Al-I'mān*).

Abū *Ḥafṣ* al-Ḥaddād

Although he was one of those who invented new doctrines, he was a Mu'tazilī, among whose books there was *Al-Ḥārūf*,[211] in connection with sufficiency of proofs, concerning which he was refuted by Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*, al-*Khayyāṭ* [Abū al-Ḥusayn], and al-*Ḥārith* al-Warrāq.

'*Īsā* al-Ṣūfī

He was Abū Mūsā 'Īsā ibn al-Haytham, who was one of the important members of the Mu'tazilah, but who after a time confused [his doctrines]. Ibn al-*Rāwandī* received information from him. He died during the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859/60]. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū '*Īsā* al-Warrāq

Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Muḥammad al-Warrāq was one of the brilliant theologians who was a Mu'tazilī, but confused [the doctrines] until his confusion caused him to be accused of belonging to the sect of the adherents of dualism. Ibn al-*Rāwandī* drew upon [his ideas]. Among his books there were:

Discourses; The Event (Al-Ḥadath); the large book, The Imamate; the small book, The Imamate; The Unusual Eastern in Rhyme (Al-Gharīb al-Mashraqī fī al-Nawḥ), against "The Book of the Animal" (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān);[212] A Recounting about the Sects of the Adherents of Dualism (Iqtiṣāṣ Madhāhib Aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn), with a refutation of them; the large book, Refutation of the Christians; the medium-size book, Refutation of the Christians; the small book, Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Magians; Refutation of the Jews.

Ibn al-*Rāwandī*

In the book *The Virtues of Khurāsān* (*Maḥāsin Khurāsān*), al-Balkhī said, "He was Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-

[211] *Al-ḥārūf* lacks consonant signs and the letter at the end might be *q* instead of *f*. It is, therefore, very likely meant for *al-khāzūq*. In later times this was used for "a stake for impaling," whereas in modern slang it means "a thorny problem." What the meaning was in the tenth century is not certain.

[212] This was evidently a criticism of the famous *Book of the Animal* by al-Jāḥiẓ. The word "eastern" is the only translation which fits the form in the Beatty MS, but it may not be correct.

Rāwandī[213] from among the people of Marw al-Rūz.[214] He was one of the theologians, and during his time there was no one among his peers who was keener than he was in theology or better acquainted with its subtlety and importance.[215]

During the first part of his life he was straightforward, sound in doctrine, and exceedingly modest. Then he was divested of all this because of influences affecting him and because his learning was greater than his intelligence. Appropriate to him was the saying of the poet:

> Who developed righteously in his childhood,
> But became concealed when repudiated.[216]

A group reported that he repented of what he had been doing, at the time of his death, so that penitence and his confession purified him. He encountered, however, scorn and disdain directed toward him, because of the cruelty of his companions and their expelling him from their meetings.[217]

He wrote most of his heretical books for Abū *'Īsā* al-Yahūdī al-Ahwāzī, and it was at the home of this man that he died. Among the cursed books composed for him, which are known, there are:

The Crown (Al-Tāj), in which he argues for the eternity of the world;[218] The Emerald (Al-Zumurrud), in which he argues about the apostles and the falsity of apostleship; The Description of Wisdom in the Scripture of Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified (Na't al-Ḥikmah bi-Ṣifr Allāh), about requiring from his creation what he has ordered and forbidden

[213] The Beatty MS omits the long *alif*. The correct spelling of the name Rāwand, from which this word is taken, is found in Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 741.

[214] *Ibid.*, IV, 506.

[215] It is possible that this phrase should be translated, "or more known for precision and honor."

[216] This very likely refers to the fact that when the companions of Ibn al-Rāwandī wanted to have him executed, he hid in the home of his Jewish patron at al-Kūfah; see Murtaḍā, p. 92, l. 14.

[217] This passage and the list of books which follows should be compared with the Cairo Appendix, p. 5. See also Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), Introduction, pp. xxii, ff., xxviii, for a list of the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī. The final word, "meetings" (*majālis*), is often translated "sessions," which see in Glossary.

[218] This was a book upholding dualism and the eternity of matter. For this title and several others which follow, see Murtaḍā, p. 92.

(fī taklīf khalqihi amrahu wa-nahyahu);[219] The Striker, in which he speaks ill of the order of the Qur'ān (Al-Dāmigh, yaṭ'an fīhi 'alā nuẓum al-Qur'ān);[220] The Branch, in which he shows that the knowledge of Allāh about things is an event, and that He was without knowledge until He created for himself knowledge;[221] The Unique, about accusation of the Prophet (Al-Farīd, fī al-ṭa'n 'alā al-Nabī), for whom may there be peace'[222] The Coral (Al-Marjān);[223] The Pearl, about denial of motions (Al-Lu'lu'ah, manāhī al-ḥarakāt).

Ibn al-Rāwandī said:

I passed by a shaykh who was seated with a Qur'ān in his hand. He was reading, "To Allāh is the waterspout (*al-mīzāb*) of the heavens and the earth." I saluted and said, "Oh, shaykh, why do you read that the Qur'ān says 'To Allāh is the waterspout of the heavens and the earth'?" He said, "This is the rain which you see." Then I said, "A mistake in pronunciation only exists when it is explained. It is not like that, but is 'The heritage (*al-mīrāth*) of the heavens and the earth.'" He then said, "Our God is forgiving; for forty years I have read it and in my confusing it is thus."[224]

Ibn al-Rāwandī died ———. Among his books there were:

The Names and the Decrees: The Days of Righteousness (Al-Asmā wa'l-Aḥkām: Ayyām Ṣalāḥah); Commencing and Recommencing (Al-Ibtadā' wa-al-I'ādah); The Imamate; Creation of the Qur'ān; Continuation and Annihilation (Al-Baqā' wa-al-Fanā');[225] Al-Waqf;

[219] Murtaḍā (*ibid.*) says that this book is about dualism.

[220] Murtaḍā (*ibid.*) also speaks of this book, and says that it deals with a refutation of the Qur'ān.

[221] In the Beatty MS the title *Al-Qadīb* ("The Branch") has a line through it with some letters inserted after it, but the text is not clear enough to decipher them. In the Qur'ān 2: 117, it explains how Allāh creates: "When He decreeth a matter, He says to it *Be* and it is."

[222] Murtaḍā, p. 92, says that this book is a refutation of the prophets. In the Beatty MS it is clearly written *al-farīd* ("the unique"), but in Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nādir), p. xxix and in the Cairo Appendix it is given as *al-farand* (*al-firand*), meaning "sword."

[223] In the Beatty MS some words are inserted on the margin, but they are not legible.

[224] The word translated "confusing" is given in the Beatty MS as *taṣḥīf* ("mistaking of words").

[225] Although the mystics used the word *al-fanā'* for "ecstasy," it probably means "annihilation" here. See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 181 bottom.

The Red Stone, the Days of Its Corruption (Al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar Ayyām Fasādih);[226] The Black Stone (Al-Ḥajar al-Aswad) likewise; There Is Nothing unless It Is Existing (Mawjūd); Al-Istiṭā'ah; Disgraceful Acts of the Mu'tazilah (Faḍā'iḥ al-Mu'tazilah).

Careful Examination (Al-Rawīyah);[227] The Proving (Al-Iḥtijāj), addressed to *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam; Man (Al-Insān); The Particular and the Universal (Al-Khāṣṣ wa-al-'Ām); Refutation of One Who Has Spoken of Fulfilling a Motion by Its Perception (Al-Radd 'alā man Qāl bi-Wafi al-Ḥarakah bi-Baṣrih);[228] Totals (Al-Jumal); Confirmation of the Apostles (Athbāt al-Rusl); Corruption of the Court and Prohibition of Earnings (Fasād al-Dār wa-Taḥrīm al-Makāsib); Refutation of One Who Has Denied Actions and Accidents (Nafā al-Af'āl wa-al-A'rāḍ);[229] Questions (Al-Masā'il), against the Hishāmīyah; The Manner of Proving (Kīfīyat al-Istidlāl); Accidents (Al-A'rāḍ); Refutation of the Zanādiqah.

An Account of the Statement (Qawl) of *Mu'ammar* [ibn 'Abbād al-Sulamī] and His Proof (Iḥtijāj) in "Al-Ma'ānī"; Subtlety and Answers (Al-Nukat wa-al-Jawābāt);[230] The Method of Consensus and What Its Form Is;[231] Confirmation of the Power of the One (Athbāt Jabr al-Wāḥid);[232] Refutation of the Mu'tazilah, concerning the threat and the middle position (fī al-wa'īd wa-al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn); Al-Adrāk (Punishments, The Lowest Hell); Statement about the Defects (al-'Ilal) of *Hishām* in Connection with Body and Appearance (fī al-Jism-wa-al-Ru'yah); Historical Traditions (Al-Akhbār) and a Refutation

[226] If the title which follows refers to the famous Black Stone in the Ka'bah at Makkah, it is possible that the Red Stone refers to the idol of that name at Mount Ajā', worshipped by the Ṭayyī' Tribe; see Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 51. This idol was called *al-Fals*. It was a red stone which protruded from the rock like a human face. As, however, the word translated "corruption" (*fasād*) more literally means "decomposition," it is likely that the black and red stones were substances used for alchemy. The term *Kibrīt al-Aḥmar* was used for the Philosopher's Stone. Black often indicated lead. See "al-Kīmiyā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 1010.

[227] This is perhaps meant to be *Vision* ("*Al-Ru'yah*").

[228] This title may not be given correctly, as the words in the text are carelessly written. Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 185.

[229] The word *al-a'rāḍ*, in this title and in the third one following, can have several meanings other than "accidents."

[230] After this title there is the word "against" followed by what looks like "al-Manāmīyah," but is very likely meant to be *al-thanawīyah* ("the dualists").

[231] This title evidently signifies a book describing in what way consensus of opinion is to be used for legal interpretation.

[232] Instead of *jabr* ("power"), especially in connection with preordination, the word may be *khayr* ("good") or *khubr* ("information," "knowledge").

of Anyone Who Has Invalidated Reliable Traditions (al-Tawātur); The Morals of Disputation (Adab al-Jadal); Refutation of the Book "The Emerald" (Naqḍ Kitāb al-Zumurrud), against himself;[233] Refutation of "The Coral" (Naqḍ al-Marjān); Refutation of "The Striker" (al Dāmigh) he did not finish it.

Al-*Nāshī* al-Kabīr[234]

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Malik al-Nāshī, known as Shirshīr, was one of the people of al-Anbār. After living in Baghdād he moved to Egypt, where he died. He was a theologian, poet, and deliberate speaker, with good training. He wrote a poem of four thousand verses, each terminating with the same ending and rhyme.[235] It was about theology, but in it he pursued the method of philosophy. He fell out with the theologians of his generation, it being said that he was a dualist.

I have read written in the handwriting of al-*Ḥijāzī*, [surnamed] Abū al-Qāsim:

The reason for this nickname, I mean "al-Nāshī," was his going to a session in which there were persons engaged in disputation. When he spoke as a youth, young in years, about the doctrine of the Mu'tazilah, one of the shaykhs among them approved, interrupting the discussion. Then standing up he raised his head saying, "Oh, Allāh, don't let us lose anyone like this one who is maturing (*al-nāshī*), so that he may be among us and that those like him may come[236] to us at all times." So Abū al-'Abbās approved the name and with it he was nicknamed, according to what Ibn al-*Junayd* told me.[237]

[233] This book and the two which follow were written for an unbeliever, Abū 'Īsā the Jew. Before he died, Ibn al-Rāwandī repented of his heresy and evidently wrote these books to prove his sincere penitence.

[234] *Al-kabīr* can mean "the great," but more likely means "the elder." The Cairo Appendix omits the account of al-Nāshī, but adds some of his lines of poetry.

[235] For this poem, see Mas'ūdī, VII, 88, 89.

[236] The word translated "may come" is crossed out in the text and the correction on the margin is not clearly enough written to be sure of its meaning.

[237] The Beatty MS ends at this point. After this, there is at least one manuscript page which has been lost from all sources (see following note). Then follows material which is found only in the Tonk MS, from this point until the account of al-Wāsiṭī, where the Flügel text resumes and MS 1934 begins (n. 266). See Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298–321, where the Tonk text is printed.

[Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khayyāṭ*][238]

———, against Ibn al-*Rāwandī*; Refutation of "The Emerald" (Naqḍ al-Zumurrud), against al-Rāwandī; Refutation of the Book of ʿAbbād ibn Salmā, about the opposite (al-ʿaks);[239] Refutation of "The Crown" (Al-Tāj), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Refutation of "The Striker" (Al-Dāmigh), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Refutation of "The Proof" (Al-Burhān).

Al-*Bardhaʿī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bardhaʿī, whose origin was at Bardhaʿah in Ādharbayjān.[240] He was one of the great men among the Muʿtazilah of Baghdād.

Al-*Shaṭawī*

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Shaṭawī, one of the notables among the Muʿtazilah, but miserly and jealous. He died, strangled, during the year seventy-nine [A.D. 892/93].[241] His son and daughter strangled him, because when his daughter asked him to marry her to a man whom she chose, he refused her request, increasing her confinement. So she and his son agreed that they would come with a slaughterer (butcher) from Bāb Muḥawwal, and they hanged him. He was dwelling at Darb al-Qibāb in al-Karkh.[242]

[238] Between the end of the Beatty MS and this heading, there is at least one page of material lacking from all sources. This may have contained an account of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-*Jubbāʾī*, since it would have been unreasonable to omit such a well-known theologian from this section. And the missing material evidently contained an account of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khayyāṭ* which is completed by the mention of the following six titles.

The word *kitāb* ("book") is omitted from some of the titles, but they evidently refer to books written by al-Khayyāṭ. Murtaḍā, p. 92, says that al-Khayyāṭ wrote books refuting many of those of Ibn al-Rāwandī, including *The Emerald*, *The Crown*, and *The Striker*. The famous heretic is sometimes called al-Rāwandī and sometimes Ibn al-Rāwandī. The first *a* is not always indicated as being long.

[239] Perhaps ʿAbbād ibn Sulaymān is the name meant, although Murtaḍā, *ibid.*, does not mention *Al-ʿAks* as a title in dealing with the books written by that scholar.

[240] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 558.

[241] This is probably a mistake for ninety-seven (A.D. 909/10).

[242] Bāb Muḥawwal was west of the Round City of Baghdad, and the Karkh Quarter was south. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 47 map, 65, 146. As the text is not perfectly clear, the translation may not be entirely accurate.

Al-*Ḥārith* al-Warrāq

In the book *Al-Maḥāsin*, al-Balkhī[243] said, "He was Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAlī, one of the inhabitants of Khurāsān and altogether a man of religion, humility, and piety, as well as a chief among the leaders of persons with discernment, with few equals during his period."

His composition was in good style and he wrote excellent and famous books and refutations of a number of the books of Ibn al-*Rāwandī*. He was a contemporary of Abū ʿAlī al-*Jubbāʾī*, with whom he had controversies. They met at the Sūq al-Ahwāz.[244] It was said that he was a *warrāq*, who sold books and acted as a *warrāq* for the people of Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ on the left bank.[245] Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān]; Names and Judgments (Al-Asmāʾ wa-al-Aḥkām); The Imamate; Refutation of "The Striker" (Naqḍ al-Dāmigh);[246] Refutation of "The Emerald" (Naqḍ al-Zumurrud); Refutation of "Arousing Wisdom" (Naqḍ Baʿth al-Ḥikmah); Refutation of "The Crown" (Naqḍ al-Tāj); Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān (Mutashābihāt al-Qur'ān); Emergence of the World and Its Evidence (Ḥudūth al-ʿĀlam wa-al-Adillah ʿAlayhā).

Abū al-Qāsim [al-*Balkhī*]

He was Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Balkhī, known as al-Kaʿbī. He was a scholar and dialectic theologian, the leader of the men of his period. He served as secretary to one of the generals, *Naṣr* ibn Aḥmad, and was acquainted with *Aḥmad* ibn Sahl [ibn Hāshim]. When Aḥmad ibn Sahl turned against Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, he lived at Nīsābūr. Then when he [Naṣr] gained control over Aḥmad, he took al-Balkhī along with a

[243] This title is not mentioned with the books of either Abū al-Qāsim al-*Balkhī* or Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-*Balkhī*.

[244] Sūq al-Ahwāz was probably a market street near Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ, which was a palace a short distance southeast of the Round City of Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 58, 92, 97 map.

[245] This man is a good example of a well-educated book dealer, who by selling manuscripts and stationery to the people at the palace was able to make enough money to write books of his own.

[246] The books mentioned in this and the three following titles were written by the heretic Ibn al-*Rāwandī*.

group of men, whom he seized and kept in confinement.[247] When his [al-Balkhī's] situation became known to *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā, the vizier, he was released from this predicament. This was during the vizierate of *Ḥāmid* ibn al-'Abbās.

Al-Balkhī went to the session of Abū Aḥmad *Yaḥyā* ibn 'Alī, whose sessions were attended by theologians coming together.[248] They elevated and exalted him [al-Balkhī] so that there was no one over whom he did not have authority. It happened that a Jew came in while some of them were theorizing about abrogation of the law (*shar'*). When they reached a subject in their discussion about which they were passing judgment on Abū al-Qāsim [al-Balkhī], it was the Jew's turn to speak. So Abū al-Qāsim said, "It is for you to speak." The Jew then said to him, "What do you know about this?" Abū al-Qāsim replied to him, "Wait for this! Do you acknowledge that there is a theological session at Baghdād more important than this?" He [the Jew] said, "No." Then he [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "Do you know of anyone among the theologians who does not attend it?" He said, "No." He [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "Have you seen anybody among them who does not rise up for me and exalt me?" He said, "No." So he [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "Do you see them doing this when I am absent?"

Al-Balkhī died on the first day of Sha'ban [eighth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and nine.[249] Among his books there were:

The Treatises (Al-Maqālāt), in which he related the sources of questions and their answers; The Most Excellent and the Rare (Al-Ghurur wa-al-Nawādir); The Means of Demonstrating the Concealed with Evidence (Kayfīyat al-Istidlāl bi-al-Shāhid 'alā al-Ghā'ib); Disputation (Al-Jadal), the Training of Those Engaged in It and Correction (Taṣṣīḥ) of Its Defects ('Ilal); The Sunnah and al-Jamā'ah; the large book of sessions;

[247] See "Naṣr B. Aḥmad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 871.

[248] As Abū Aḥmad *Yaḥyā* ibn 'Alī was a court favorite, he may have organized these sessions on theology at the court of the caliph, as many of the rulers liked to spend their leisure time in listening to learned discussions, as well as in hearing their slave girls sing. Compare the story which follows with Murtaḍā, p. 88.

[249] The Tonk MS has 309 (A.D. 921/22), but Baghdādī, Khaṭīb-*Ta'rīkh*, Part IV, p. 384, has 319 (A.D. 931/32) which is probably correct. The rendering in Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298–321, corrects what seem to be errors in the Tonk MS.

the small book of sessions; Refutation of the Book of al-*Khalīl*[250] against *Burghūth*; the second book against Abū 'Alī [al-*Jubbā'ī*] about Heaven; Questions of al-*Khujandī*, about how he disagreed with Abū 'Alī [al-Jubbā'ī]; Confirmation of the Treatises of Abū al-*Hudhayl* (Ta'yīd Maqālāt Abī al-Hudhayl), about the atom.[251]

The Resembling (Al-Muḍāhāh), against *Burghūth*; the large commentary on the Qur'ān; Qualities (Fuḍūl) (*or* Divisions [Fuṣūl]) of Public Speakers (al-Khuṭṭāb); against the man pretending to be a prophet in Khurāsān; The Ultimate in the Right (Al-Nihāyah fī al-Aṣlaḥ); against Abū 'Alī [al-*Jubbā'ī*] and the refutation of him by al-*Saymarī*; Dialectic Theology among the Lower Classes (Al-Kalām fī al-Ummah), against Ibn *Qutaybah*;[252] Refutation of al-*Rāzī*, about divine knowledge (al-'ilm al-illāhī).

Theologians Contemporary with [Abū al-Qāsim] al-*Balkhī*

Abū *Bakr* al-Ḥalaqānī.

Abū *Isḥāq* al-Wāhibī.

Al-*Ṣaymarī*

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Ṣaymarī, from the people of al-Ṣaymarah,[253] and was counted among the Mu'tazilah of al-Baṣrah because he claimed to have learned from Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*. After the death of Abū 'Alī [about A.D. 916], the leadership culminated with him. He was of the same age as Abū 'Alī, or close to it. He died during the year three hundred and fifteen [A.D. 927/28].

It was related about Abū 'Alī that he said, "Our shaykh is Abū 'Abd Allāh [al-Ṣaymarī], from whom the Shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-*Sīrāfī* learned the science of theology, and who was also the

[250] This may be the al-Khalīl known as Ibn Jank.

[251] The Tonk MS has *al-ḥazz* ("incision," "notch"), but this word is very likely meant to be *al-juz'* ("atom"), a subject in which the metaphysicians were interested.

[252] This name is too carelessly written to be sure that it is correctly interpreted.

[253] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 442. On the margin of the Tonk MS at this point there is the note, "During the period of al-Balkhī among the theologians, Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*."

teacher of Abū Bakr ibn al-*Ikhshīd*."[254] Among his books there were: Questions and Answers. He also wrote Refutation of the Book of Ibn al-*Rāwandī* about Temperaments (Innate Qualities, Al-Ṭabā'i'); Refutation of the Book of al-Balkhī Known as "The Ultimate in the Right" (Kitāb al-Nihāyah fī al-Aṣlaḥ), against Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*.

Al-*Bāhilī*

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Sa'īd al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī belonged to the Bāhilah.[255] His birthplace was at al-Baṣrah, where there was for him a source of technical excellence in the science of theology, according to the school of thought of the scholars of al-Baṣrah.

He was a judge, whose session the theologians attended. It was said that Abū 'Alī [al-*Jubbā'ī*] went to his session, and that because of the excellence of his recountings and the poignancy of his interpretation, the people and the theologians used to weep. Among his books there were:

Sublimity (I'jāz) of the Qur'ān; The Sources, about oneness; Oneness, separate from "The Sources."

Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim

Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim was beautifully cultured and well acquainted with theology, about which he wrote books, in addition to those about other cultural subjects. We have dealt with him thoroughly in the accounts about the court companions. Among his books about theology there were:

Proofs of the Prophecy of Muḥammad, for Whom May There Be Peace; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd) and a Refutation of the Mushabbihah.

I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abū Aḥmad *Yaḥyā* ibn 'Alī [al-Munajjim], that Abū al-Qāsim al-*Balkhī* said:

After [the time of] *Wāṣil* ibn 'Aṭā', the leaders of the Mu'tazilah who

[254] As the Shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī was one of the principal teachers of the author of *Al-Fihrist* and was evidently associated with the heretical scholars, it is likely that al-Nadīm also had Mu'tazilī tendencies, even if he was not officially a member of that sect, which had lost some of its popularity by the tenth century.

[255] For this tribe, see "Bāhila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 576; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 39; Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien*, p. 186.

composed books and made known the the *i'tizāl* were:[256] Abū al-*Hudhayl*, al-*Naẓẓām*, *Mu'ammar* ibn 'Abbād, Hishām al-*Fūṭī* ibn 'Amr, *Bishr* ibn al-Mu'tamir, *Thumāmah*, al-*Jāḥiẓ*. Then after those: *Bishr* ibn Khālid, '*Alī* al-Aswārī, '*Īsā* ibn Ṣabīḥ, *Ja'far* ibn Ḥarb, *Ja'far* ibn al-Mubashshir, al-Qāsim al-*Dimashqī*, al-*Iskāfī* [Abū Ja'far], '*Īsā* ibn al-Haytham, Abū *Shu'ayb* al-Ṣayrafī, al-*Shaḥḥām*, al-*Adamī*, Abū *Zufar*,[257] *Muḥammad* ibn Suwayd, Abū *Mujālid*, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-*Balkhī*, *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī al-Makkī,[258] Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Khayyāṭ*, al-*Shaṭawī*, *Muḥammad* ibn Sa'īd Nīsābūr,[259] *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, al-*Manānī*,[260] al-*Balkhī*,[261] al-*Ḥārith* al-Warrāq, al-*Ṣaymarī*.

The Names of a Group of Theologians

It has not been confirmed whether they belonged to the Mu'tazilah or the Murji'ah. They were:

Ḥumayd ibn Sa'īd ibn Bakhtyār, the Theologian

Among his books there were:

Creation of the Qur'ān; Superiority (Al-Faḍl), about refuting the Mushabbihah; Denial of the Formation of Matter from God (al-Tajsīm 'an Allāh);[262] Refutation of *Yūsha'* Bakht, Maṭrān Fāris;[263] Refutation of the Magians; Refutation of Adherents of the Dogma of Material Substances and Their Eternity (al-Ajrām wa-Azalīyatuhā); Ḥirrāt Ahl al-Falak;[264] Proofs of Change in the Ḥadīth (Ithbāt al-Taḥrīf fī al-Ḥadīth); Correlation of the Sciences (Iḍāfat al-'Ulūm); against the

[256] Cf. this list of names with Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 307–8.

[257] This was very likely Abū *Zufar* al-Hudhayl ibn al-Hudhayl.

[258] This might also have been the scholar Abū *Zufar* Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī.

[259] Murtaḍā, p. 93, says that he was the imam of Nīsābūr.

[260] This was probably a converted Manichaean, so that the name must be kept separate from the one which precedes it and which refers to a scholar of Muslim ancestry named *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbā'ī.

[261] This name may indicate that Abū al-Qāsim al-*Balkhī* included his own name in this list of his. For other possibilities, see al-*Balkhī* in the Biog. Index.

[262] Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 158 top.

[263] The words "Maṭrān Fāris" are not correctly written in the Tonk MS, but they evidently refer to the metropolitan bishop named *Yusha'* Bakht; see Fück, *ZDMG*, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 308, 313.

[264] *Ḥīrrāt* may be a plural form for "rain clouds," or the word may be some other, such as *ḥazzāt* ("particular times" or "particular conditions"). *Ahl al-falak* almost certainly means "astronomers."

Christians, with reference to ease, food, and drink in the hereafter (fī al-naʿim wa-al-akl wa-al-shurb fī al-ākhirah) and against all speaking in opposition to these things; The Theologians of the People of Islām (Mutakallimūn Ahl al-Islām); Answer of the Heretic of al-Baṣrah (Jawāb al-Mulḥid al-Baṣrī), Who Cursed the People of the Sects and Sought Islām;[265] How Some of the Muslims Made Innovations in the [Qur'ānic] Readings and Their Significations (Fīmā Aḥdath Baʿd al-Muslimīn min al-Qirā'āt wa-Wujūhiha).

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm

He was one of the theologians. Among his books there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān], against *Burghūth*; Knowledge (Al-Maʿrifah).

Abū *ʿAffān* al-Raqqī

His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim and he was one of the theologians. Among his books there were:

Against *Burghūth*, about the resemblances (al-musāwāh) between him and the heretics (al-mulḥidūn); the questions which arose between him and al-*Iskafī* in the session of Ibn Abī *Dā'ūd*; Al-Tawallud, against al-*Iskafī*.

Al-*Wāsiṭī*[266]

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zayd al-Wāsiṭī was one of the important and eminent theologians. He learned from Abū ʿAlī al-*Jubbā'ī*, to whom he was related. In his prime he had a strong voice[267] and many associates (pupils). It is said that he was one of the theologians of Baghdād, being counted among them, which is the truth, though he lived at al-Faṣīl.[268]

[265] Füch, *ZDMG*, New Ser., XV, No. 2 (1936), 298–321, omits this title.

[266] At this point the Flügel text recommences, after omitting most of Chap. V, sect. 1. MS 1934 also starts at this point. The Tonk MS continues without a break, indicating that it must have been copied before the two halves of *Al-Fihrist* became separated.

[267] Both the Tonk MS and MS 1934 have *ʿālī*, indicating that the voice was "exalted" or "strong."

[268] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 431, l. 20, for a region near al-Rayy with this name. It may, however, refer to some now forgotten place near Baghdād.

He was one of the most lighthearted persons in God's world and so he composed a poem in which he lampooned *Naftuwayh*, saying:

His intention is to see no man who is evil,
So let him refrain from seeing Naftuwayh,
Whom Allāh burns with half his name
And causes the rest to be calling to him.[269]

A refreshing remark of his about Naftuwayh was, "Whoever wishes to go the limit in ignorance, let him learn theology according to the school of al-*Nāshī*,[270] law according to the code of *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī, and grammar according to the system of *Naftuwayh*." Then he went on to say, "Naftuwayh presents theology according to the school of al-Nāshī, law according to the code of Dā'ūd and he himself is Naftuwayh, so accordingly he is the consumation of ignorance."

He died four years later than Abū 'Alī [al-*Jubbā'ī* died], it is said in the year three hundred and six [A.D. 918/19]. Among his books there were:

Sublimity of the Qur'ān, about its order and composition; The Imamate, which was well done.

Among the Pupils (Aṣḥāb) of al-*Wāsiṭī*

Abū al-*'Abbās . . .*.[271] Among his books there was *Refutation of the Book "Will Is an Attribute of Being."*[272]

Ibn al-*Ikhshīd*

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ma'jūr al-Ikhshād,[273] one of the Mu'tazilah. He was honored, virtuous, and pious. He

[269] The point of this poem is that *naft* is "naphtha," giving the idea of burning, while *wayh* signifies "come along."

[270] The Flügel edition of *Al-Fihrist*, p. 172, n. 6, says that this was al-*Nāshī* al-Akhbar.

[271] Here there is a word inserted which is very likely confused with the word for "book" (*kitāb*) preceding the title at the end of the sentence.

[272] This was a book written by al-*Najjār*; the Flügel edition gives the title clearly.

[273] Both forms of spelling, Ikshīd and Ikhshād, are used in connection with the scholar mentioned here. Brockelmann, *Islamic Peoples*, p. 159, says that *al-Ikhshīd* was an honorary title. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 2184, 2190, 2193, 2196, says Ibn al-Ikhshād was governor of Tarsus, A.D. 898–900.

owned an estate from which he derived his wealth, over half of its revenue going to learning and its scholars (people). He had a good literary style and was learned in Arabic and the law, writing a number of books about the law.

His house was by Sūq al-'Aṭash, on a street known as Darb al-Ikhshād.[274] Because of his love of learning and his piety, he used to say to his estate agent, "Don't tell me anything about the property, so as to embitter my last breath, for it does not enrich me [for the hereafter]. Let me be, that I may devote myself to learning and the life hereafter."

Abū Bakr died on Sunday, the eighth day before the end of Sha'bān [the eighth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and twenty-six [A.D. 937/38]. Among his books there were:

Knowledge, about the sources, which he did not finish;[275] The Beginner;[276] Transcription of the Qur'ān; Consensus of Opinion (Al-Ijmā'); Refutation of *al-Khālidī*, about al-irjā'; Abridgment of the "Commentary" of al-*Ṭabarī*.[277]

Al-*Ḥuṣaynī*

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥuṣaynī, one of the pupils (aṣḥāb) of Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*, from whom he learned. Among his books there were: ———.

Among the Pupils of Ibn al-*Ikhshīd*

Abū al-'*Alā'*, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā [al-*Rummānī*], Abū 'Imrān ibn *Rabāḥ*, and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Ḥabashī*.[278]

[274] Sūq al-'Aṭash was a shopping district near the Mukharrim Quarter of Baghdād on the East Side of the Tigris; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 221–24. Darb al-Ikhshād was probably an alley nearby, where the family of the scholar lived. For the form of the name see preceding note. At this point there is an omission in MS 1934 up to the account of Ibn Rabāḥ (see n. 281).

[275] The Tonk MS has *al-ma'rifah* ("knowledge"). Flügel gives *al-ma'ūnah* ("assistance").

[276] In reference to grammar, this would be translated *The Subject*.

[277] See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, in the Bibliography.

[278] This final name is taken from the Tonk MS; Flügel gives al-Ḥunashī.

The Names of the Theological Books Which Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā Composed[279]

He was al-*Rummānī*, and as this Abū al-Ḥasan has already been mentioned in the chapter on the grammarians and language students, we shall cite in this passage only the names of his books about theology. Among these there was the book ———.

Among the Muʿtazilah about whom we know nothing except his being mentioned there was:

Abū Isḥāq *Ibrāhīm* ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAyyāsh

He was a Muʿtazilī. Among his books there was *Refutation of the Book of Ibn Abī Bishr*,[280] about *Elucidation of the Proof*.

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Ayyūb, One of the Theologians

Among his books there was a book addressed to his brother *ʿAlī* ibn Ayyūb—a refutation of the Christians, with an exposition of the corruption of their treatise (doctrine) and a confirmation of the prophecy.

Ibn *Rabāḥ*[281]

Abū ʿImrān Mūsā ibn Rabāḥ is a theologian of the school of thought of Abū ʿAlī al-*Jubbāʾī*. He studied under the direction of Abū Bakr Ibn al-*Ikhshīd* of al-*Ṣaymarī* and other theologians. It is said that he is living in our own time, in a city of Egypt, being over eighty years old. His birth was ——— and among his books there are: ———.

Ibn *Shihāb*

Abū al-Ṭayyib Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb learned from al-*Balkhī* and al-*Khayyāṭ*, as well as from others in addition to them. He died after three hundred and fifty [A.D. 961/62] of old age. His birth was ——— and among his books there was *Sessions of the Legal Authorities and Their Controversies*, nearly four hundred pages in length.

[279] This was probably the Muʿtazilī heretic ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Rummānī*. He should not be confused with the great vizier, *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā Abū al-Ḥasan.

[280] This was the name of the great theologian al-*Ashʿarī*, one of whose well-known books was *Elucidation of the Proof* ("*Īḍāḥ al-Burhān*").

[281] After a break (see n. 274) MS 1934 resumes the text, beginning with Ibn Rabāḥ.

Ibn al-*Khallāl* al-Qāḍī (the Judge)

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl came from al-Baṣrah, where he was born. He fell in with al-*Ṣaymarī* and Abū Bakr Ibn al-*Ikhshīd*, learning from them both. He was judge of the city of Ḥarrah, which is al-Ḥadīthah, later there being turned over to him the judgeship of Takrīt, where he is up to the present time.[282] Among his books there were:

Sources; Allegorical Interpretation.

Abū *Hāshim* and His Pupils

Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad al-Jubbā'ī arrived at the City of Peace [Baghdād] during the year three hundred and fourteen [A.D. 926/27]. He was intelligent, of good understanding and with penetrating discernment. He was also industrious and capable in theology, defending it. He died during the year three hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 933]. Among his books there were:

The large compendium; the large book, Subjects (Abwāb); the small book, Subjects (Abwāb); the small compendium; Man; Compensation (Al-'Iwaḍ) (*or* Accident [Al-'Araḍ]); Military Questions; Refutation of Aristotle in connection with "De Generatione et Corruptione"; Al-Ṭabā'i'; Legal Interpretation.

Ibn *Khallād* al-Baṣrī

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn ——— ibn Khallād was one of the pupils (*aṣḥāb*) of Abū *Hāshim*. Going to him at al-'Askar,[283] he learned from him and became outstanding among his pupils.

Among Those Who Learned from Abū *Hāshim*, but Have No Books Which Are Known

A man known as Qashūr,[284] whose name was Ibn Sahalwayh, surnamed Abū al-*Qāsim*, and *'Abd* Allāh ibn Khaṭṭāb, known as "The Camel[285] of 'Ā'ishah."

[282] For al-Ḥadīthah and Takrīt, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 861; II, 222; "Ḥadītha," *Enc. Islam*, II, 194.

[283] For several places with this name, see "al-'Askar," *Enc. Islam*, I, 488; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 675–77. The Flügel edition adds that he wrote a book entitled *Sources* (*Al-Uṣūl*).

[284] *Qashūr* is a medicine and *qushūr*, another possibility, means "skins."

[285] The Tonk and 1934 MSS have *maḥmal* or *ḥaml*. *Ḥaml* means "embryo in the womb." But *jamal* ("camel"), perhaps having some reference to the Battle of the Camel, seems the most likely word.

Al-Baṣrī, Known as al-Ju'al

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Ḥusayn* ibn 'Alī ——— ibn Ibrāhīm, known as al-Kāghidī,[286] and was one of the people of al-Baṣrah, where he was born. His teacher was Abū al-*Qāsim* ibn Sahalwayh, nicknamed Qashūr. He belonged to the school of thought of Abū *Hāshim*, the leadership of whose associates (pupils) culminated with him during his lifetime. He was virtuous, a legal authority and a theologian, lofty in intelligence, exerting enlightened influence, and learned in his school of thought, disseminating mindfulness [of God] in the districts and cities, especially in Khurāsān.

He interpreted the law in accordance with the codes of al-'Irāq, studying under Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Karkhī*. In this connection we shall mention his books on theology, and later we shall list his books about the law in the chapter on the legal authorities, if Allāh so wills.

He also studied under Abū Ja'far al-*Ṣaymarī* al-'Abbādani,[287] known as 'Sahak Lām."[288] He was a pupil (associate) of Abū 'Alī ibn *Khallād* and studied under Abū *Hāshim* 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad. His birth was during the year three hundred and eight [A.D. 920/21] and he died in the City of Peace [Baghdād] in the year three hundred and sixty-nine [A.D. 979/80].[289] Among his books there were:

Refutation of the Statement of [Ibn] al-*Rāwandī* that Substance Cannot Be Created from Nothing; also his rebuttal to the refutation of al-*Rāzī*, replying to the statement of al-*Balkhī*[290]—This was against al-Rāzī; Refutation of the Book of al-Rāzī, about [the idea that] it would be impossible (not fitting) for Almighty God to act after there was another agent of action; The Reply, concerning the two questions of the Shaykh Abū Muḥammad al-*Rāmahurmuzī*; statement [on the subject] that God Almighty exists and that there is nothing else besides Him, until He has created the created; The Faith; Confirmation; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah).

[286] *Al-kāghidī* or *al-kāghidhī* is "the paper worker."

[287] The Flügel version spells this name al-'Abbādātī, apparently an error.

[288] The nickname "Sahak Lām" means "Strong Smell," given to him because he had a public latrine by his house; see Khallikān, III, 629.

[289] Flügel gives an incorrect date; see Murtaḍā, pp. 105–6.

[290] This was probably Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī.

The Second Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. This section includes accounts of the theologians of the Shī'ah, the Imāmīyah, and the Zaydīyah.*

Mention of the Reason Why the Shī'ah Are Called by This Name

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: When *Ṭalḥah* [ibn 'Ubayd Allāh] and al-*Zubayr* [ibn al-'Awwām] opposed *'Alī*, for whom may there be peace,[1] rejecting the demand [for revenge] for the blood of *'Uthmān* ibn 'Affān, 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, sought them out to fight them, that they might comply with the command of Allāh, may His name be glorified.[2] Those who followed him in this cause were called *al-Shī'ah* (the Partisans) and he ['Alī], for whom may there be peace, used to say "my partisans," calling them the Pure (*al-Aṣfiyā'*) Company, the Masters (*al-Awlīyā'*) Company, the Guard of the Five (*Shurṭat al-Khamīs*) Company, the Companions (*al-Aṣḥāb*) Company.

The meaning of *Shurṭat al-Khamīs* was that 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, said to his band: "Prove yourselves, for I guarantee for you Heaven. I do not offer you as a condition gold or silver, for

[1] In several places the Flügel edition gives different pious epithets, but as the author of *Al-Fihrist* was a Shī'ī, the wording in connection with the Shī'ī sects in the Beatty and 1934 MSS, the original manuscript, is undoubtedly the form to follow. The Flügel wording is that of copyists who were probably Sunnites. Flügel gives, "may Allāh be well pleased with him."

[2] This passage refers to the Battle of the Camel. On the margin of the Tonk MS there is a note saying that the passage is a lie, as *Ṭalḥah* and al-*Zubayr* were Companions of the Prophet. In this version the pious epithets about *'Alī* and his descendants have been inked over, evidently by a Sunnite copyist. For the expression, "comply with the command of Allāh," see the Qur'ān 49: 9.

a prophet among the prophets once said to his companions, 'Prove yourselves; I do not guarantee for you anything except Heaven.'"[3]

'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mītham al-Tammār[4]

The first member of the Imāmah school of thought to speak about theology was 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mītham al-Tammār. *Mītham* was one of the important associates of 'Alī, for whom may there be peace. Among the books of 'Alī there were:

The Imamate; What Is Due.

Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam

He was Abū Muḥammad Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, a protégé of the Banū Shaybān[5] from al-Kūfah. Going from al-Kūfah to Baghdād he became one of the companions of *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad, for whom may there be peace.[6]

He was one of the theologians of the Shī'ah who caused discord over the theology of the imamate, disrupting the doctrine and opinion.[7] He was keen in the science of theology and quick with repartee. Once Hishām was questioned about *Mu'āwiyah*: "Did he witness [the Battle of] Badr?" He replied, "Yes, on the other side."

He was attached to *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālid of the Barmak family. He was his deputy, speaking and appearing at the [palace] audiences. He lived in the Karkh [Quarter] of the City of Peace [Baghdād],[8] and died some time of unknown interval after the tragedy of the Barmak family, it is said during the caliphate of al-*Ma'mūn*. Among his books there were:

The Imamate; Guides to the Emergence of Phenomena; Refutation of the Zanādiqah; Refutation of Upholders of Dualism; Oneness; Refutation of *Hishām* al-Jawalīqī; Refutation of Those Who Uphold

[3] "Prove" and "guarantee" are free translations of forms of *sharaṭa*, which implies imposing a condition. For *al-khamīs*, see Glossary. For the paragraph, see Qur'ān 47:18(20).

[4] This means "date vendor." The name is misspelled in the Flügel text.

[5] For this tribe, see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 149, 155.

[6] The Flügel edition has, "may Allāh be well pleased with him." This was al-Ṣādiq, the 6th Shī'ī imam. As he died when Hishām was about twenty, it may be more correct to say "pupils" instead of "companions."

[7] He formed his own sect; see al-Hishāmīyah in the Glossary.

[8] The Karkh Quarter was on the left bank of the Tigris at Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 63, 320.

the Forms (Natures); The Old Man and the Young Man (The Shaykh and the Youth); Management (Freeing the Slaves after the Master's Death); The Scales (Al-Mīzān);[9] The Field (Al-Maydān); Refutation of Anyone Who Speaks about the Imamate of the More Excellent;[10] Disagreement of the People about the Imamate.

The Will[11] and a Refutation of Whoever Denies It; about compulsion and predestination (al-jabr wa-al-qadar); The Two Arbiters;[12] Refutation of the Mu'tazilah in Connection with *Ṭalḥah* and al-*Zubayr*;[13] Predestination; Pronunciations (Dialects); Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Al-Istiṭā'ah; The Eight Abwāb;[14] against *Shayṭān* al-Ṭāq; Historical Traditions, How They Are Verified;[15] against *Aristotle*, about oneness (al-tawḥīd);[16] another book about the Mu'tazilah.

Shayṭān al-Ṭāq

He was Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal, whose name was Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, nicknamed Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, but called by the Shī'ah Mu'min al-Ṭāq. He was a friend of Abū 'Abd Allāh *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad,[17] for whom may there be peace. He was an acute theologian, among whose books there were:

The Imamate; Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Refutation of the Mu'tazilah, about the imamate of the more excellent; The Affair of *Ṭalḥah*, al-*Zubayr*, and *'Ā'ishah*.[18]

[9] These were the scales used to weigh souls on the Day of Judgment. See Qur'ān 42:17; 55:7–9.

[10] The word translated "more excellent" is *mafḍūl*. Although it usually means "surpassed," it can also mean "surpassing" or "more excellent." As al-Nadīm was a Shī'ī, he evidently approved of speaking of the Shī'ī imams in the latter way.

[11] See Glossary.

[12] These were Abū *Mūsā* al-Ash'arī and *'Amr* ibn al-'Aṣ, chosen to arbitrate the quarrel between *'Alī'* and *Mu'āwiyah*; see Mas'ūdī, IV, 391; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 181.

[13] As these two Companions of the Prophet opposed 'Alī, they were greatly disliked by the Shī'ah.

[14] This probably refers to the first eight Shī'ī imams; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442.

[15] Flügel gives another word, but "verified" is in the Tonk and 1934 MSS.

[16] The Muslims believed in the oneness of the universe, refuting Aristotle's tenet of the eternity of both the material and spiritual worlds.

[17] The 6th Shī'ī imam, known as al-Ṣādiq.

[18] This was the Battle of the Camel; see Glossary. In the Flügel edition the pious phrase "may Allāh be well pleased with them" has been added by some Sunnite scribe. The 1934 MS evidently omits this epithet, as al-Nadīm was a Shī'ī, who never would have invoked God's blessing for the opponents of *'Alī*. These titles should be compared with the passage in Ṭūsī, p. 323, sect. 698.

Al-*Sikāl*

He was a pupil of *Hishām* ibn al-Ḥakam. His name was Muḥammad ibn Khalīl[19] and he was a theologian, one of the pupils of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, with whom he disagreed except in connection with the origin of the imamate. Among his books there were:

Knowledge (Al-Ma'rifah); Al-Istiṭā'ah; The Imamate; against whoever denies the necessity of [confirming the right to] the imamate with a [Qur'ānic] text.[20]

Ibn *Qibbah*

He was Abū Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Qibbah, one of the theologians and clever scholars of the Shī'ah, among whose books there were:

Adjusting Equitably (Al-Inṣāf), about the imamate; The Imamate.

Abū Sahl al-*Nawbakhtī*[21]

Abū Sahl Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī ibn Nawbakht was one of the great men of the Shī'ah. Abū al-Ḥusayn al-*Nāshī* said that he was his teacher. He was a virtuous and learned theologian, who presided over a session (class) for a group of theologians. He had an idea about the *qā'im*[22] of the family of Muḥammad which no one had before him.[23] This was what he used to say: "I tell you that the [rightful] imam was *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan[24] and that, although he died in concealment, there has arisen in the cause[25] during the

[19] The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS for the spelling of this name. Flügel and Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 219, give al-Shikāl. Ṭūsī, p. 292, sect. 634, has a garbled form. *Al-sikāl* is one who inquires, and *al-shikāl* means "hobble" or "deceit." Two other possibilities are *al-shakāl* ("jackal") and *al-sakāl* ("nightingale").

[20] For the final title, one must bear in mind the fact that the Shī'ah used verses of the Qur'ān to prove the right of *'Alī* to be the caliph.

[21] For another spelling of the name, see references in Biog. Index.

[22] This refers to the lawful caliph of Islām, believed by the Shī'ah to be a lineal descendant of the Prophet.

[23] This is probably the meaning, although the Arabic idiom could be translated "which he did not adopt hastily."

[24] He was the 12th Shī'ī imam, the son of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī. He was known as Muḥammad al-Muntaẓar ("the Expected"). He disappeared at Sāmarrā, A.D. 878, but was called "Qā'im al-Zamān," and was destined some day to reappear.

[25] For this phrase the translation follows the Tonk MS, which is clearer than the other versions.

concealment his son, and so it will be with his son's issue, until God consummates his dominion by causing him to appear."

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-*Shalmaghānī*, known as Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir, sent to him to summon him to opposition, offering him the miraculous and visions of the supernatural. On the forehead of Abū Sahl there was a bare spot like baldness, so he said to the messenger: "I know of only one miracle, which is that your master should make hair to grow on my forehead; then I can believe in him." After that the messenger did not return to him.[26] Abū Sahl died ———. Among his books there were:[27]

The Fulfillment, about the imamate; Warning (Prophecy), about the imamate; Refutation of the Ghulāt; Refutation of al-*Ṭāṭarī*, concerning the imamate; Refutation of *'Īsā* ibn Abān, about legal interpretation;[28] Refutation of the Epistle of al-Shāfi'ī; Ideas; Sessions;[29] Knowledge; Confirmation of the Epistle (Confirmation of the Prophetic Mission); Refutation of Those Upholding the Attributes; Emergence of the World;[30] Refutation of Whoever Speaks of the Created [the Qur'ān]; The Word, about man;[31] The Vanity of Analogy;[32] Narrative and What Is Told; Refutation of the Book, "Arousing Wisdom" (Ba'th al-Ḥikmah), against [Ibn] al-*Rāwandī*; Refutation of "The Crown" (Al-Tāj), against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī—it is known as Kitāb al-Shibk;[33]

[26] The Tonk MS has "He returned to his master, but did not come back to him," that is, to Abū Sahl.

[27] Compare with the titles in Ṭūsī, pp. 57–58.

[28] Both MS 1934 and the Flügel edition have *al-libās* ("clothing"), but Ṭūsī cited above is almost certainly correct in giving *al-ijtihād* ("legal interpretation"); this form is used in the translation.

[29] Al-Ṭūsī, pp. 57–58, adds two extra titles: *His Sessions with al-*Jubbā'ī and *Sessions with* Thābit *ibn Qurrah.*

[30] The translation follows the title given by Ṭūsī, pp. 57–58, *Ḥudūth al-'Ālam* ("Emergence of the World"), as it seems to be more correct than the title given by Flügel, *Ḥadath al-'Ālam* ("New Event of the World"). Al-Ṭūsī, p. 58, also explains that the title which follows refers to the Jabarīyah.

[31] Flügel and MS 1934 have *al-insān* ("man"), whereas al-Ṭūsī, p. 58, has *al-ansāb* ("idols").

[32] The more conservative jurists believed that legal decisions should depend upon the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, regarding analogy as not truly authoritative.

[33] Al-Ṭūsī, p. 58, makes the form of this title clear. *The Book of the Crown* ("*Kitāb al-Tāj*") was about the world and eternity. *Kitāb al-Shibk* means "The Book of the Whirl" or "The Book of Entanglement," evidently referring to the constellations. Flügel gives *Kitāb al-Sabak, al-sabak* being a word used for the melting of metals.

Refutation of Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion, against [Ibn] al-Rāwandī; Attributes.

Abū Sahl [al-Nawbakhtī] Had a Brother Surnamed Abū *Ja'far*

He was a theologian of his [al-Nawbakhtī's] doctrine. Among his books there were: ———.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-*Nawbakhtī*

He was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā, the son of the sister of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht, a theologian and philosopher. A group of translators of books about philosophy, such as Abū 'Uthmān al-*Dimashqī*, *Isḥāq* [ibn Ḥunayn], *Thābit* [ibn Qurrah], and others besides them, used to meet with him. Although the Mu'tazilah claimed him, the Shī'ah also claimed him and he inclined towards the Shī'ah, for the family of Nawbakht was openly known to support the rule of *'Alī* and his descendants, for whom be peace. Accordingly, we mention him in this place.

The collection of books which he transcribed in his own handwriting was very large. He also wrote compositions and made compilations about theology, philosophy, and other subjects. He died ———. Among his books there were:[34]

Doctrines and Religions, which he did not finish; Refutation of Upholders of Transmigration (al-Tanāsukh);[35] Oneness and the Beginning of Causes; Refutation of the Book of Abū *'Īsā* about the Unusual Eastern;[36] Abridgment of *Aristotle*'s "De Generatione et Corruptione"; Proof by *'Umar* ibn 'Abbād and a Defense of His Doctrines;[37] The Imamate, which he did not finish.

Al-*Susanjirdī*

He was one of the young men (pupils) of Abū Sahl al-*Nawbakhtī*. His name was Muḥammad ibn Bishr. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥusayn and known as al-Ḥamdūnī, because he was related to the Ḥamdūn family.[38] Among his books there was *Achievement*, about the imamate.

[34] Cf. Ṭūsī, p. 98, sect. 208.

[35] See "Tanāsukh," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 648.

[36] This was *Al-Gharīb al-Mashraqī fī al-Nawḥ* by Abū *'Īsā* al-Warrāq.

[37] It is not clear whether "proof" is the title of a book by 'Umar ibn 'Abbād, or whether it refers to proving something to him.

[38] See Khallikān, III, 90–92; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 1314 ff.

Among the Eminent:[39]

Al-*Ṭāṭarī*

He was a Shī'ī whose name was ———. He was converted to the Shī'ī sect. Among his books there was *The Imamate*.[40]

Hishām [ibn Sālim] al-Jawalīqī[41]

Abū Mālik al-*Ḥaḍramī*

Ibn *Mumlak* al-Iṣbahānī

Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahānī was a theologian of the Shī'ah. He held a session (class) with Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī* dealing with the imamate and its clarification which Abū Muḥammad al-*Qāsim* ibn Muḥammad al-Karkhī attended.[42] [His books:]

The Imamate; Refutation of the Imamate, against Abū 'Alī [al-*Jubbā'ī*], which he did not finish.

Abū al-*Jaysh* ibn al-Khurāsānī

His name was al-Muẓaffar and among his books there were: ———.

A Young Man (Pupil) of Abū al-Jaysh

He was ———.

Al-*Nāshī* al-Saghīr

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Alī ibn Waṣīf. He was an excellent poet, dealing with the Ahl al-Bayt [members of the Prophet's family], for whom may there be peace. He was a distinguished theologian, among whose books there were: ———.

[39] The Arabic is *al-qudamā'*, which often means "the ancients," but here probably means "the eminent," as the men cited were of the tenth century.

[40] *The Imamate* is followed by a word which appears to be *ḥasan* ("good") which may mean it was a good book, or may be part of a name or phrase which is missing.

[41] The translation follows MS 1934.

[42] This may have been a session for discussion and debate, or a class.

Ibn al-*Mu'allim*

He is Abū 'Abd Allāh,[43] who is living in our own time and with whom culminates the leadership of the Shī'ī theologians. He is preeminent in the science of theology, according to the doctrine of his associates, subtle in intelligence and quick-witted. I have recently seen him. I met him and found him to be distinguished.[44] Among his books there are: ———.

The Zaydīyah[45]

The Zaydīyah, who claim the imamate for *Zayd* ibn 'Alī, for whom may there be peace, and then after him support the imamate of anyone of the living descendants of *Fāṭimah* who meets the conditions of the imamate. Most of the traditionalists of this doctrine, such as *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah, *Sufyān* [ibn Sa'īd] al-Thawrī, and *Ṣāliḥ* ibn Ḥayy, together with his sons, and others, too, with accounts of these men. Then with the topics with which I deal, there will be statements about their learning and religion, if Allāh so wills.

Abū al-*Jārūd*

Among the scholars of the Zaydīyah there was Abū al-Jārūd, surnamed Abū al-Najm, who was Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir al-'Abdī.[46] It is related that when *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad, for whom may there be peace, was asked about him, he said, "What has Abū al-Jārūd done? Did he hope that after he had chosen an imam he would not die except in appearance?" Then he said, "May Allāh curse him, for he is blind in heart and blind in vision."[47]

[43] The Tonk MS calls him Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, but for the proper rendering of his name, see the Biog. Index.

[44] The Tonk MS adds a number of words which are not in the other Arabic versions, but which have been included in this translation.

[45] The phrases in this paragraph seem to serve as an introduction to the material which follows.

[46] For al-'Abdī, see " 'Abd al-Ḳais," *Enc. Islam*, I, 45 bottom. The Tonk MS gives a different name.

[47] Flügel adds "ibn 'Alī" to this name. This was the sixth Shī'ī imam. Ja'far of course believed that his father was the true fifth imam and heir to the caliphate, rather than his uncle *Zayd*, whom the Zaydīyah, among them Abū al-Jārūd, upheld; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. Ja'far was probably making fun of Abū al-Jārūd, saying that he hoped Zayd would not die, but would hide and reappear.

Muḥammad ibn Sinān said about him, "Abū al-Jārūd did not die until he had drunk intoxicants and designated authority to unbelievers."

Among the Theologians of the Zaydīyah

Fuḍayl al-Risān, who was ibn al-Zubayr, and was an associate of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī;[48] Abū *Khālid* al-Wāsiṭī; *Manṣūr* [ibn Ḥāzim] ibn Abī al-Aswad.

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy

Al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥayy was born during the year one hundred [A.D. 718/19] and died in concealment during the year one hundred and sixty-eight [A.D. 784/85]. He was one of the important, great, and learned men of the Zaydīyah branch of the Shī'ah, an authority for the law and a theologian. Among his books there were:

Oneness; The Imamate of the Descendants of *'Alī* by *Fāṭimah*; The Compilation, about the law.

Al-Ḥasan had two brothers, one of whom was *'Alī* ibn Ṣāliḥ and the other *Ṣāliḥ* ibn Ṣāliḥ. They belonged to the school of thought of al-Ḥasan, their brother, 'Alī also being a theologian.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Most of the scholars among the authorities on the Ḥadīth[49] belonged to the Zaydīyah, as did also a group of jurists and traditionalists such as *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah, *Sufyān* ibn al-Thawrī, and leading authorities on the Ḥadīth.

Muqātil ibn Sulaymān

He was one of the Zaydīyah, and also an authority on the Ḥadīth and a [Qur'ānic] reader. He died ———. Among his books there were:

[48] For the person most likely referred to by this name, see Biog. Index, al-*Bāqir* Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī.

[49] The Arabic might be al-*muḥdathūn* ("recent authorities"), but since the two men named Sufyān mentioned in this passage were born in the eighth century, the word is probably *al-muḥaddithūn* ("authorities on the Ḥadīth"), as translated. This phrase very likely refers to men who regarded the Ḥadīth as the only authoritative source for the interpretation of the Qur'ān, and so used it to formulate legal decisions.

The large commentary, which was quoted; The Abrogating and the Abrogated; a commentary about the five hundred verses; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Allegorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān; Rare Forms of Commentary; Appearance and the Similar (High Rank and Headmen); Answers, about the Qur'ān; Refutation of the Qadarīyah; Divisions and Languages; Putting Before and Behind; Verses and Allegorical Interpretations.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the theologians of the Mujbirah and the Nābitah al-Ḥashwīyah, with the names of their books.*[1]

Al-*Najjār*

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Najjār was a weaver in the factory of al-ʿ*Abbās* ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī and a leader among the Mujbirah and their theologians. It was said that he used to make weights, being one of the people of Bamm,[2] and that when he spoke his voice was like the sound of a bat. He was one of the people with discernment,[3] and he held meetings and arguments with al-*Naẓẓām.*

The death of al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār came about because he met Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām at the house of some of his intimates (brothers).[4] After al-Ḥusayn had greeted him, Ibrāhīm said to him, "Sit down so

[1] MS 1934 gives what must be meant to be al-Nābitah, whereas Flügel gives al-Bābīyah, almost certainly a mistake.

[2] Bamm was a Persian city known for its weaving; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 737. MS 1934 spells the name incorrectly. The weights which al-Najjār made were probably used for holding the threads taut in weaving.

[3] "People with discernment" is in Arabic *ahl al-nāẓīrin*; see "Naẓar," *Enc. Islam*, III, 888.

[4] To understand the dialogue which follows, it is necessary to know something about one of the doctrines held by al-Najjār. He stated that God creates the actions of mankind, both good and bad. Then a man himself can carry out such of these created acts as he chooses. In other words, God creates the actions of a man, but the man himself can appropriate the divine will, so as to perform that which God has created. In this passage the word for "creation" is *khalq*, and for "carry out" or "perform," *faʿal*. The passage has been translated freely.

that I may speak to you." Upon his sitting down Ibrāhīm said to him, "Is it fitting for you to perform the creation of Allāh?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "It is fitting for me to carry out that [act] which is the creation of Allāh."

Then Ibrāhīm said, "That [act] which is the creation of Allāh, is it Allāh's creation, or something not created by him?" Al-Ḥusayn said, "It is the creation of Allāh." Ibrāhīm continued, "You have carried out the [act] created by Allāh. Then why is it wrong for you to create what Allāh creates, when it is right to carry out what Allāh creates?"

Al-Ḥusayn said, "I do not perform the [process of] creation of Allāh, but I carry out that [act] which has been created by Allāh." Ibrāhīm said, "That which is the creation of Allāh, is it Allāh's creation, or is it not a creation of his?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "It is the creation of Allāh." Then Ibrāhīm kicked him saying, "Get up. Allāh confound anyone connecting you with any knowledge or understanding." He went out feverish, which was the cause of the illness from which he died.

Among his books there were:

Al-Istiṭā'ah;[5] It Was, It Is; The Created [the Qur'ān]; The Attributes and Names [of God]; Confirmation of the Apostles; Considering Lawful and Permitting; Will Is an Attribute of Being;[6] Al-Irjā'; Forms (Acts) of Worship; Desire of Importance [in connection with future reward and punishment]; Judgment and Predestination (Al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar); Allegorical Interpretations; Al-Mustaṭī'ah,[7] against Ibrāhīm; The Summary; Causes (Defects), about al-istiṭā'ah; Demands; Witticisms; The Substitute; Refutation of the Heretics; The Turk (Abandoning); Kindness and Strengthening (Assisting); Reward and Punishment;[8] Abwāb;[9] Knowledge, about consensus of opinion.

[5] See Glossary for this doctrine which was upheld by al-Najjār.

[6] For previous mention of this title, see translation, Chap. V, sect. 1, n. 272.

[7] Probably meaning the voluntary appropriation by man of an act created by God, or the action so appropriated; *istiṭā'ah* (see Glossary) is the doctrine which claims this ability for man.

[8] MS 1934 leaves a space between these three last titles and the title which precedes them.

[9] *Abwāb* means "doors." It is used for sections of the Qur'ān, but here very likely signifies the Shī'ī imams.

Ḥafṣ al-Fard

Ḥafṣ al-Fard was one of the Mujbirah, in fact one of their greatest scholars, equal to al-*Najjār*. He was surnamed Abū ʿAmr, and was one of the people of Egypt who went to al-Baṣrah, where he heard [the lectures of] and met with Abū al-*Hudhayl*, becoming his equal. Then Abū al-Hudhayl broke with him.

At first he was a Muʿtazilī, and later he subscribed to [the doctrine of] the creation of actions.[10] He was nicknamed Abū Yaḥyā. There were among his books, according to [what is written in] the handwriting of the nephew [son of the brother] of al-Iskāfī, the protégé of the Banū Jusham:[11]

Al-Istiṭāʿah; Oneness; The Created [the Qur'ān], against Abū al-*Hudhayl*; Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Muʿtazilah; Abwāb, about the created [the Qur'ān].

Theologians of the Mujbirah of Whom No Book Is Known

Sābālān, *Nusayān*, *Rakān*, Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Kūrān, all of whom were protégés. Also Abu al-Ḥasan al-*Samarī* and Ibn *Wakīʿ* al-Bunānī.[12]

Ibn *Kullāb*

He was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Kullāb, the cotton worker (*al-qaṭṭān*), one of the Nābitah al-Ḥashwīyah. He had controversies with *ʿAbbād* ibn Sulaymān and stated that the word (*kalām*) of Allāh was Allāh, so that ʿAbbād used to say that because of this statement he was a Christian.

Abū al-ʿAbbās al-*Baghawī* related:

We visited *Pethiōn*,[13] the Christian, who was in Dār al-Rūm on the West Side [of Baghdād]. The conversation flowed on until I asked him about Ibn Kullāb. Then he said, "God be merciful to ʿAbd Allāh. While he

[10] Cf. *istiṭāʿah*, Glossary.

[11] For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 46. The man named al-Iskāfī may be one of the men of that name listed in the Biog. Index.

[12] These are unimportant scholars who have not been identified in any source except *Al-Fihrist*. The first four were evidently non-Arabs.

[13] The interpretation of this name is a guess and may not be accurate. Cf. Arabic form given in the Flügel edition, p. 244, l. 9. Dār al-Rūm was a Christian quarter in Baghdād.

was sitting beside me in this cloister, he pointed in the direction of the church and learned this saying from me.[14] If he had lived we would have overcome the Muslims."

Al-Baghawī went on to say, "Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Ṭālaqānī* asked him, 'What have you to say about the Christ (al-Masīḥ)?' He replied, 'What the Sunnites (Ahl al-Sunnah) among the Muslims say about the Qur'ān.'"

Among the books of 'Abd Allāh there were:

Attributes; Creation of Actions;[15] Refutation of the Mu'tazilah.

Among the Kullābīyah [Followers of Ibn *Kullāb*]

Abū Muḥammad, a judge of the Sunnites, among whose books there was *The Sunnah and the Jamā'ah.*

Al-*'Aṭawī*

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Aṭīyah, also said to be Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī 'Aṭīyah. He was made a protégé of the Banū Layth ibn Bakr ibn 'Abd Manāh ibn Kinānah.[16] He was one of the keen theologians, and was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Although he belonged to the school of thought of al-Ḥusayn al-*Najjār*, he differed with him concerning the ordinances.

He was also a poet, gifted by nature. He was from al-Baṣrah, but moved first to the City of Peace [Baghdād] and then from there to Sāmarrā. Among his books there were:

Creation of Actions;[17] Perceptions (Consequences of Actions).

Salām al-Qārī

He was surnamed Abū al-Mundhir, but the Ahl al-'Adl[18] nicknamed him Abū al-Mudabbir. When his slave boy abducted his concubine, he said to him, "What's this! Woe to you!" Then he

[14] The saying was probably, "The word of Allāh is Allāh."

[15] This probably refers to the belief held by al-*Najjār* and other heretics that God creates the actions for man to appropriate; see *istiṭā'ah*, Glossary.

[16] For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 32 middle; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 105.

[17] See n. 15.

[18] For this subsect and its relations with the Mujbirah, see Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, (Nyberg), main text, pp. 24–25, 126.

[the slave] replied, "It was thus that Allāh foreordained." So he [Salām] exclaimed, "Thou art free because of thine knowledge of judgment and predestination (*al-qaḍā' wa-al-qadar*)," and he married him to the concubine. Among his books there were: ———.

'*Abd* Allāh ibn Dā'ūd

He was one of the Mujbirah. As he was passing by a group of his friends, who happened to know where he was going, they said, "Have you made matters right between so-and-so and so-and-so?" He replied, "We've managed it so that Allāh has not been corrupt, may Allāh be exalted for that."[19] Among his books there was *Judgment and Predestination* (*Al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar*).[20]

Al-*Karābīsī*

He was Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Yazīd al-Muhallabī al-Karābīsī, one of the Mujbirah, learned in the Ḥadīth and the law. I mention him here as he was more inclined to the *ijbār*[21] than to other [doctrines]. When he died there were among his books:

The Untrustworthy in Connection with the Ḥadīth; The Imamate, in which he showed malice towards '*Alī*, for whom may there be peace.

Among His Young Men

Fustuqah, whose name was Muḥammad ibn 'Alī; Ibn *Nājīyah*; and *Shamkhṣah*. Fustuqah wrote *The Strange in the Ḥadīth and Verification of the Traditions*, which he did not finish; it was lengthy.

Ibn Abī Bishr [al-*Ash'arī*][22]

He was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Abī Bishr al-Ash'arī, from among the people of al-Baṣrah. At first he was a Mu'tazilī, but later he repented of subscribing to justice (*al-'adl*) and creation

[19] It would have been a corrupt event, if God had foreordained that two friends should quarrel with one another.

[20] This title is given only in the Tonk MS.

[21] This probably refers to the doctrine of the Mujbirah.

[22] This scholar is mentioned here because he started his career as a heretic, although later he became the leading orthodox theologian of the period. He became known as al-Ash'arī, but here is called Ibn Abī Bishr. Cf. Khallikān, II, 227; "al-Ash'arī," *Enc. Islam*, I, 480; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 377–79.

of the Qur'ān.[23] When he was in the congregational mosque of al-Baṣrah on a Friday, he arose from his chair[24] calling out at the top of his lungs:

Whoever has known me has known me and whoever has not known me, to him I make myself known. I am so-in-so, the son of so-in-so, who used to proclaim the creation of the Qur'ān and that Allāh will not be seen through the eyesight [of men] and that if I do wrong things, it is I who do them. Behold, I am repenting, uprooted, committed to refuting the Mu'tazilah, casting off their disgraces and shameful errors.

About him there was a great deal of jesting and joking. Ibn Abī Bishr died ———. Among his books there were:

Flashes (Al-Lumma'); The Abridgment; Elucidation of the Proof; Explanation, concerning theology (uṣūl al-dīn);[25] Exposition and Analysis Refuting the People of Deceit and Error.

Among His Associates

Al-*Dimnānī* and *Ḥammawayh*, both of whom were from among the people of Sīrāf.[26] He [al-*Ash'arī*] sought their help in connection with reproaches and defamation. Both of them were learned in accordance with his doctrine, but no book of theirs is known.

One of the Mujbirah

Al-*Kūshānī*, whose name was ———, had discussions with al-*Ṣāliḥī*. He wrote a number of books which were in accord with the doctrines of his associates, and among which there were:

Creation of Actions;[27] The Vision.[28]

[23] See Glossary, Mu'tazilah.

[24] This very likely refers to the top step of a pulpit on which the leader sat when conducting the Friday service, but it might also refer to the chair which a professor used when he lectured or taught his class.

[25] Compare this title with *Al-Ibānah 'an Uṣūl al-Diyānah* ("Explanation from the Sources of Religion"), the usual form of the title, in the Bibliography.

[26] An important city of southern Persia; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 211.

[27] See n. 15. Instead of *af'al* ("actions"), Flügel has *aflāk* ("celestial spheres").

[28] This refers to the question of whether or not a believer might have a vision of God in Paradise by means of his own eyesight. See Ash'arī, *Theology of al-Ash'arī*, Chap. IV.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fourth Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. It includes accounts of the theologians of the Khawārij, with the names of their books.*[1]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Although the leaders of this group [the Khawārij] were numerous, not all of them composed books. Furthermore, we may not have received information about some of them who, though not known to have written books, did actually write them, for their books were concealed and guarded.

Among Their Theologians: Al-*Yamān* ibn Ribāb

He was one of the leaders and chiefs of the Khawārij. He started as one of the Tha'ālibah, but later changed to the doctrines of the Bayhasīyah.[2] He was a debator, a theologian, and a writer of books, among which there were:

The Created [the Qur'ān]; Oneness; Judgments of the Believers; against the Mu'tazilah, about predestination; Discourses; Proofs of the Imamate of Abū *Bakr*; Refutation of the Murji'ah; against the Mu'tazilah, about predestination; Refutation of *Ḥammād* ibn Abī Ḥanīfah.

Yaḥyā ibn Kāmil

Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā ibn Kāmil ibn Ṭulayḥah al-Jaḥdarī[3] was at first an associate of Bishr al-*Marrīsī* and one of the Murji'ah. Then he

[1] This title follows MS 1934.

[2] For these sects see the Glossary.

[3] This word is not clearly written in the Tonk and 1934 MSS, but evidently comes from the Jaḥdar Tribe; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 213.

changed over to the doctrine of the Ibāḍīyah. Among his books there were:

The questions transmitted from him to *Ja'far* ibn Ḥarb, entitled The Magnificent (Al-Jalīlah); The Created [the Qur'ān]; Oneness, a refutation of the Ghulāt and the sects of the Shi'ah.

Al-*Ṣayrafī*

He was Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb, one of the theologians of the Khawārij and a Hilālī from the Banū Hilāl.[4] Among his books there were: ———.

'*Abd* Allāh ibn Yazīd al-Ibāḍī

He was one of the greatest of the Khawārij and one of their theologians. Among his books there were:

Oneness; against the Mu'tazilah; Al-Istiṭā'ah; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah.

Ḥafṣ ibn Ashaym

He was one of the Khawārij, among whose books there was *Schisms and Their Refutation*, quoted from *Jubayr* ibn Ghālib.

Among Their Men Who Were Dialectic Metaphysicians

Ṣāliḥ, *Dā'ūd*, and *Ziyād* al-A'ṣam. They wrote controversial epistles, but no book of theirs is known.

Among the Leaders of the Ibāḍīyah Who Did Write Books

Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq al-Ibāḍī, among whose books there were:

Refutation of the Qadarīyah; The Imamate.

Ṣāliḥ al-Nājī

He was one of the important men of the Banū Nājiyah.[5] Among his books there were:

Oneness; Refutation of Those Who Disagree.

[4] See Khallikān, I, 241, for this tribe.

[5] For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 146 bottom; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 55.

Al-*Haytham* ibn al-Haytham

He was also a Nājī from the Banū Nājiyah.[6] Among his books there were:

The Imamate; Refutation of the Heretics.

Khaṭṭāb ibn ———

Among his books there were: ———.

[6] This sentence is in the Tonk MS alone.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Section of the Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. It includes accounts of the pilgrims, the ascetics, the devotees, and the Ṣūfīs who were theologians by means of mental seizures and hallucinations.*[1]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have read written in the handwriting of Abū Muḥammad *Ja'far* al-Khuldī, who was one of the leaders of the persons who became Ṣūfīs, a pious man and an ascetic, and I have also heard him relate this same statement, the one I read written in his handwriting, and which was as follows:

I took [the following list of ascetics] from al-*Junayd* Abū al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, who said to me, "I took it from Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Sarī* ibn al-Mughallis al-Saqaṭī, and al-Sarī from *Ma'rūf* al-Karkhī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī having taken it from *Farqad* al-Sanjī, and Farqad in turn from al-*Ḥasan* al-Baṣrī. Al-Ḥasan took it from *Anas* ibn Mālik. Al-Ḥasan, furthermore, met with seventy of the men who fought at the Battle of Badr."

The Names of the Devotees, Ascetics, and Ṣūfīs, as Listed in the Handwriting of *Ja'far* ibn Nuṣayr al-Khuldī[2]

[1] The title is taken from MS 1934. The word translated "pilgrims" is *al-suyyāh*, which might also mean persons who travel about, seeking pious exercises. The word translated "hallucinations" might mean "psychological suggestions."

[2] The phrase following the word "Ṣūfīs" is not found in the Tonk or 1934 MSS. Instead, they have simply the words "from his handwriting." This list should be compared with the names given by 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, pp. 88 ff., and 'Abd Allāh, *Al-Luma'*, pp. xxiii ff. Most of the names can also be found in Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, and 'Aṭṭār, *Memorial des saints.*

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, already mentioned; *Muḥammad* ibn Sīrīn; *Ḥarim* ibn Ḥayyān; *ʿAlqamah* al-Aswad; *Ibrāhīm* [ibn Yazīd] al-Nakhāʿī; al-*Shaʿbī*; *Mālik* ibn Dīnār; *Muḥammad* ibn Wāsiʿ; *ʿAṭā* al-Sulamī; *Mālik* ibn Anas; *Sufyān* al-Thawrī, mention of whom will follow; al-*Awzāʿī*, mention of whom will follow; *Thābit* al-Bunānī; *Ibrāhīm* al-Taymī; *Sulaymān* al-Taymī, already mentioned; *Farqad* al-Sabakhī; Ibn al-*Sammāk*; *ʿUtbah* [ibn Sallām] al-Ghulām; *Ṣāliḥ* al-Murrī, who was a villager; *Ibrāhīm* ibn Adham; *ʿAbd* al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd; Ibn al-*Munkadir*; *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥabīb al-Fārisī; al-*Rabīʿ* ibn Khuthaym; Abū *Muʿāwiyah* al-Aswad; *Ayyūb* al-Sakhtiyānī; *Yūsuf* ibn Asbāṭ; Abū Sulaymān al-*Darānī*; Ibn Abī al-*Ḥawārī*; *Dāʾūd* al-Ṭāʾī; *Fatḥ* al-Mawṣilī; *Shaybān* al-Rāʿī; al-*Muʿāfāʾ* ibn ʿImrān; al-*Fuḍayl* ibn ʿIyād.

Yaḥyā ibn Muʿādh al-Rāzī

He was one of the ascetics who practiced nighttime prayer and was a devotee with a number of disciples. He died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his books there was *Desire of the Desirous* (*Murād al-Murīdīn*).[3]

Al-*Yamānī*[4] ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, surnamed Abū Ḥafṣ

He was one of the ascetics who engaged in Ṣūfī practices. Among his books there was *Rising at Night and Nighttime Prayer*.

Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith

He was a devotee and ascetic who died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was *Asceticism*.

The Names of the Authors among the Ascetics and Ṣūfīs, with Mention of the Books Which They Composed

[3] In the Flügel edition the title is incomplete.

[4] The Tonk MS omits the passage about al-Yamānī and gives the paragraphs preceding and following in a different order.

Al-*Ḥārith* ibn Asad

He was [called] al-Muḥāsibī al-Baghdādī.[5] He was one of the ascetics and theologians who taught piety with asceticism in the world (worldly affairs). He was also a preacher. He was, moreover, a legal authority and a theologian who produced books about the Ḥadīth and was acquainted with the schools of thought of the ascetics. He died during the year two hundred and forty-three [A.D. 857/58]. Among his books there was *Reflection and Consideration.*

Al-Khaṭīb [al-Baghdādī] said, "He wrote many books about asceticism, the fundamentals of religion, and refutation of the Mu'tazilah."[6]

'*Abd* al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā al-Makkī

He belonged to the group of al-*Ḥārith* [ibn Asad]. He was 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muslim ibn Maymūn al-Kinānī, a theologian and leader (in the forefront), an ascetic and devotee. He wrote books about theology and asceticism. He died ———. Among his books there was *The Turning Aside*, about what occurred between him and Bishr al-*Marīsī*.

Manṣūr ibn 'Ammār

He was surnamed Abū al-Sarī and was an irreproachable ascetic. The [writings] by Manṣūr he called sessions, not naming them books.[7]

About the concealed; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj); Description of the Camel;[8] The Way;[9] about mention of death; about the excellence of thought with (knowledge of) Allāh; about the choice and religion;[10]

[5] MS 1934 omits al-Baghdādī.

[6] In MS 1934 this paragraph is an insertion in a different handwriting. It is a quotation from Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, VIII, 211 l. 18 (see Bibliography). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was almost certainly born about twelve years after the death of al-*Nadīm*.

[7] The word *majlis* ("session") rather than *kitāb* ("book") precedes each title in this list.

[8] This may be *al-ibl* ("camel") or *al-aball* ("hypocrite").

[9] Flügel gives *al-sabīl* ("way"), whereas MS 1934 has a word like *al-nayl* ("reaching," "acquiring") or *al-nīl* ("azure"). The last two forms also have other meanings.

[10] The word translated as "choice" is *al-'īnah*, which has so many meanings that it is impossible to be sure exactly what it signifies in this passage.

about affliction;[11] The Clouds over the People in (of) the Fire;[12] about 'Wait for us, that we may borrow from your light';[13] about plunging into the fire; The Assignment to Allāh, Exalted and Sublime;[14] Following Tracks in the Raid;[15] The Covered, about mention of death.

Al-*Burjulānī*

He was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn, surnamed Abū Ja'far. He was one of those who composed books about asceticism and abstinence. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Companionship (Communion); The Enslaved by Love;[16] Bountifulness and Generosity (Al-Jūd wa-al-Karam); Holy Aspiration (Al-Himmah); Patience (Al-Ṣabr); Obedience (Al-Ṭa'ah).

'*Utbah* [ibn Sallām] al-Ghulām

He was one of the ascetics, among whose books there was his epistle about rites of the pilgrimage.

Ibn Abī al-*Dunyā*

His name was 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd,[17] surnamed Abū Bakr. He was from the Quraysh, from the offspring[18]

[11] The Arabic for "affliction" is *al-balā*. For a better understanding of this word, see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, p. 388.

[12] This evidently refers to Judgment and Hell, but no reference has been found in the Qur'ān to identify the metaphor.

[13] This quotation is from the Qur'ān 57:13. In the clause which follows, MS 1934 gives "into the fire." Flügel erroneously has "into the fire" with "that we may borrow from your light" in the wrong position, and as a separate "session."

[14] "Assignment to" is in Arabic *al-faraḍ 'alā*, from MS 1934. It might also mean "payment to." Flügel gives *al-'araḍ 'alā*, which might mean "request to," or one of many other meanings.

[15] "Following tracks" is the suggested meaning of an unusual form given by Flügel as *al-taqfūrīyah*. The form given in MS 1934 looks like *al-tafqūrīyah*, an unidentified word. It may be a form implying "poverty" or else in a different sense referring to a camel with a broken back.

[16] This refers to the love of God. For the Ṣūfī terms in the four titles which follow, see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān as follows: *al-jūd*, p. 317; *al-himmah*, pp. 155, 235; *al-ṣabr*, p. 86; *al-ṭa'ah*, pp. 203, 226, 287.

[17] Flügel gives this name in its complete form, as translated. The 1934 and Tonk MSS give the name in complete form except for a blank space after the last *ibn*, where Flügel includes 'Ubayd. Taghrī-Birdī, Part II, p. 86, has 'Abd Allāh instead of 'Ubayd Allāh.

[18] Flügel gives *walā'* ("relationship"), whereas the 1934 and Tonk MSS have *wuld* ("offspring").

of ———. He served as tutor to al-*Muktafī* bi-Allāh and was also a devotee and an ascetic, acquainted with historical traditions and quotations. He died on Tuesday during the fourteenth night of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [the sixth Muslim month], in the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95]. Among his books there were:

The Deceits of Satan; The Dream (Magnanimity); Understanding (Fiqh) of the Prophet, for Whom Be Peace;[19] The Reproach of Amusements; The Reproach of Obscenity; Pardon (Compassion); The Reproach of Intoxicating Liquor; Affirmation; The Excellence of the Month of Ramaḍān; Charity of al-Fiṭr;[20] The Marrying of *Fāṭimah*, for Whom May There Be Peace;[21] [Qur'ānic] Reading; Voices (Sounds); Command for Good and Interdiction of Evil; Solicitude, Sorrow, and Grief.

Sincerity and Resolution; Pestilences; Patience and Civilities of Speech; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Desired Aims; Followers;[22] Traditions of the Quraysh; Reproach of the World; Description of the Scales (al-Mīzān);[23] Description of al-Ṣīraṭ;[24] Al-Mawqif;[25] The Tree of Ṭūbā;[26] Sidrah al-Muntahī;[27] The Noble Qualities of Good Dispositions; Mention of Death and the Tombs; Action of al-Munkar;[28] Piety; The Rites of the Pilgrimage of *Mālik* ibn Dīnār.

[19] For the Ṣūfī use of *fiqh* ("understanding") see 'Abd Allāh, *Al-Lumā'*, p. 6.

[20] It is the custom for Muslims to give alms at the feast called Ī'd al-Ḥitr at the end of Ramaḍān. For the Ṣūfī idea of charity, *ibid.*, p. 42.

[21] Fāṭimah was the Prophet's daughter married to 'Alī. The translation follows MS 1934 for the pious phrase. Flügel gives "May Allāh be well pleased with her."

[22] At this point the Tonk MS introduces a title which is not given in this translation because it is not found elsewhere and is probably an error.

[23] These were the scales used to weigh souls on the Day of Judgment. See Qur'ān 42:17; 55:7–9.

[24] *Al-ṣīraṭ* was used for the "right way" and also for the bridge over which the righteous passed to cross the flames of Hell to Heaven. See Qur'ān 1:6(5); 6:126 (127); 38:22(21). See also the *The Holy Quran*, edited by A. Yūsuf 'Alī, n. 2518 to Sūrah 19, v. 71.

[25] This probably refers to the place of the Last Judgment, but may also refer to a pilgrimage station, especially the stopping place by Mount 'Arafāt.

[26] A legendary tree in Heaven. It is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, but the Qur'ān 13:29 speaks of *ṭūbā* as the blessedness of the hereafter.

[27] A tree in the seventh Heaven. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 817.

[28] One of the two angels of death who examined and sometimes punished the dead in their graves. See "Munkar," *Enc. Islam*, III, 724.

Ibn al-*Junayd*[29]

His name was ———. Among his books there were:[30]

Love (Al-Maḥabbah); Fear (Al-Khawf); Abstinence from Evil (Al-Wara'); The Pious (Al-Rahbān).

Al-*Miṣrī*, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad

He was by origin from Sāmarrā, but he moved to Egypt, later returning to Baghdād. His birth was at Sāmarrā during the year two hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 870/71], and there he was brought up. He was pious and an ascetic. He was a jurist acquainted with the Ḥadīth. He died during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. Among his books about asceticism there were:

The Great Book, which included forty chapters, among which there were: Rising at Night [for prayer]; Bound by Mutual Love; Constant Awareness [of God]; Silence; Fear; Repentence; Patience; Portents and Persons Possessed by Spirits;[31] The Small Compendium for Morals; The Ḥadīth about Asceticism;[32] the new book about reconciliation; Sincerity.

He also wrote [books] about the law:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Ritual Purification; Prayer; Shares of Inheritance; Intention [probably for prayer]; The Poor Tax; Fasts; Superiority of Poverty over Riches.[33]

Another Group of Persons Who Became Ṣūfīs

Ghulām Khalīl

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghallāb ibn Khālid ibn Farās al-Bāhilī, known as Ghulām Khalīl.[34] He died ———. Among his books there were:

[29] This was not the famous Ibn al-*Junayd* surnamed Abū al-Qāsim.

[30] To understand the titles, see 'Ali B. 'Uthmān, pp. 157, 178, 305, for *al-maḥabbah*; p. 371 for *al-khawf*, p. 17 for *al-wara'*. *Al-rahbān* means excessively fearful of Hell and is evidently the word intended here rather than *al-ruhbān* ("monks").

[31] The Tonk MS has *al-āyāt* ("signs," "portents"), MS 1934 does not make the word clear, while Flügel has *al-ināth* ("females").

[32] This probably quoted sayings of the Prophet about renunciation.

[33] For transliterations of the Arabic terms for these titles, see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, Index 2, p. 432. Arberry, *Sufism*, also explains the rites mentioned in this passage.

[34] For *ghulām*, see Glossary.

Petition (Prayer, Al-Du'ā'); Attachment to Allāh, May His Name Be Glorified; Prayer (Al-Ṣalāh); Sermons.

Sahl al-Tustarī

He was 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūnus ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Rāfi' al-Tustarī. He became a Ṣūfī. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Moments (Subtilities) of the Lovers [Lovers of Allāh]; Sermons of Those with the Knowledge;[35] The Answers of Men of Conviction.

Fatḥ al-Mawṣilī

He was by origin a *mamlūk* [white-skinned slave] and was one of the ascetics who became a Ṣūfī. No book of his is known, but his words are remembered and his expressions are still current.

Abū *Ḥamzah* the Ṣūfī

His name was Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. Among his books there were:

Those Who Succeeded[36] among Persons Traveling about Seeking Piety, the Devotees, and Persons Who Became Ṣūfīs—it was quoted by a Ṣūfī named Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad al-Dinawarī, and I have seen this as belonging to this man;[37] Substitutes; Abodes of the Devotees.

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā

He was al-Azdī or al-Ādamī, I am not sure which. Among his books there was *Trust*, which was quoted by Abū 'Alī *Muḥammad* ibn Ma'n ibn Hishām al-Qārī.

Al-*Junayd* [Abū al-Qāsim]

He was [al-Junayd] ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Junayd, not a descendant of the first one. He was one of the theologians of the Ṣūfī doctrine, and he lived after three hundred [A.D. 912/13].[38]

[35] See 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, pp. 100, 382, for the Ṣūfī use of '*arif* ("know").

[36] For the word translated "succeeded," Flügel gives *al-muntammīn*, whereas the Tonk MS has the simpler and perhaps more accurate form, *al-mutimmīn*. The word probably signifies those who achieved ecstatic union with the Deity.

[37] The Tonk MS gives this version, whereas Flügel repeats the words translated as "and among his books there were."

[38] Although mentioned briefly, this was a well-known mystic and ascetic; see Biog. Index. The year three hundred is probably an error, as Khallikān, 1,338–39, says he died A.D. 910.

Statement about the Doctrines of the Ismā'īlīyah[39]

What Abū *'Abd* Allāh ibn Rizām said in his book in which he refuted the Ismā'īlīyah and exposed their schools of thought, I am presenting in Abū 'Abd Allāh's own words, so that I can be free from responsibility for the truth and falsehood of the matter.

He said that *'Abd* Allāh ibn Maymūn, this Maymūn being known as al-Qaddāḥ, was from the people of Qūraj al-'Abbās[40] near the city of al-Ahwāẓ. His father was *Maymūn*, to whom was related the group known as al-Maymūnīyah. This [sect] seemed to be attached to Abū al-Khaṭṭāb *Muḥammad* ibn Abī Zaynab,[41] who declared the divinity of *'Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be peace.[42]

[39] "Doctrines" (*madhāhib*) is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS. Flügel gives the singular form, *madhab*. The background of the Ismā'īlī sect is as follows: The Shī'ī branch of Islām claimed that only the direct lineal descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband 'Alī, had the right to be the caliphs. The 6th imam or lineal descendant, who died A.D. 765, was Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (see Hitti, *Arabs*, *p.* 442, for a list of the imams). Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had numerous sons. One of the younger of these was regarded as his father's legal successor. He was Mūsā al-Kāẓim, whose followers form the main branch of the Shī'ah in Irān, Southern 'Irāq, and other places. Another son was Ismā'īl, who died prematurely, but his son known as Muḥammad al-Maktūm claimed the right to the succession for his branch of the family. His followers formed the Ismā'īlīyah. This group developed a secret underground movement which for a number of generations threatened the existence of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, their headquarters being at Salamīyah, between Ḥamāh and Palmyra, in Syria. The genius who organized this underground movement was *Maymūn*. Some scholars think that he was the same person as Muḥammad al-Maktūm, but it is more probable that he was a retainer attached to the descendants of 'Alī. Maymūn and his son *'Abd* Allāh organized the Ismā'īlī conspiracy, which had branches in Persia, al-Yaman, and Fāṭimid North Africa. The representatives of the Ismā'īlīyah still existing today are the Bohra of India and the Khojas, whose chief is the Āgha Khān. See "Ismā'īlīyā," *Enc. Islam*, II, 549; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 219.

[40] As the Tonk MS gives a different spelling and the name is not listed by Yāqūt, this was probably an unimportant village.

[41] The sect following Abū al-Khaṭṭāb was called the Khaṭṭābīyah, so that this group was perhaps attached to Maymūn to start with and later absorbed by the followers of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. It is not to be confused with the Maymūnīyah branch of the Khawārij. See Baghdādī (Halkin), pp. 32, 62–65, 74; Ivanov, *Ibn al-Qaddah*, p. 92 ff.

[42] The Flügel edition gives a different pious epithet: "May Allāh be well pleased with him." The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS.

Maymūn and his son were Dayṣānīyūn[43] and for a long time ʿAbd Allāh [the son] propagated the [Ismaʿīlī] doctrine as a prophet. He appeared to work miracles, declaring that the earth would roll up for him, or stretch to wherever he wished in the shortest possible time. He also used to give out news about what was happening in distant places. He had agents in the localities where he wished and, as he was kind to them, they helped him with his intrigues. They had birds which they set free to go from different localities to the place where he was, bringing news from their regions; so in this way he deceived them.[44]

He moved to live at ʿAskar-Mukram, but he was so hard pressed that he fled from there. Two of his houses in a locality known as Sābāṭ Abī Nūḥ were demolished.[45] One of them was rebuilt as a mosque, but the other is a ruin to this day. Upon going to al-Baṣrah to dwell with a group of the descendants of the *ʿAqīl* ibn Abī Ṭālib,[46] he was again so hard pressed that he fled to Salamīyah[47] near Ḥimṣ, where he purchased estates.

When he dispatched propagandists to Sawād al-Kūfah,[48] there was a [favorable] response from a man of that district known as *Ḥamdān* ibn al-Ashʿath, nicknamed Qarmaṭ because of the shriveling of his back and leg.[49] This Qarmaṭ was a farmer and a cattle drover

[43] This was the sect found by Ibn Dayṣān and regarded as very heretical by the Muslims.

[44] The Tonk MS gives this story more clearly than the other versions do. The last word of the paragraph, "them," refers to the people whom Maymūn deceived and who lived in his immediate neighborhood.

[45] ʿAskar-Mukram was a city of southwestern Persia and Sābāṭ Abī Nūḥ was probably a street or locality in the city. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 676; " ʿAskar Mukram," *Enc. Islam*, I, 488.

[46] For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 39; Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 102.

[47] The old Salamyah or Salamīyah on the edge of the desert east of Ḥamāh and Ḥimṣ and west of Palmyra is still the center of some 35,000 members of the Ismāʿīlīyah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 123; "Salamīya," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 93–94.

[48] Sawād al-Kūfah was a region of irrigated lands near the ancient Babylon. The Arabic word for a propaganda agent is *al-dāʿi*, plural *al-duʿāh*. The word for propaganda is *al-daʿwah*.

[49] For the origin of this name, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 444 n. 3; for the man see Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 110; "Karmaṭians," *Enc. Islam*, II, 767; Silvestre de Sacy, I, clxix n. 1; clxxiv.

in a village known as Qass Bahrām, or Rās Qarmaṭ.[50] He was a crafty person, who enlisted to take part in his propaganda movement *'Abdān*, the [alleged] author of books which were composed and for the most part falsely attributed to him.[51] 'Abdān played his part in the propaganda in Sawād al-Kūfah, while Qarmaṭ stayed at Kalwādhī. *'Abd* Allāh ibn Maymūn also assigned one of his sons to al-Ṭālaqān so he could correspond with him.[52] This was during the year two hundred and sixty-one [A.D. 874/75].

When 'Abd Allāh died, his son *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh succeeded him. Then when Muḥammad died, there was disagreement among their propagandists and the members of their sect.[53] Some of them thought that his brother *Aḥmad* ibn 'Abd Allāh was the successor, while others believed that the person to follow him was his son, also named Aḥmad but nicknamed Abū al-*Shalaghlagh* (al-Shala'la').

Then after that there arose in the movement *Sa'īd* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn. This Ḥusayn died while his father was alive, but even previous to the time of Sa'īd the [Ismā'īlī] propaganda had spread among the Banū al-'Ulayṣ of the Kalb Tribe.[54]

After leaving al-Baṣrah, 'Abd Allāh and his sons continued to press the claim that they were descended from *'Aqīl*[55] and had determined the genealogy [of his descendants] at al-Baṣrah. Due to the sons of 'Abd Allāh the propaganda spread throughout the land, as the agents went to al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Khurāsān , al-Yaman, al-Aḥsā', al-Qaṭīf, and Fāris.[56]

[50] Qass Bahrām was evidently a hamlet at first named for a Christian and later for Qarmaṭ; see Silvestre de Sacy, I, clxvii n. 1.

[51] For these books, see text near n. 84.

[52] Kalwādhī was a town east of Baghdād; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 301. Al-Ṭālaqān was a large city in Khurāsān. See Silvestre de Sacy, III, 491; I, cxcvi.

[53] MS 1934 and the Tonk MS make it clear that the word translated "sect" is *niḥlah*.

[54] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, III, 2218 ff., in his account about the Ismā'īlīyah explains that the tribe of the Banū al-'Ulayṣ ibn Ḍamḍam was a branch of the Banū Kalb Tribe.

[55] As 'Aqīl was a brother of the Caliph *'Alī*, relationship with his offspring gave prestige.

[56] Al-Aḥsā' and al-Qaṭīf are on the east coast of Arabia. The 1934 and Tonk MSS give the final word as Fāris, or southwest Persia, rather than al-Quds, given by Flügel.

Then Sa'īd went to Egypt, propagating the claim that he was a descendant of *'Alī* and *Fāṭimah*, with the name of 'Ubayd Allāh. There he associated with al-*Nūsharī* [the governor], being honored by the adherents of the sultan. As he consolidated[57] his activities, information about him reached [the Caliph] al-*Mu'taḍid*, who ordered his arrest. Accordingly, he fled to al-Maghrib[58] where his propaganda was successful among two groups of the Berbers,[59] and where he met with experiences that are well known, the country facilitating things for him.

When he saw that the descendant for whom he laid claim was not accepted, he caused to appear a young man who was a newcomer and whom he asserted to be a descendant of *Muḥammad* ibn Ismā'īl [al-Maktūm]. This was al-Ḥasan Abū al-Qāsim, who was al-*Qā'im* bi-al-Amr,[60] following 'Ubayd Allāh.[61]

[57] MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give *taḥazzaq* ("consolidated").

[58] This term is used for North Africa, but in this passage refers to what is today Tunisia.

[59] See "Berbers," *Enc. Islam*, I, 698.

[60] This was the title by which he was known in history as the second Fāṭimid caliph. It signifies the one rising up in the affair after 'Ubayd Allāh.

[61] As the Fāṭimid, or Ismā'īlī, caliphate almost wrecked the Sunnite regime of Baghdād, numerous authors tried to prove that the Fāṭimid caliphs were imposters and not true descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. Other historians defended the authenticity of the Fāṭimid lineage, while some, including the author of *Al-Fihrist*, were neutral. See Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), I, 41; Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, I, 263; II, 496, 515, 528; Taghrī-Birdī, Part IV, p. 75; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 694; Khallikān, II, 77; Silvestre de Sacy, I, cccli, translated from al-Nuwayrī; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siasset Namèh*, pp. 269, 288; Baghdādī (Halkin), p. 107 ff; Maqrīzī, *Itti 'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*, p. 57; Athīr, Part VIII, p. 212. Other references can be found in Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, p. 101.

The account in *Al-Fihrist* confuses the descendants of Muḥammad al-Maktūm with those of Maymūn. See the Appendix to this translation, which is a table of succession which follows a letter written by *Sa'īd* al-Mahdī; see Hamdānī, *On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs*.

As all of these men were pretenders to the throne, they were sought after by the Baghdād police. Muḥammad al-Maktūm may really have been the son of an elder brother named 'Abd Allāh but have pretended to be the son of Ismā'īl, who had died prematurely, and was therefore not taken seriously by the police. He and his heirs lived in secret, first in Persia and later at Salamīyah in Syria.

A great deal of light is thrown on the disputed question of the entrance of Sa'īd al-Mahdī into the line of succession, when it is realized that his father was evidently a younger brother and not the true heir to the imamate. This revealing information is contained in a quotation; see Ḥusayn, *Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣirīyah*, 34th majlis. The passage evidently points to Muḥammad Abū al-*Shalaghlagh*, who as the elder

During his [al-Qā'im's] lifetime, such a contempt for the Sharī'ah[62] and the basic teachings of prophecy became evident among his followers that there rose up against him a man called Abū Yazīd al-Muḥtasib, whose real name was *Makhlad* ibn Kaydād. He was a Berber of the Zanātā from the Banū Yifrān,[63] an Ibāḍī and a Nikkārī.[64] He was known as Ṣāḥib al-Ḥimār. As his following and support grew in strength, he made war against him [al-Qā'im], besieging him in al-Mahdīyah until al-Ḥasan [al-Qā'im] died during the siege.[65]

Then there ruled in his place his son *Ismā'īl*, who was surnamed Abū Ṭāhir [al-Manṣūr]. As he appeared to uphold the importance of the Sharī'ah, at the same time that Abū Yazīd [Makhlad ibn Kaydād] supported the sect of the Ibāḍīyah, the populace turned

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brother safeguarded the line of succession to the imamate. The quotation is as follows: "Each one of his own sons whom he appointed to the imamate died, so that not one child was left to this man safeguarding the succession. Accordingly, al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ ibn Ḥawshib, the propaganda agent (*dā'i*) by whom Allāh had opened up al-Yamān, made a mantle upon which he wrote the name of the Imam al-Mahdī ———and he sent it to this guardian of the succession whose sons had died. He [Muḥammad Abū al-Shalaghlagh] accordingly bestowed it upon the Imam al-Mahdī [his nephew]."

This ancient record indicates that the son of a younger brother served as the heir during his lifetime. This temporary ruler or Fāṭimid caliph called the imam, was *Sa'īd* ibn al-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty in North Africa. When he died, the succession returned to the grandson of the elder brother, that is, to the grandson of Muḥammad Abū al-Shalaghlagh. This grandson was the second Fāṭimid caliph, known as al-*Qā'im*. As al-Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ ibn Ḥawshib is not mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*, his name is not in the Biog. Index.

[62] The Fāṭimids interpreted the Sharī'ah law and the Qur'ān in an allegorical way so as to prove the divine right of their own rulers to be the true caliphs. For the heterodox law of the Fāṭimids, see their great legal code, Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*.

[63] The Tonk and 1934 MSS garble these names, but they are evidently meant to be the Zanātā Tribe and its important subtribe called the Banū Yifrān; see Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, III, 179, 197.

[64] For Ibāḍī, see Glossary, Ibāḍiyah. MS 1934 gives Bakkāwī, which is evidently an error meant to be Nikkārī, which was a branch which broke off from the Khawārij in North Africa; ibid., pp. 202 ff.

[65] Al-Mahdīyah was founded by *Sa'īd* al-Mahdī as a palace city about one hundred miles south of modern Tunis; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 694 l. 10; "al-Mahdīya," *Enc. Islam*, III, 121.

away from him [Makhlad], so that he was killed and crucified. This was during the year three hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 947], but by the year forty the contempt for the Sharī'ah throughout the land seemed to be similar to what it had been at the time of al-Ḥasan [al-Qā'im], so Allāh hastened the death of Ismā'īl [al-Manṣūr].

His son, *Ma'add* Abū Tamīm, reigned after him. This Ma'add died during the year ——— in the city of Miṣr, which he occupied in the year ———. There ruled in his place his son, *Nizār* ibn Ma'add, surnamed Abū Manṣūr [al-'Azīz].[66]

From a Source Other than This Account

During the year eighty-seven [A.H. 287: A.D. 900],[67] [*Sa'īd* ibn al-Ḥusayn] 'Ubayd Allāh [al-Mahdī] sent Abū Sa'īd al-*Sha'rānī* to Khurāsān, where he gave a false impression to the leaders by professing to be a Shī'ī, leading people astray. When he died, al-*Ḥusayn* ibn 'Alī al-Marwazī took his place and became well established in the region until he was imprisoned by *Naṣr* ibn Aḥmad. He died in confinement.

He was succeeded by al-*Nasafī*, who misled Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, enticing him to join the [Ismā'īlī] movement, so that he approved paying an indemnity for the death of al-Marwazī [equal to] one hundred and nineteen gold coins (s., *dīnār*) and for each gold coin, a thousand gold coins.[68] He supposed that he was making this payment for the lord of North Africa, al-*Qā'im* bi-al-Amr.[69]

When an illness overcame Naṣr, confining him to his bed, he repented of having complied with al-Nasafī, making this publicly known. When he died, his son *Nūḥ* assembled the legal authorities, making al-Nasafī attend also, so that they could examine, lay bare, and expose him. What is more, Nūḥ brought light upon forty of

[66] Ma'add Abū Tamīm is better known as al-Mu'izz, the fourth Fāṭimid caliph, whose army invaded Egypt, occupying Miṣr (al-Fusṭāṭ) in A.D. 969. He ordered the city of al-Qāhirah to be built and his son, usually called al-'Azīz, consolidated the regime in Egypt.

[67] The Flügel edition has thirty-seven, which is an error.

[68] For light on this passage, see the Flügel edition, p. 188 n.2.

[69] This was the second Fāṭimid caliph, who was ruling in North Africa

the gold coins (s., *dīnār*).[70] Accordingly, he executed al-Nasafī along with the chiefs of the movement and the leaders who were the head men attached to Naṣr, tearing them to pieces with every kind of violence.[71]

Another Account

The first one of the sons of [*Maymūn*] al-Qaddāḥ to go to al-Rayy, Ādharbayjān, and Ṭabaristān was a cotton carder. When he died his son succeeded him, and when his son also died, he was followed by a man known as *Ghiyāth*. When he passed away his son succeeded him and also a man known as al-*Makhzūm*.[72] He in turn died and there took his place Abū *Ḥātim* al-Warsnānī, who was a dualist, then a Dahrī,[73] later becoming a *zindīq* giving way to doubt.[74]

As for al-Yaman, Fāris, and al-Aḥsā', the propagandists reached those regions either with *'Abdān*, the successor and brother-in-law of *Ḥamdān* [ibn al-Ash'ath] Qarmaṭ, or there may have been agents preceding him: it is Allāh who knows.

[70] The point seems to be that if Nūḥ discovered forty of the gold coins in Khurāsān, they could not have been sent to encourage the revolution in North Africa, thus revealing the double dealing of al-Nasafī.

[71] Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Khurāsān, A.D. 914–43 was persuaded to support the Ismā'īlī cause by a favorite called al-Nasafī. As the members of the Sāmānid dynasty desired to be as independent as possible from the government at Baghdād, Naṣr evidently wished to encourage the members of the Ismā'īlī revolution not only in his own country but also in North Africa, for if the caliph at Baghdād was busy defending himself against the Fāṭimid rebels in the west, Khurāsān in the east could be free from interference.

When, however, the ruler's son Nūḥ realized that al-Nasafī was a fraud, he persuaded his sick father to make a public confession of having been cheated and to abdicate. *Nūḥ* then became the ruler and cleansed the realm of the Ismā'īlī heretics. See Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siasset Namèh*, pp. 268–81; Blochet, *Messianisme*, p. 67; "Naṣr B. Aḥmad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 872; "Sāmānids," IV, 122–23.

[72] The name is omitted in the Tonk MS. It is written without consonant signs in the Flügel version and MS 1934, but it is evidently meant to be the Ismā'īlī propagandist Ja'far al-Makhzūm. Blochet, *Messianisme*, is perhaps mistaken in confusing him with Abū *Ḥātim* al-Warsnānī.

[73] See Glossary, Dahrīyah.

[74] MS 1934 and Flügel have *ḥaṣal*, freely translated "giving way." The Tonk MS has *jahil* ("was ignorant").

Another Account

Before the period of the sons of [*Maymūn*] al-Qaddāḥ, there were persons close to the Magians and their [Sāsānian] regime, for the restoration of which they strove. Sometimes [they worked] openly and sometimes secretly with intrigue, causing things to happen which were illegal in Islām.

It has been said that Abū *Muslim*, chief of the 'Abbāsid movement, favored this cause and worked for it, but he was cut off before its attainment.[75] Among those who were dedicated [to the cause], coming out openly and making themselves known, there was *Bābak* al-Khurramī, an account of whom will be given in the Ninth Chapter.

One of the persons agreeing with '*Abd* Allāh [ibn Maymūn] in connection with his movement was a man known as *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn, nicknamed Daydān, who was from the region of al-Karaj, being a secretary of Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī *Dulaf*.[76] This man was trained in philosophy and skilled in the science of the stars [astrology]. Belonging to the Shu'ūbīyah, he was bitter against the Islāmic government. He believed with certainty in the Universal Soul (*al-Nafs*), the Intelligence (*al-'Aql*), Time (*al-Zamān*), Space (*al-Makān*), and Matter (*al-Hayūlā*).[77] He also supposed that there was control and spiritual action in the stars.

In speaking about him, a reliable person told me that he believed he had discovered in the astral determinations that there would be a transition from the Islāmic regime to the government of the Persians and to their religion, called the Majūsīyah. [This would take place] at the time of the eighth conjunction, as a movement in the Muthallathah from the sign of Scorpio, indicating the Faith [of Islām], to the sign of Sagittarius, indicating the Persian religion. He also

[75] See Mas'ūdī, VI, 186.

[76] For al-Karaj, a city near al-Rustāq in Persia, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 250 bottom, and Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 2116. This Abū Dulaf was the governor of Iṣbahān, A.D. 879, and must not be confused with al-Qāsim ibn 'Īsā al-'Ijlī, also called Abū Dulaf. Flügel misspells the name.

[77] These were metaphysical terms used by the Ismā'īlī as well as by the philosophers to express emanations from the deity; see Dodge, *Muslim World*, L, No. 3 (July 1960), 183–88; Baghdādī (Halkin) pp. 115, 116 nn. 3, 6.

said that he [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] used to exclaim, "Would that I might be the cause of this!"[78]

As he [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] had extensive property, exalted enthusiasm, and great craftiness, he facilitated matters for the [Ismā'īlī] movement, giving Ibn al-Qaddāḥ [*'Abd* Allāh ibn Maymūn] authority in connection with it and aiding him with funds. He met him at al-'Askar[79] when he was setting out to seek the sultan's court, before the time of *Ḥamūlah*,[80] the vizier of Ibn Abū Dulaf, when he [Abū Dulaf] rose to his rank[81] of the governorship of al-Ḥaramayn,[82] with attendance upon and admission to the service.[83]

When he died at the sultan's court, the movement was under the direction of Ibn al-Qaddāḥ. This is what we know about this subject, but it is Allāh who can distinguish the truth regarding it from the falsehood.

The Names of the Authors of the Books of the Ismā'īlīyah and the Titles of the Books

As *'Abdān*, who has already been mentioned,[84] was the most prolific of the community in producing books and compilations, everyone writing a book attributed it to him. 'Abdān had a catalogue of the books which he compiled, among which there were:

[78] The Muthallathah is the term used for the three stars called *Δελτωτόν* or *Τρίγωνον*, but here it more probably refers to signs of the zodiac. Here the trilogy is evidently Libra = Scorpio = Sagittarius. Probably several planets met in Scorpio, destined to meet later in Sagittarius. The translation is free. See "Astrology," *Enc. Islam*, I, 496; "Muthallath," *Enc. Islam*, III, 794 top.

[79] This was evidently 'Askar-Mukram, a city of southwestern Persia; see " 'Askar Mukram," *Enc. Islam*, I, 488.

[80] Flügel gives Ḥammawayh, who was the director of posts about A.D. 807; see Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, pp. 712, 718, 764. MS 1934 has Ḥamūlah, who was vizier to the family of Abū Dulaf. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn very likely left the service of Ibn Abī Dulaf in order to seek service with the caliph. Then Ibn Abī Dulaf was evidently honored as Governor of the Two Holy Cities and given a place at the royal court. Probably it was at this time that Ḥamūlah became his vizier. Both MS 1934 and Flügel omit "Ibn" before Abū Dulaf, apparently an error.

[81] Flügel has *khuṭbah* ("sermon"), but the word is probably meant to be *ḥiẓah* ("rank," "dignity").

[82] Makkah and al-Madīnah.

[83] The word translated "service" is *al-ṭā'ah*, probably implying service in the entourage of the caliph, although it may have a religious significance. For references, see n. 16.

[84] See n. 51, and also Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 516.

The Millstone and the Wheel; Ordinances and Supports; The Shining; The Clear; The Field (Al-Maydān).

Among his large books there were:

The Flames (Opinions); The National Events (Al-Malāḥim); The Goal (Purpose).

These are books of attainment (*bulghah*)[85] which are extant, being passed from hand to hand. It has, however, been said about the rest of the [books of the] catalogue, "We have never seen them, nor known anyone who has seen them."

They [the Ismā'īlīyah] Have Seven Stages, Which Are:[86]

The First Stage, for the common people; the Second Stage, for persons somewhat more advanced; the Third Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for a year; the Fourth Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for two years; the Fifth Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for three years; the Sixth Stage, for a person who has been with the movement for four years; the Seventh Stage, in which there is the culmination and principal exposition of the movement.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I read this and found in it material weighty in disclosing things that are prohibited, and showing contempt for the laws and those who uphold them.

During the past twenty years the movement has lost momentum and its propaganda agents have become fewer, so that I no longer see books compiled about it. At the beginning of the period of *Mu'izz* al-Dawlah, however, it was in evidence, accepted and divulged, with propagandists sought after in every region and district.[87] This is what I have learned in this country [al-'Irāq], but it is

[85] *Bulghah* probably signifies books which helped a convert to be promoted from one stage of attainment to another in the Ismā'īlī system.

[86] The word translated as "stages" is *bālaghāt*. This was probably the initiation system for a *dā 'i*, or propaganda agent, as the ordinary person could not be expected to complete such a long course. This passage should be compared with Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*, Part II, pp. 227–35; Silvestre de Sacy, I, lxx–clxxxvii; O'Leary, *Short History of the Fatimid Caliphate*, pp. 21–32; Dodge, *Muslim World*, L, No. 2 (April 1960), 140–41.

[87] This probably refers to the time when Mu'izz al-Dawlah seized Baghdād, A.D. 945.

possible that the movement is continuing in the regions of al-Jabal and Khurāsān.

In Egypt the situation is obscure, for from the head of the movement ruling the region nothing appears, which explains what is being said about him and his forefathers. The matter is different [from what he claims]. Al-salām.[88]

Among the Compilers (Authors)

There was al-*Nasafī*, who has already been mentioned. Among his books there were:

Intentions (Titles, Indications, Manners) of Religion; Sources of the Law; The Chosen Movement.[89]

Abū *Ḥātim* al-Rāzī

His name was ———. Among his books there were:

The large book, Decoration, about four hundred leaves [in length]; The Compilation, about the law and other subjects.[90]

The Banū (Sons of) Ḥammād

They were from al-Mawṣil and were supporters of the [Ismā'īlī] movement in al-Jazīrah and of those under its patronage, before [the time when] Abū *Ya'qūb*, the successor of the Imam al-Muqīm, was at al-Rayy.[91] They compiled books, which they attributed to 'Abdān and among which there were:

The Shining Truth; The Manifest Truth; In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.[92]

[88] The Fāṭimid caliphs did not explain the authenticity of their descent from Muḥammad and his daughter, Fāṭimah, so that there was uncertainty with regards to the matter. *Al-salām* ("greeting") was a common form for ending a communication.

[89] Flügel seems to err in this title. The translation is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS, which have *Al-Da'wah al-Muntakhabah* ("The Chosen Movement"), referring to the Ismā'īlīyah.

[90] His famous book, *Al-Iṣlāḥ*, is not mentioned here. See Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, pp. 90 ff.

[91] When al-*Nadīm* was in al-Mawṣil, he evidently heard of the Banū Ḥammād, who are not mentioned elsewhere. The Imam al-Muqīm was almost certainly the Ismā'īlī leader al-*Nasafī*, whose place was taken by Abū *Ya'qūb* al-Sijistānī, his pupil, when he was killed, A.D. 943. See Hamdānī, *Ṣulayḥīyūn*, pp. 251, 252. Al-Jazīrah was probably northern 'Irāq.

[92] MS 1934 omits "the Compassionate," but the Tonk MS and Flügel version include it.

A Man Known as Ibn *Ḥamdān*

His name was ———. I saw him at al-Mawṣil, [where] he was [continuing] the movement after the death of the sons of Ḥammād. He wrote many books, among which there were: *The Seventh Philosophy*;[93] ———.

Ibn *Nafīs*

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh, a chief of the [Ismāʿīlī] movement, who was to have had the leadership as successor to Abū Yaʿqūb.[94] But Abū Yaʿqūb changed his opinion of him because of information which reached him. So he sent a company of Persians to kill him treacherously in his house.[95] No written book of his is known. He was killed during the year ———.

Al-*Dabīlī*

He was a rival of Abū ʿAbd Allāh [ibn *Nafīs*], the two of them competing for the leadership. He outlived him by some years, dying ———. He did not write any books.

Al-*Ḥasanābādhī*

His name was ———. I saw him when I went to him with a group of his adherents. He was dwelling in a quarter between the two palaces[96] and was elegant in manner, extraordinary in the style of his expression and speech and in what he recounted. He went to Ādharbayjān because of something which happened to him at Baghdād, after the exile of *Shayrmadī*, the Daylamī, with whom he had connections.[97]

[93] This may have been about the seventh stage of initiation among the Ismāʿīlīyah, which dealt with philosophical matters (see n. 86). If the Banū Ḥammād were leaders before A.D. 943, when al-Nasafī was killed, and Ibn Ḥamdān served as leader after they died, it is likely that the author of *Al-Fihrist* was a young man when he went to al-Mawṣil and met this Ismāʿīlī leader.

[94] This is evidently meant to be Abū *Yaʿqūb* al-Sijistānī, who died soon after A.D. 971.

[95] MS 1934 gives the form *dār* ("house"). The Tonk MS says "They beat him treacherously and killed him."

[96] These were probably on the East Bank of the Tigris at Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map opposite p. 231.

[97] The Tonk MS has, instead of this last phrase, "because he was exiled on account of him."

Al-*Ḥallāj*: His Religious Beliefs and Accounts of Him, with the Names of His Books and the Books of His Followers

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr. There is a difference of opinion about his country and place of upbringing. It is said that he was from Khurāsān, from Naysābūr. Then it is said that he was from Marw (Merv), and it is also said that he was from al-Ṭālaqān.[98] Some of his adherents said that he was from al-Rayy, while others said from al-Jibāl,[99] but nothing is clear about him or his town (region).

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir:

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-*Ḥallāj* was a crafty man and a conjurer who ventured into the Ṣūfī schools of thought, affecting their ways of speech. He laid claim to every science, but nevertheless [his claims] were futile. He even knew something about the science of alchemy (al-kīmīyā'). He was ignorant, bold, obsequious, but courageous in the presence of sultans, attempting great things and ardently desiring a change of governments (dynasties). Among his adherents he claimed divinity, speaking of divine union.[100] He presented the tenets of the Shī'ah to the kings, but to the common people the doctrines of the Ṣūfīs. In enlarging upon this he claimed that the Divine Power had alighted within him, so that he was He, Almighty God, may He be glorified and sanctified. In connection with this he said "He is my nonexistence, exalted and great."[101]

He used to travel among the towns. Then when he was arrested, he was turned over to Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā [the vizier], who upon examining him found that he lacked knowledge about the Qur'ān and its sciences,[102] as well as about the law, the Ḥadīth, and also the poetry and sciences of the Arabs. So 'Alī ibn 'Īsā said to him, "To learn about your purification and obligations will be more profitable for you than the [writing of] epistles in which you do not know what you are talking about. How

[98] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 857, for Naysābūr; IV, 507, for Marw; III, 491, for Ṭālaqān.

[99] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 892, for Rayy; II, 15, 22, for Jibāl.

[100] *Ḥulūl* ("divine union") is ecstatic union with God; see "Ḥulūl," *Enc. Islam*, II, 333; Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 139, 395; Shehadi, p. 26.

[101] A correction in MS 1934 suggests that this form means nonexistence; see Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, sect. 50, third line of the poem. When the mystic loses his sense of personal existence in ecstatic union, his personality is merged with that of God.

[102] These sciences are concerned with the grammar, language, form of reading, theology, and law of the Qur'ān, as well as with the sayings of the Prophet.

often have you written to the people, 'Woe art thou, for Dhū al-Nūr[103] the scintillating is about to descend and after his scintillating to shine!' Verily, what a great need thou hast for training!"

So he gave an order concerning him and he was tied up [for public ridicule], first on the East Side in the vicinity of the Majlis al-Shurṭah, and then on the West Side.[104] After that he was taken to the court of the sultan and placed in prison.[105] He was obliged to compromise with them about the Sunnah, but they did not believe that he spoke sincerely. He was quoted as claiming that at the start he used to call upon the favor of the family of Muḥammad,[106] but he was slandered and taken off with a rope,[107] to be beaten with scourges.

It is said that he appealed to Abū Sahl [Ismā'īl] al-*Nawbakhtī*, who replied to his messenger, "I am the head of a sect with thousands of people backing me, who will follow him if I follow him.[108] So make hair grow on my forehead, for the hair there has disappeared. I do not wish anything else from him." The messenger, however, did not come back to him.[109]

One day he moved his hand, scattering musk over the people. Another day he moved his hand, scattering money. Then one of the discerning persons present said to him, "Now I see well-known money, but I shall believe in you, as will the people with me, if you give me money on which there is your own name and that of your father." He replied, "But how? No such thing is made!" Then he [the questioner] said, "Whoever has caused something nonexistent to appear has produced something which is not made."[110]

[103] "Dhū al-Nūr" ("Lord of Light") probably refers to the Mahdī or Jesus Christ coming with flaming power on the Day of Judgment. An unpublished manuscript of Ibn Aybak, p. 78, said that the Mahdī would be like a "column of light, falling from Heaven to Earth."

[104] It is likely that al-Ḥallāj was tied up in Baghdād for the public to see, first at the east end and then at the west end of the main city bridge, running from the Majlis al-Shurṭah, or police station, to the start of the Khurāsān Highway; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map following p. 106.

[105] See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 231–33.

[106] The phrase translated "used to call upon the favor of the family of Muḥammad" probably means that al-Ḥallāj claimed to be loyal to the Prophet. But they did not believe him and slandered him.

[107] Flügel gives *jabal* but questions its accuracy, so that MS 1934 is probably right in giving *ḥabl* ("rope").

[108] Abū Sahl Ismā'īl al-Nawbakhtī was the intellectual leader of the Imāmīyah.

[109] This story should be compared with the similar one told about al-*Shalamaghānī*; see Chap. V, sect. 2, near n. 26.

[110] Cf. Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 156.

He was handed over to *Naṣr* al-Ḥājib,[111] whom he misled. In his books there was written, "Verily, I am He who drowned the people of *Nūḥ* (Noah) and destoyed 'Ād and Thamūd."[112] When his cause spread and became public, trustworthy information about it was given to the sultan [al-*Muqtadir*], who declared that he should be beaten with a thousand strokes and his two hands cut off. After that he burned him in the fire, at the end of the year three hundred and nine [A.D. 922].[113]

The Reason for His Arrest

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-*Ḥasan* ibn Sinān:

The case of al-Ḥallāj became known and talk about it spread during the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 911/12]. The reason why he was arrested was because the postmaster at al-Sūs passed through a locality in al-Sūs called al-Rabḍ fī al-Qaṭ'ah,[114] where he saw a woman in one of the lanes exclaiming, "Leave me alone or I'll tell [about you]." So he said to the Arabs with him, "Seize her!" Then he said to her, "What's the matter with you?" She denied [having spoken], until he brought her to his house and threatened her. Then she said, "Next to my house there has come to live a man who is known as al-Ḥallāj and who has a group of people coming to him secretly every night and day, saying unlawful things."

He forthwith turned to a band of his associates, who were adherents of the sultan, ordering them to raid the place. They did so and found a man with a white head and beard, whom they seized upon along with all that

[111] Abū al-Qāsim *Naṣr* was the chamberlain (*al-ḥājib*) of the Caliph al-*Muqtadir*.

[112] Here al-Ḥallāj identifies himself with Allāh. For the Flood of the time of Noah and the destruction of the Pre-Islāmic tribes, see Qur'ān 7: 59–84.

[113] There are different accounts of how al-Ḥallāj was punished, perhaps due to the fact that the word *ṣalb* can mean either tied up for public ridicule or crucified. The preceding passage makes it clear that when he was first brought to Baghdād, al-Ḥallāj was tied up on both sides of the Tigris for the public to revile. Then he was placed in prison, where for a time he gained the good will of the chamberlain, members of the court, and the Caliph al-Muqtadir himself. Later the vizier used his influence to have him executed. He was beaten and mutilated. It is likely that he was crucified before his body was burned. As the Muslims believed in bodily resurrection of the dead, this burning was a severe measure to take. Cf. Ḥallāj, *Akhār*, I, 232, 304–12; also illustrations: I, 182; II, 622, 770, 916.

[114] Sūs was the ancient Susa; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 188; "al-Sūs," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 565. MS 1934 has "al-Rabḍ fī al-Qaṭ'ah," which means "the Suburb in the Separated Quarter." Compare this passage with Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 228 ff.

he had with him, for there were quantities of coins, musk, clothing, safflower,[115] ambergris, and saffron. Then he said, "What do you want from me?" They replied, "You are al-Ḥallāj." He said, "No, I am not he and I don't even know him."

They took him to the home of *'Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn, the postmaster, and imprisoned him in a house, making sure of him and taking over his notes, books, and cloth, while the news spread about the town, so that the people gathered to look at him. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Are you al-Ḥallāj?" He denied this. Then one of the men of al-Sūs said, "I know him by a scar made by a blow on his head." So they searched for this and found it.

Now the sultan had arrested one of the young men of al-Ḥallāj known as al-*Dabbās*, whom he kept in prison for a long time, treating him abominably. Then he released him and, after taking his guarantee and making him swear to look for al-Ḥallāj, he provided him with funds. While he [al-Dabbās] was going after him through the land, he happened to enter Sūs at this time and to learn the news. He hastened to notify the sultan about the affair, confirming it. So he [al-Ḥallāj] was brought [to Baghdād] and there befell him what happened.

The person who sought to have him executed, taking the initiative in the affair, was *Ḥāmid* ibn al-'Abbās [the vizier]. The sultan was on the point of setting him free, as he [al-Ḥallāj] confused him, the servants, and the women of his court by praying, amulets, and charms. He used to eat little, pray much, and fast for extended periods, so that he misled and captivated them.[116]

Naṣr [al-Ḥājib] al-Qushūrī called him "the Righteous Shaykh," but he was mistaken[117] so that Ḥāmid brought the case to a definite conclusion, accusing some about the matter. Then he [al-Ḥallāj] said, "I invoke curses upon you!" [whereupon] Ḥāmid exclaimed, "Now it is certain that you claim what you are suspected of!" So he was killed and burned.[118]

[115] Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, has "birds," but MS 1934 and the Tonk MS confirm "safflower" as correct. This is a yellowish-red dye made from the flower of *Carthamus tinctorius*. Evidently al-Ḥallāj used this and other things to work magic so as to impress the illiterate people.

[116] For his miracles in the palace, see Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, I, 235 ff.

[117] The Tonk MS adds three extra words here and also shows other variations, probably due to careless copying.

[118] It is probable that al-Ḥallāj cursed the vizier in a way which proved that he claimed divinity, thus giving final reason for execution. It is likely that this entire section is quoted from Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Sinān.

Names of the Books of al-*Ḥallāj*[119]

Ṭā'(Ṭ) Sīn(S). Al-Azal (Eternity) and the Greatest Jewel (Supreme Essence) and the Light-Giving Olive Tree;[120] Letters of the Ḥadīth, and the Eternal and Universal Names; The Shade Extended, the Water Poured Forth, and the Continuing Life; The Conception (Act of Becoming) of Light, Life, and Spirit; Al-Ṣayhūr;[121] Explanation of 'Say, He Allāh is One';[122] The Continuing in Eternity and Eternally Continued; Recital of the Qur'ān and the Furqān;[123] The Disposition of Man and the Explanation (Khalq al-Insān wa-al-Bayān); The Cunning of Satan and the Command of the Sultan; Roots and Branches.[124]

Secret of the World and the One Sent (Raised from the Dead); Justice and Oneness;[125] Politics, Caliphs, and Governors (Emirs); Knowledge of Survival (Eternity) and Annihilation;[126] The Form of Things Which Overshadow; The Light of the Light;[127] Revelations (Supernatural Communications); Spheres, the World, and the One Who Knows; Praise of the Prophet and the Most Excellent Example;[128] The Unusual and the Clear [in Good Literary Style]; The [Primordial] Point[129] and the Beginning of Creation; The Resurrection and the Mystic Ecstasies

[119] To understand these titles, consult Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 815–16; Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, pp. 1–8, 80 ff. Massignon has corrected the Flügel text by comparing it with a parallel list of titles. The translation follows the corrections. The Tonk and 1934 MSS give some of these works, but confuse them.

[120] *Ṭā' Sīn* are the letters at the beginning of Sūrah 27, which according to a cryptic system stood for "Divine Apparition" (*Ṭā'*) and "Eternal Glory of Allāh" (*Sīn*). See Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, pp. 81, 82. Al-Ḥallāj used these two letters for his short writings; see Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*. For the light-giving olive tree, see Qur'ān 24:35.

[121] All editions of *Al-Fihrist* have *al-ṣayhūn*, perhaps signifying Mt. Zion, but Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 142 n. 1, is probably correct in suggesting al-*ṣayhūr*, which indicates being scalded in hell; cf. Qur'ān 22:20(21).

[122] See Qur'ān 112:1.

[123] See "Furḳān," *Enc. Islam*, II, 120; Qur'ān 25:1; also *Muslim World*, XLV, No. 2 (April 1955), 109–12, an unsigned editorial entitled "The Criterion."

[124] This title probably refers to principles and applications of the law.

[125] See Glossary, "Mu'tazilah," for this phrase.

[126] In Arabic this is '*Ilm al-Baqā' wa-al-Fanā'*, evidently referring to the mystic practice of annihilation of personality in ecstatic union with God, giving a consciousness of the eternal.

[127] See Qur'ān 24:35.

[128] The Arabic words translated as "most excellent example" are *al-mathal al-a'lā*, mentioned in the Qur'ān 30:27 (26).

[129] The Flügel text seems to be incorrect. The Tonk and 1934 MSS give *al-nuqṭah* ("point"). Cf. Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 29, and Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, p. 39.

(Resurrections); The Greatness and Majesty; Prayer and Divine Blessings (Prayer and Forms of Prayer); Treasures of Good Things, known as Separate Alif and Composite Alif.[130]

The Ecstasies of Those with the Knowledge;[131] The Nature of Aspects of the Qur'ān and of Reasoning; Sincerity and Pure Intention (al-Ikhlāṣ);[132] The Examples and the Abwāb; Certainty; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); "The Star When It Sets";[133] "The Scattering Broadcast";[134] about 'He who revealed to you the Qur'ān will return you to the place of returning';[135] The Pearl, addressed to *Naṣr* al-Qushūrī; Government (Politics), addressed to al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Ḥamdān; He Is He;[136] How He Was and How He Will Be;[137] The First Existence;[138] Red Sulphur; Al-*Samarī* and His Answer; The Second Existence;[139] No—How; Analogy and Truth;[140] Analogy (Form) with Figure of Speech.

'*Abd* Allāh ibn Bukayr[141]

He was one of the Shī'ah. He was quoted by al-*Ḥasan* ibn ['Alī ibn] al-Faḍḍāl. Among his books there was a book about the sources.

Al-*Ḥuṣayn* ibn Mukhāraq

He was one of the leaders of the Shī'ah. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Compilation of Science.

[130] See Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 58, diagrams 4 and 5, and p. 100.

[131] Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 819 bottom, gives *Mawājīd al-'Ārifīn*. For *'ārif*, see Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 83; Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, p. 248 middle.

[132] See Massignon, *Origines du lexique*, pp. 191–92.

[133] See Qur'ān 53:1.

[134] See Qur'ān 51:1.

[135] See Qur'ān 28:85.

[136] See Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*, p. 129.

[137] See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 641 bottom. On the margin of MS 1934 there is the note, "In this book there is going forward and backward."

[138] See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 561; and Qur'ān 50:15 (14) for the first existence or creation. The next title probably refers to the Philosopher's Stone.

[139] See Qur'ān 50:15 (14) for the second existence or creation.

[140] See Ḥallāj, *Akhbār*, II, 568.

[141] This name and the seven which follow it are Shī'ī scholars, who are mentioned by al-Ṭūsī but not by other well-known authorities.

Abū al-*Qāsim* ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Kūfī

He was one of the illustrious members of the Imāmīyah. Among his books there were:

The Wills; a book about the law, according to the system of al-*Māzinī*.[142]

Ibn *Kūrah*

Abū Sulaymān Dāʾūd ibn Kūrah was one of the people of Qumm.[143] Among his books there was *Compassion*.

Qunbarah

His name was Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad. He came from the people of Qumm and among his books there was *Knowledge*.

Al-*Ḥasanī*

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh, among whose books there were:

Traditions about the Authorities on the Ḥadīth; Traditions about Muʿāwiyah; The Virtues; Investigation (Uncovering).

Al-*Balawī*

His name was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Balawī, from Ballī, a tribe of Egypt. He was a preacher, legal authority, and scholar, among whose books there were:

Abwāb; Knowledge; Religion and Its Ordinances.

Ibn *ʿImrān*

He was Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿImrān of Qumm, a master of the law,[144] among whose books there was *Rare Forms* (*Al-Nawādir*), a large book[145] [properly] called *Rare Forms of Learning* (*Nawādir al-Ḥikmah*). This book, *Rare Forms*

[142] This title is found in the Tonk MS and Ṭūsī, p. 211, sect. 455, but not in MS 1934 or the Flügel edition.

[143] For Qumm, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 175. MS 1934 omits the name here, but includes it in the paragraph following.

[144] The words translated "master of the law" are in Arabic *ṣāḥib al-fiqh*. This might also mean "having intelligence," or with a more technical significance might mean "possessing an understanding of God," presumably by means of mystic practices.

[145] The rest of this paragraph is not in either MS 1934 or the Flügel text, but is taken from the Tonk MS. It should be compared with Ṭūsī, pp. 273–74, sect. 598.

of Learning, comprises twenty-two chapters. The first one is "Oneness" (*Al-Tawḥīd*) and the last ones are "Ordinances" (*Al-Ḥudūd*), "Fines" (*Al-Dīyāt*), "Testimonies" (*Al-Shahādāt*), "Law Suits" (*Al-Qadāyā*), and "Judgments" (*Al-Aḥkām*). He was one of the people of Qumm who became assimilated among the Arabs.

The Zaydīyah[146]

Al-Dā'i ilā Allāh al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-al-Ḥaqq al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for whom may there be peace, belonged to the schisms of the Zaydīyah. He was born ——— and died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

Ritual Purification; The Call to Prayer and the Performance of It (Al-Adhān wa-al-Iqāmah); Prayer; Sources of the Poor Tax (Uṣūl al-Zakāt); Fasting; Rites of the Pilgrimage; The Journey (Al-Sayr) (*or* Ways of Life [Al-Siyar]); Oaths and Vows; The Pledge; Selling the Mothers of Children; Administration of an Oath; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah); Oppression (Plunder); Ordinances.

These are all of his books that we have seen. Some of the Zaydīyah believe that he wrote about a hundred books, but we have not seen them. If some observer does see any one of them while we are writing [this book], I will add it in its proper place, if Allāh so wills.

Al-Dā'i[147] ilā al-Ḥaqq al-*Ḥasan* ibn Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, the Lord of Ṭabaristān

He appeared there during the year two hundred and fifty [A.D. 864] and died in Ṭabaristān ruling over it during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84].[148] Then there arose in his place

[146] See Glossary for this sect.

[147] The Ismā'īlīyah used the term *dā'i* for a member of their religious and propaganda hierarchy, but here it signifies "the caller to righteousness." These Zaydī leaders did much to bring the semi-pagan people of Daylam and Ṭabaristān to accept Islām.

[148] For the regions in this sentence and the one which follows, see "Tabaristan," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 579; "Dailam," I, 896.

his brother al-Dā'i ilā al-Ḥaqq *Muḥammad* ibn Zayd, who ruled al-Daylam. Among the books of al-Ḥasan there were:

Compilation of the Law; The Explanation; The Proof, about the imamate.

Al-'Alawī al-Rassī[149]

He was al-*Qāsim* ibn Ibrāhīm, the lord of Ṣa'dah and one of the Zaydīyah, from whom was descended the Qāsimīyah[150] branch of the Zaydīyah. Among his books there were:

Drinks; The Imamate; Oaths and Vows; Self-Discipline (Siyāsat al-Nafs); Refutation of the Rāfiḍah.

Al-Hādī

He was *Yaḥyā* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusanī, among whose books there were:

Prayer; Compilation of the Law.

Al-Murādī

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn Manṣūr al-Murādī al-Zaydī was one of the Zaydīyah among whose books there were:

The Large Commentary; The Small Commentary; *Aḥmad* ibn 'Īsā; Nature of the Justly Appointed Imams (Imams Who Deviated); about ordinances, such as ritual purification, prayer, and other things, according to the [way of] reading books about the law. Then he wrote also, Al-Khamīs [the army with its five parts]; his epistle to al-*Ḥasan* ibn Zayd in Ṭabaristān, in connection with the speech of some of those who were seeking.[151]

Al-'*Ayyāshī*

Abū al-Naḍr Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī was one of the people of Samarqand. It is also said that he was one of the Banū

[149] Instead of al-Rassī, Flügel gives Bursī, which must be an error. For al-Rassī, see "Rassids," *Enc. Islam*, III, 1126.

[150] For Ṣa'dah, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 389. For the Qāsimīyah, see Ḥakimī, *Yaman*, pp. 314–15.

[151] The Tonk MS has certain variations, but they are probably due to careless copying. This epistle may, perhaps, have been about the dialects of some of the pagan tribes in northern Persia who were seeking acceptance into Islām, so as to escape capture and slavery.

Tamīm[152] and a legal authority belonging to the Imāmīyah branch of the Shī'ah. He was one of those [scholars] of his period and time who was devoted to an abundance of learning, his books being a matter of importance in the regions of Khurāsān.

Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'aym, surnamed Abū Aḥmad, wrote to Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn Muḥammad al-'Alawī a letter at the end of which there was a copy of the compositions of al-'Ayyāshī. I have made my record in accordance with this arrangement of his adherent.[153]

Commentary; Prayer; Ritual Purifications; Abridgment of "Prayer"; Abridgment of "Menstruation";[154] Fasting; Abridgment of "Fasting"; Funerals; Abridgment of "Funerals"; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Abridgment of "Rites of the Pilgrimage"; The Instructed and the Educated; Maledictions; The Poor Tax; Division of the Poor Tax; The Poor Tax at the Breaking of the Fast; Drinks; Punishment for Drinking; Sacrifices; Al-'Aqīqah;[155] Marriage; The Dowry; Divorce; Piety; Humble Replies; Adoration of the Qur'ān;[156] The Agreement (Saying) between the Two Sayings; Knowledge of the Copyists.

Medicine; The Dream; The Stars, Augury, Following the Traces,[157] and Divination by Flight of Birds; The Lot;[158] The Furqān;[159] The Difference between Legal and Illegal Eatables; Sellers (Buyers); Advanced Payment; Al-Ṣarf;[160] The Pledge; Partnership; Competition; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah);

[152] See "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643.

[153] Cf. Ṭūsī, p. 317, sect. 290. These must be the titles of chapters or small monographs.

[154] Al-Ṭūsī and Flügel give "menstruation," which seems to be correct, although MS 1934 and the Tonk MS have *Abridgment of the Abridgment.*

[155] This may mean a sheep slaughtered for a newborn child, or a turban, or the foreskin removed at circumcision.

[156] Flügel suggests that this may be *tajwīd* ("intonation"), but both MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give clearly *sujūd* ("adoration" or "worship").

[157] Probably palmistry.

[158] At a shrine an Arab could have an arrow drawn out for him and then his fortune told as indicated by the marking on the arrow. This could also be used for gambling.

[159] *Al-furqān* can mean "difference" or "distinction," or else have a more technical meaning (see n. 123). The translation follows the Tonk MS which, unlike Flügel and MS 1934, gives the word as a separate title, presumably with the technical significance.

[160] As this title is with others about trade, it probably refers to exchange of money or goods, rather than to its meaning in grammar.

Seeking Acquittal; Trade; The Judgments and Training of Judges; Ordinance for Adultery; Ordinance for Stealing; Ordinance of the Accuser.

Ransoms for Murder (Payments of Blood Money); Expiations for Murder; Wanton Amusements (Musical Instruments); Metaphors of Poetry; Horse Racing and Throwing [Javalins]; Division of the Booty and the Spoil; The Debt, Undertaking Responsibility, and the Commission;[161] Suretyship (Management) and Giving Out for Planting; Wages (Rentals); The Period of Time; Asceticism; Pious Endowments;[162] Al-Qiblah; The Poll Tax and the Land Tax; Obedience [to Allāh];[163] Proof of Miracles; Menstruation; Al-'Umrah.[164]

Makkah and the Sacred Enclosure; Marriage of Slaves (Mamālīk); What Is Disliked about (from) an Assembly among Them; Stories of Sin;[165] Crime of Slaves and Crime against Them; Crime of the Foreigner; Ordinances; Conditions; Blood Money for an Embryo; Wealth;[166] Encouragement for Marriage; Persons Equal and Socially Equivalent and Testimonies in [Connection with] Marriage; Ransom of Captives and Defrauding of Plunder;[167] Rewarding of Combatants; Fighting the Idolaters; The Holy War; The Prophets and the Imams;[168] Executors of a Will.

Treating with Tact (Dissimulation); Indications of the Imams; Fasting and Expiations; Combining Two Prayers; Places of Worship [Mosques]; Sins (Crimes); The Obligation for Obedience of the 'Ulamā'; Charity according to (Other than) What Is Prescribed; The

[161] This title is given in Arabic by Flügel and MS 1934 as *Al-Dayn wa-al-Ḥamālah wa-al-Ḥawālah*. The second word might mean "tribute" instead of "undertaking responsibility." The Tonk MS has *Al-Dayn wa-al-Ḥawālah wa-al-Qaffālah* ("The Debt, the Commission, and the Returning").

[162] Instead of *Pious Endowments* (*Al-Aḥbas*), the Tonk MS has *Species* (*Al-Ajnās*).

[163] See n. 16.

[164] The lesser pilgrimage to Makkah; see " 'Umra," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 1016.

[165] MS 1934 lacks consonant signs. Flügel has *Jazāfāt al-Khaṭā'* ("Estimates of Error") and the Tonk MS gives *Khurāfāt al-Khaṭā'* ("Stories of Sin").

[166] Flügel has *Al-Ghaybah*, which would imply abstinence from all but God; see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, p. 248. MS 1934 has *Al-Ghunyah* ("Wealth").

[167] Flügel has *al-ghulūl* ("defrauding of plunder"); MS 1934 gives the same word without consonant marks, whereas the Tonk MS has *al-'ulūj* ("infidels").

[168] The reference is probably to the Shī'ī imams; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. The title which follows may also refer to descendants of the Prophet and his son-in-law 'Alī as persons executing the divine right to rule and inheriting the special knowledge bequeathed to them. It may, however, be a legal document, without reference to the Prophet's family.

Ka'bah; Whipping the Drinker;[169] What It Is Lawful for a Pilgrim to Kill;[170] Obligations of the Pilgrimage; Hidden Meanings in Reading of the Qur'ān (Bāṭin al-Qirā'āt); The Garden and the Fire [Heaven and Hell]; Hunting; Sacrificial Victims; Suckling Children; Temporary Marriage.

Preparing (Smoothing) Property; Wills; Inheritances; Beneficence and the Free Gift; Good Qualities of Character; The Rights of Brothers; The Oaths; Vows; Lineage and Relationship (Walā'); Asking for Permission; Social Recreation of Women; Witnesses; Conditions; The Oath with the Witness; Manumission and Registration [of a Slave]; Aversion and Divorce;[171] Acts of Kindness; Selections and Choice; Al-'Idad;[172] Al-Ẓihār; Al-Īla; Al-Li'ān; Al-Raj'ah.

The Attribute and the Oneness; Prayer for the Imams; Refutation of Whoever Fasts and Then Breaks the Fast before Seeing the New Moon; Clothing; Robes; The Imamate of *'Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn [Zayn al-'Ābidīn]; He Who Loathes Marriage;[173] Confirmation for Wiping of the Two Feet;[174] Answers to Questions Coming from a Number of Countries; The Fast of the Sunnah and of Supererogation;[175] Ramifications (Derivatives) of the Ordinance of Fasting; Knowledge of the Explanation;[176] Cutting Off [the Hand] and Robbery;[177] Battles;

[169] The Sunnite law prescribed eighty lashes and the Shī'ī forty; see Gaudefroy-Denombynes, *Muslim Institutions*, p. 156.

[170] See Qur'ān 5: 96 ff.

[171] This title and the others which follow seem to deal with marriage and divorce. although the two which immediately follow may be devoted to more general topics.

[172] *Al-'iddah*, pl. *al-'idad*, refers to the number of days of menstruation which must pass before a divorced or widowed woman can remarry. The purpose of this procedure is to determine the true father of the woman's next child. See " *'Idda*," *Enc. Islam*, II, 445. The Tonk and 1934 MSS give *al-'idad*; the Flügel text gives *al-'iddah*. *Al-ẓihar* is the pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back." *Al-īla* (*i'la*) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. *Al-li'ān* is a pronouncement of a curse of judgment, presumably for divorce. *Al-raj'ah* is the receiving back of a divorced wife. Another possibility is *al-rij'ah*, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

[173] Both Ṭūsī, p. 318, and Flügel have *He Who Loathes Marriage*. MS 1934 omits "marriage" (*al-mumākahah*).

[174] See Qur'ān 5: 7 (8); Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 49.

[175] See "Ṣawm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 196. "Fast of the Sunnah" refers to the fast required by the Qur'ān.

[176] See Qur'ān 55: 4 (3).

[177] See Qur'ān 5: 41 (40).

Al-Marwah;[178] Revelation; Excellencies of the Qur'ān; Ablution; The Fifth;[179] Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Day and Night; Abridgment of "Day and Night."

Water for [Ritual] Ablution; Adultery and Chastity; Ritual Cleansing;[180] Ablution with Earth (Sand); Ritual Purification of Clothing; Prayer of the Settlement (al-Ḥaḍar); Prayer of the Journey; The Love of Guardians (Executors); Places of Worship [mosques]; Abridgment of Ritual Purifications; Beginning of (Introduction to) the Ordinance of Prayer; Clothing for Prayer; Supererogatory Prayers of the Daytime; The Times of al-Ẓuhr and al-'Aṣr;[181] The Call to Prayer; Ordinances of Prayer; Neglect;[182] Prayer of the Sick; Friday Prayer; Obligatory and Voluntary Prayer; Prayer for the Two Feasts;[183] Prayer of Fear; Prayer of the Eclipse of the Sun;[184] Prayer for Rain; Prayer on a Ship; Washing of the Dead; Lamentations (Mournings);[185] Prayer for Funerals; The Beginning.[186]

What He [al-*'Ayyāshī*] Compiled from the Traditions of the Common People

The Life of Abū *Bakr*;[187] The Life of *'Umar*; The Life of *'Uthmān*; The Life of *Mu'āwiyah*; Measures of What Is Good; The Evident.

[178] This may mean "manliness," or refer to the hill at Makkah called al-Marwah. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 133; "as-Ṣafā," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 51.

[179] This refers to the fifth part of the spoil assigned to the Prophet; see Qur'ān 8: 41 (40).

[180] *Al-istinjā'* is ablution, especially after a bowel movement; *al-tayammum* is ablution with sand when water is not available. The body and clothing had to be purified if contaminated, as by blood, urine, or semen. See "Istindjā'," *Enc. Islam*, II, 562; "Tayammum," IV, 708.

[181] These were the noon and afternoon prayers.

[182] The Tonk MS has what is evidently a mistake for this title and adds another title, *The Night*.

[183] 'Īd al-Fiṭr, at the end of Ramaḍān, and 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, when sheep are sacrificed on the pilgrimage.

[184] Ṭūsī, p. 320, and Flügel add "and eclipse of the moon."

[185] Ṭūsī, p. 320, and Flügel repeat the title *Sins* (*Al-Ma'āthim*), given in the fifth paragraph of this list, whereas MS 1934 and the Tonk MS give *Lamentations* (*Al-Ma'ātim*).

[186] Ṭūsī, p. 320, has *Al-Badā'*, MS 1934 and Flügel give *Al-Badā*, while the Tonk MS has *Al-Badāyah* ("*The Beginning*").

[187] Needless to say, these first four titles were the lives of the first three and the fifth caliphs.

Ḥaydar [ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'aym] mentioned that his books numbered two hundred and eight, from which total twenty-seven books are left.

Ibn Bābawayh

His name was *'Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā al-Qummī and he was one of the jurists and trustworthy authorities of the Shī'ah. I have read what was written in the handwriting of his son, Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī [ibn al-Ḥusayn] on the back of a section [of a manuscript]: "For so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, I have sorted out the books of my father, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, and they number two hundred. My own books number eighteen."[188]

Ibn al-*Junayd*

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Junayd lived near to our own time and was one of the leaders of the Imāmīyah sect of the Shī'ah.[189] Among his books there were:

The Light of Certain Belief and the Triumph of Those with the Knowledge;[190] The Discrimination of One Who Knows and [in] the Sorting-Out of Counterfeit; Scriptures,[191] which was a refutation of the apostates; Gardens of Holiness, about the precepts which he chose for himself; Awakening the Heedless with Divine Knowledge; Deriving the Desired from a Variety of Sermons; Flames Burning for Deceiving Devils,[192] in which he refuted Abū al-*Qāsim* ibn al-Baqqāl al-Mutawassiṭ.

Understanding the Sources of Court Decisions, following the course of the epistles of al-*Ṭabarī*;[193] Eradication of Passion from the Hearts of

[188] The Tonk MS contains an additional record, probably inserted by a copyist, as follows, "Then he composed after that something additional to the number mentioned, the total amounting to about three hundred books." Ṭūsī, p. 304, sect. 661, assigns the large number of books to the son, Muḥammad, and does not give a specific number for the books of the father.

[189] This scholar must be distinguished from the great mystic al-*Junayd*, surnamed Abū al-Qāsim.

[190] Compare these titles with Ṭūsī, pp. 268–69, sect. 592, to note the variations.

[191] The Tonk MS has *The Scriptures and the Lights* (*Al-Asfār wa-al-Anwār*). In MS 1934 and the Flügel edition the word translated "apostate" is *al-murtaddah*, which may be a proper name.

[192] Ṭūsī, p. 268, sect. 592, has "tongues" instead of "devils."

[193] Ṭūsī, *ibid.*, ends with "al-Ṭabarī," but Flügel and MS 1934 add "to his secretaries," while the Tonk MS adds "to himself."

the Brothers, about the meaning of the book "Wealth";[194] The Holiness of al-Ṭūr and the Fountain of Light, about the meaning of prayer for the Prophet;[195] Refutation of Whoever Allows Abrogation of Whatever Has Completed His [Allāh's] Law and Glorified His Benefits,[196] about the beautiful literary style of the language of the Arabs and their allusions to their desires, dealing with the meaning of allusions regarding things for which the common people and others besides them do not know the reasons.[197]

He also wrote many other books, among which there were: Rendering of Judicial Decisions by the Shī'ah—it is a large book, with about twenty chapters, arranged like the lengthy legal books; Al-Aḥmadī, about Muḥammadan law; The Way of Happiness for People of Good Fortune; a catalogue of his books, compiled by him section by section.[198]

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn 'Alī ibn Bābawayh[199]

Among his books there was *Guiding to the Right Road.* His books amounted to about three hundred. A catalogue of the names of his books is extant.

Abū Sulaymān *Dā'ūd* ibn Abī Zayd

He was one of the people of Naysābūr, where he lived in al-Najjārīn on Sikkat Ṭarkhān, in the house of Sakhtawayh. He was one of the Shī'ah handing down quotations who was known

[194] The word translated as "eradication" (*al-rān*) is found in Flügel and on the margin of MS 1934. "Wealth" (*al-ghunyah*) is taken from MS 1934. Al-Ṭūsī (see n. 190), Flügel, and the Tonk MS give instead *al-ghaybah*, which probably refers to absence of all but thoughts of Allāh; see 'Alī B. 'Uthmān, p. 248.

[195] *Al-Ṭūr* is the Arabic name for Mount Sinai; see Qur'ān 52:1; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 558; "al-Ṭūr," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 868. The Tonk MS omits this name.

[196] Al-Ṭūsī (see n. 190) ends with the word "abrogating." Instead of "His benefits" the last words may be "its benefits."

[197] MS 1934, unlike Flügel, makes it clear that this description is composed as one sentence.

[198] This paragraph occurs only in the Tonk MS, although Ṭūsī, p. 269, mentions some of the same items. The title *Al-Aḥmadī* may refer to the man by that name in the Biog. Index, or to something entirely different, as it is not clearly written in the Tonk MS.

[199] Flügel and MS 1934 have only "Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. Among his books there was *Guiding.*" The extra material comes from the Tonk MS.

for the veracity of his tongue. He was one of the companions of *'Alī* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, [al-'Askarī] with whom may Allāh be well pleased. Among his books there were:

Guidance; Refutation of the Rāfiḍah.[200]

Al-*Jalūdī*

Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā al-Jalūdī was one of the great men of the Imāmīyah sect of the Shī'ah and of those who quoted the old traditions and biographies. I have mentioned his books about biography in their place, in the chapter about historians and genealogists. Among his books about the law there were:

He Who Is Guided and He Who Is Seeking Guidance; Temporary Marriage and What Happens When Dissolving It.[201]

Abū al-Ḥasan

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib and his birth was during the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95] at al-Ḥasanīyah.[202] Publicly he endorsed the school of al-*Shāfi'ī*, but secretly he held the opinions of the Imāmīyah [sect] of the Shī'ah. He was skilled in the law of both schools. I am mentioning his books based on the code of al-Shāfi'ī in their proper place. Among his books based on the Shī'ī code there were:

Unveiling the Veil; Preparation; Al-'Iddah;[203] Examining (Observing); Dissolution of the 'Abbāsīyah;[204] Place of Killing;[205] The Beneficial in the Ḥadīth; The Way.

[200] Al-Najjārīn was probably the Carpenters' Bazaar, and the Darb Ṭarkhān an alley near it where they sold *ṭarkhān*, a kind of vegetable. *'Alī* ibn Muḥammad al-'Askarī was the 10th Shī'ī imam; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. MS 1934 omits the book titles; the Tonk MS alone gives the second one.

[201] The versions vary in giving the word translated as "dissolving," but the meaning seems to be clear.

[202] Al-Ḥasanīyah may be the town listed by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 270.

[203] See n. 172.

[204] This may refer to the regime of the Banū al-'Abbās caliphs, or to their semi-ruined palace; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 600.

[205] Ṭūsī, p. 264, sect. 586, and the Tonk MS give *al-maqtal* ("place of killing"), which is probably more correct than *al-mu'tall* ("infirm"), given by Flügel.

Al-Ṣafwānī

Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qudāʿah al-Ṣafwānī was an uneducated man whom I met during the year three hundred and forty-six [A.D. 957/58]. He was a tall, thin, and well-dressed man who pretended that he could not read or write, but a reliable authority told me that he only feigned this. He died in the year ———. Among his books there were:

Investigation and Proof; The Humankind of the World (Affability of the Scholar); Day and Night; The Precious Object of Him Who Seeks and the Thing Sought after by Him Who Desires; Temporary Marriage and Its Dissolving, with a Refutation of Anyone Who Forbids It; Friendship for the Family of the Apostle and Mention of the Hatreds of Their Enemies.[206]

Ibn al-Jaʿābī al-Qāḍī

He was Abū Bakr *ʿAmr* ibn Muḥammad ibn Salīm ibn al-Barāʾ, known as al-Jaʿābī, one of the most excellent of the Shīʿah. He went to *Sayf* al-Dawlah,[207] becoming attached to him and serving him exclusively. He died during the year ———. Among his books there was *Mention of the Men of Learning and Virtue, Who Cherished Love for the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī, for Whom May There Be Peace, with an Explanation about This and Mention, Also, of Something from the Traditions about Him.*[208]

Abū Bishr *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAmmī

He lived near to our own time. He took dictation from al-Jalūdī, and died after the year fifty [A.H. 350: A.D. 961]. Among his books there was *Proof of the Prophets, Guardians,*[209] *and Saints.*

[206] Ṭūsī, p. 271, sect. 595, gives this title in a form different from that of the other versions. He has *aḥwāl*, meaning "states" or "conditions," among other things, instead of *aḥān*, here translated as "hatreds."

[207] The Tonk MS adds ibn Ḥamdān.

[208] The epithet for ʿAlī is taken from MS 1934, which is probably correct. Flügel gives a different epithet and the Tonk MS has a variation at the end of the title; both variations are unimportant.

[209] This probably refers to the Shīʿī imams, who guarded the divine right to rule and the special knowledge for interpretation of the law inherited from ʿAlī.

Ibn al-*Mu'allim* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān

He belongs to our own time. With him there culminates leadership among his associates of the Imāmīyah [sect] of the Shī'ah, in connection with law, theology, and ancient traditions. He was born during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. Among his books there are something less than two hundred books, large and small, with a well-known and noted catalogue of their names, among which there are:[210]

The Required (Al-Muqtaḍā), about the law; The Supports (Al-Arkān), also about the law; The Complete (Al-Kāmil); Clarification (Al-Īḍāḥ); Uncovering (Al-Ifḍāḥ); Giving Satisfaction (Al-Iqnā'); The Unique Individual (Al-Fard); Refutation of Ibn *'Abbād*, concerning the imamate; Guidance (Al-Irshād); an epistle to his son, which was not completed; Refutation of *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā, about the imamate; Refutation of Ibn *Qutaybah*, concerning narrative and what is made clear; Fountains and Good Works (Al-'Uyūn wa-al-Maḥāsin); Confirming Judicial Decisions (Taqrīr al-Aḥkām).

Sources of the Law (Uṣūl al-Fiqh); Refutation of al-*Jāḥiẓ*, regarding the excellence of the Mu'tazilah; Refutation of [*Ja'far*] Ibn Ḥarb, about the imamate; Refutation of Ibn al-*Ikhshīd*; The Improvement (Making Beneficial) of the Light (Taṣlīḥ al-Nūr); about the judicial decisions of the public (ahl al-jumlah); The Explanation, with a refutation of Quṭrub concerning exegesis of the glorious Qur'ān; Refutation of Abū 'Alī al-*Jubbā'ī*, concerning exegesis of the Qur'ān; Sayings (Al-Qālāt); Chief Questions and Noblest Arguments (Ru'ūs al-Masā'īl wa-Aṭrāf al-Dalā'il); Making Easy (Al-Tamhīd), about the exegesis of the glorious Qur'ān; The Conquering (Al-Intiṣār); Examining (Al-Istibṣār).

A Varied Group of the Shī'ah Whose Schools of Thought Are Not Known

Abū Ṭālib *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb al-Anbārī

He lived at Wāsiṭ and it is said that he was a Shī'ī of the Nāwūsīyah [sect].[211] *Būbash* ibn al-Ḥasan, [surnamed] Abū al-Qāsim,

[210] The list of books which follows is only given in the Tonk MS, which is so difficult to read that the titles may not be given with entire accuracy.

[211] Ṭūsī, p. 186, sect. 400, gives al-Nāwūsīyah; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 190, has al-Nāwisīyah; MS 1934 and Flügel give al-Bābūshīyah; and the Tonk MS has al-Bānūshīyah.

told me that he wrote one hundred and forty books and epistles, among which there were:

The Explanation, concerning the true state of man; The Clear, about knowledge of religion; The Imamate.

Al-Ja'farī

He was related to the doctrines[212] of *Ja'far* al-Ṣādiq, with whom may Allāh be well pleased. His name was *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad and with him there was associated the group known as the Ja'farīyah. Among his books there were:

The Imamate; Virtues.

[212] "Doctrines" (*madhāhib*) is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS. Flügel gives the singular form, *madhab*.

The Sixth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars among the ancients and moderns who composed books, with the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm, known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Warrāq.*[1]

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *in eight sections, with accounts of the scholars and the books which they composed—accounts of the jurists.*

The First Section

with accounts of the adherents of Mālik *and the names of the books which they composed.*

Account of *Mālik*

Mālik ibn Anas ibn Abī ʿĀmir was from Ḥimyar, but counted as one of the Banū Taym ibn Murrah, a branch of the Quraysh, who cared for him for three years.[2] He was very light in color, to the extent of blondness, tall, large-headed, and bald. He wore fine ʿAdan (Aden) clothes, shaved his moustache close, and did not dye his white hair.

[1] Under this heading, on the left side of the page, there is written, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq." For the significance of this inscription, see the account of the Beatty MS in the Introduction. On the right side, lower down, is written "Chapter on the Jurists in the Book *Al-Fihrist.*"

[2] For the great Ḥimyar Tribe of South Arabia, see "Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam*, II, 310. For the Banū Taym, see Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 33 bottom.

He went to the mosque, attended prayers, visited the sick, and administered justice. Later, however, he stopped [attending] sessions at the mosque and prayed in his own home. He also gave up following funerals, for which he was blamed, but he said not everyone could give his excuse.[3]

Accusation was maliciously brought against him to *Ja'far* ibn Sulaymān, the governor of al-Madīnah, who was told, "He does not consider your appointment to be valid." So he [the governor] summoned him, stripped him, and beat him with whips.[4] Then they stretched him until his shoulder was dislocated, seriously injuring him. But after that he continued to hold a high and exalted position, as though the blows were an adornment to him.

He was one of the righteous servants of Allāh, the legal authority of al-Ḥijāz, and during his time its intellectual leader. He died during the year one hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 795/96], when he was eighty-five years old. He was buried in the Baqī'.[5] Among his books there were:

The Level Path (Al-Muwaṭṭā'); his epistle to al-*Rashīd*, which was quoted by Abū *Bakr* ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was a descendant of '*Umar* ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, with whom may Allāh be well pleased.

The Adherents of *Mālik* Who Learned from Him and Quoted Him[6]

Al-Qa'nabī

His name was '*Abd* Allāh ibn Muslimah ibn Qa'nab al-Ḥārithī, and he was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He quoted Mālik in connection with his sources of the law and [the book] *The Level Path* (*Al-Muwaṭṭā'*).[7] He died during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 836], and was a reliable and righteous man.

[3] This probably means that when he grew too old to follow funerals, he said that not everybody had the excuse that he had, referring to old age.

[4] These may have been rawhide scourges or rods of bamboo or some similar material. See also "Mālik ibn Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 206.

[5] This was Baqī' al-Gharqad, the cemetery of al-Madīnah. See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 703.

[6] In this title the word *aṣḥab* is translated as "adherents," as some of the men mentioned were probably not pupils of *Mālik*, but persons who supported his legal system. Accounts of Mālik can be found in Khallikān, II, 545; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, p. 530; "Mālik B. Anas" *Enc. Islam*, III, 205–209; and also in books on Muslim law.

[7] As the system of medieval education did not encourage new ideas, most of the scholars quoted the great masters, writing commentaries about their works, rather than initiating new opinions of their own.

'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb

He quoted from the books and ordinances of Mālik, including his *The Level Path* (*Al-Muwaṭṭā'*), and was upright and reliable.

Ma'n ibn 'Īsā al-Quzzāz

He was one of the most respected of the adherents of Mālik, under whom he studied and whose books and compositions he quoted.

Dā'ūd ibn Abī Dhanbar and His Son, *Sa'īd*

They both quoted Mālik, Dā'ūd being a reliable authority.

Abū *Bakr* [ibn 'Abd Allāh] and *Ismā'īl*, the Sons of Abū Uways

Mughīrah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarsī

'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Salamah

He was called al-Mājashūn. *Sukaynah*, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn, for both of whom [father and daughter] may there be peace, nicknamed Abū *Salamah* with this name, *al-mājashūn*, which is a dye used at al-Madīnah. Being one of the most respected followers of Mālik, he wrote books about the law. Among them he compiled a large book, which included ———.

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī

He quoted Mālik in his book, *The Sunnah*, about the law.

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim

He was an Egyptian who quoted Mālik, learning from him.

Ashhab ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz

He was an Egyptian, who quoted Mālik.

Al-*Layth* ibn Sa'd

He was one of the followers of Mālik and a member of his school [of law], but he later had opinions of his own. He corresponded with Mālik, asking him questions. His books about [the method of] personal opinion were:

History; Questions, about the law.

Ibn al-*Mu'adhdhal*

He was 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ghaylān al-Miṣrī.[8] He studied under 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājashūn, whereas *Ismā'īl* ibn Isḥāq al-Qāḍī learned from Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal. Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal also studied with *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim and *'Abd* Allāh ibn Wahb. Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal died ———. His books were: ———.

Isḥāq ibn Ḥammād, Abū Ismā'īl

He died during the year two hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 888/89].

Account of *Ismā'īl* ibn Isḥāq al-Qāḍī and His Son

They both followed the code of *Mālik*. Ismā'īl ibn Isḥāq ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ḥammād ibn Zayd ibn Dirham, surnamed ———, was the person who explained the legal system of Mālik, causing it to become widespread. He argued about it, writing books and calling people's attention to it, making them enthusiastic about it.

He was virtuous, a legal authority endowed with superior qualities, and a judge. Ismā'īl ibn Isḥāq died during the year two hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 895/96], Wednesday night, the seventh before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month]. Among his books there were:

Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān, a large book; Terrors of the Resurrection, about three hundred leaves; Al-Mabsūṭ (Spread Out, Cheerful); Proofs of the Qur'ān; Witnesses of (According to) "The Level Path" (Al-Muwaṭṭā'); Raids; Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, which he did not finish.[9]

Ḥammād ibn Isḥāq

He was the brother of *Ismā'īl* [ibn Isḥāq], and an authority on the law. Among his books there were: ———.

[8] This name is in the Tonk MS, but not in the other texts. The name which follows, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mājashūn, is not listed in the Biog. Index, as it evidently is in an abbreviated form. It very likely is intended to be the great-grandson of a man named al-Mājashūn; see *'Abd* al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh in the Biog. Index. Or perhaps it is meant to be the grandson of al-Mājashūn. See Biog. Index, *'Abd* al-'Azīz, and also "Mālik ibn Anas," *Enc. Islam*, III, 208.

[9] This must have been Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybanī, who lived two generations earlier than Ismā'īl and followed Abū Ḥanīfah rather than Mālik.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād ibn Isḥāq

He was of the stock of his brother, and belonged to the school of law of *Mālik*. He was surnamed Abū Isḥāq. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Refutation of al-*Shāfi'ī*; Funerals; The Holy War; Indications of Prophecy.

Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm, surnamed Abū Bakr

He followed the code of *Mālik*, from whom he learned about the law. Among his books there were:

Exposition of the Short Abridgment of ['*Abd* Allāh] ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam; Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, completing the book of *Ismā'īl* ibn Isḥāq.

Abū *Ya'qūb* al-Rāzī

He was a jurist, appointed to administer the judiciary of al-Ahwāz. His [other] compositions are not known, but he did write *Questions*.

Abū al-Faraj al-Mālikī

He was '*Umar* ibn Muḥammad, who belonged to the school [of law] of Mālik. He lived close to our own time, dying during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43]. He was born in the year ———. Among his books there were:

The Inclusive, about the law; The Shining, about the sources of the law.

Ibn *Massāb*

His name was ——— and he wrote marginal notes.

'*Abd* al-Ḥamīd ibn Sahl

He followed the code of *Mālik*, and was a judge and one of the associates of *Ismā'īl* ibn Isḥāq. Among his books there were:

Compilation of the Ordinances; the large Abridgment of the Law; the small Abridgment.

Al-Abharī

He was Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Abharī. He was born at Abhar in the region of al-Jabal, during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92]. He died on Saturday, the fifth of Shawwāl [tenth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 985/86]. Among his books there were:

The Small Exposition of the Book of [*ʿAbd* Allāh] ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam [al-Miṣrī]; The Large Exposition of the Book of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam;[10] Refutation of al-*Muzanī*, concerning thirty questions about ——— of al-Madīnah; the delightful book about Sources of the Law; The Superiority of al-Madīnah over Makkah.

Ghulām al-Abharī

He was Abū *Jaʿfar* ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Abharī, Ghulām Abū Bakr. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Questions of Disagreement; Refutation of Ibn *ʿUlayyah*, seventy questions which he did not complete, about the questions of al-*Muzanī*.

Al-Qayrawānī

He is *ʿAbd* Allāh ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, who follows the code of Mālik and is one of the most excellent men of our time. Among his books there are:

The Derived Classification; a book which he has called The Abridgment, embracing nearly fifty thousand questions; Rare Forms in the Law.

[10] This was Abū Ibrāhīm al-*Muzanī*, an Egyptian jurist who was a follower of al-*Shāfiʿī* rather than *Mālik*.

Abū Ḥanīfah

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed; accounts of Abū* Ḥanīfah *and his ʿIrāqī adherents, adherents of [the method of] personal opinion.*[1]

The name of Abū *Ḥanīfah* was al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit ibn Zūṭī. He was a silk worker at al-Kūfah. *Zūṭī* was one of the protégés of Taym Allāh ibn Thaʿlabah from Kābul. It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū Qafal.[2] He was one of the second generation who had met a number of the Companions.[3] He was a pious and ascetic person, as was also his son *Ḥammād* [ibn al-Nuʿmān]. Among his sons there was Ḥammād, surnamed Abū Ismāʿīl, who died at al-Kūfah. The sons of Ḥammād were Abū Ḥayyān, Ismāʿīl, ʿUthmān, and ʿUmar.[4] *Ismāʿīl* ibn Ḥammād administered the judiciary of al-Baṣrah for al-*Maʾmūn*.

[1] In MS 1934, the name Abū Ḥanīfah is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. For the legal code of this authority, see "Abū Ḥanīfa," *Enc. Islam*, I, 90; Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 294; Khaddūrī, *Law in the Middle East*, p. 38; Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (Rosenthal), III, 6; Wafāʾ, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah*, and the jurist's own famous book, *Al-Fiqr al-Akbār*. For the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah, see Maḥmaṣānī, *Falsafat*, p. 21.

[2] For Taym Allāh, see Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 48, and "Taimallāh," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 623. For Kābul, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 220. The Banū Qafal was probably a local tribe.

[3] *Al-tābiʿūn* were the "second generation," coming after al-Ṣaḥābah, Muḥammad's Companions, who followed him from Makkah to al-Madīnah.

[4] *Ismāʿīl* is the only one of Ḥammād's sons listed in the Biog. Index.

A poet, whom I believe was *Musāwir* al-Warrāq, in praising Abū Ḥanīfah said:

If some day people measure us by rare legal interpretations,
We shall give them as a true standard the legacy of the system of
Abū Ḥanīfah.

If a jurist hears of it, he remembers it,
Setting it in ink in his own manuscript.

One of the authorities on the Ḥadīth, *'Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, said:

There adorned the land and those in it the Imam of the Muslims, Abū
Ḥanīfah,
With his Ḥadīth and his legal knowledge of the Ḥadīth, like the verses of
the Psalms in the Scripture.
Among the Easterners and Westerners and at al-Kūfah there is none
equal to him.
I saw that those finding fault with him were foolish, opposed to the
truth and weak in argument.[5]

Abū Ḥanīfah died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767] at the age of seventy. He was buried in the Cemetery of the Khayzurān, on the East Bank in 'Askar al-Mahdī.[6] Al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Umārah prayed for him [at his funeral].

Ibn Abī Khaythamah quoted this [preceding paragraph] from Sulaymān ibn Abī *Shaykh*. Among his [Abū Ḥanīfah's] books there were:

The Greatest Book of the Law; his epistle to al-*Bustī*; The Learner and the Taught, which was quoted by *Muqātil*; Refutation of the Qadarīyah.[7]

Learning was his ingathering, land and sea, east and west, far and near. May Allāh be well pleased with him.

[5] On the margins of MS 1934 there are a number of corrections, in addition to a lengthy note which is not part of the original text.

[6] This quarter of Baghdād called 'Askar al-Mahdī is better known as al-Ruṣāfah. The cemetery was in East Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 42, 189, 191, and Coke, *Baghdad*, p. 41. Ibn Abī Khaythamah in the sentence which follows was probably *Aḥmad* ibn Zuhayr.

[7] The Tonk MS, which omits several titles, adds "*Al-Irjā*', ('Postponing'), which was refuted by al-*Bardha'ī*."

Ḥammād ibn Abī Sulaymān

He was a protégé of *Ibrāhīm* ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī and a judge from whom Abū *Ḥanīfah* learned the law[8] and the Ḥadīth. He died during the year one hundred and twenty [A.D. 738].

Account of *Rabī'ah* al-Ra'ī

He was Rabī'ah ibn Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the name of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān being Farūkh. He was one of the protégés of the family of al-Munkadir of the Taym Tribe,[9] and was surnamed Abū 'Uthmān. He was a master of literary style and an orator. When he engaged in conversation, one [the listener] became wearied and bored. It is said that one day while he was speaking an Arabian was with him. Rabī'ah asked him, "What does muddle-brained mean?" The Arabian replied, "What you are like today."[10]

He died during the year one hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 753/54] at al-Anbār, in the Hāshimī city, which Abū al-'Abbās [al-*Saffāḥ*] built.[11] Although he learned from Abū *Ḥanīfah*, he died before him. We do not know of anything which he wrote. May Allāh be merciful to him and pardon him.[12]

Zufar

He was Abū al-Hudhayl Zufar ibn al-Hudhayl ibn Qays of the Banū 'Anbar.[13] He died at al-Baṣrah during the year one hundred and fifty-eight [A.D. 774/75], outliving Abū *Ḥanīfah*. He studied the law, and [the method of] personal opinion won his support. His father, al-*Hudhayl*, administered Iṣbahān. Among his books there were: ———.

[8] The Tonk MS has *al-ra'y* instead of *al-fiqr*.

[9] See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 33 bottom, 34 top.

[10] "Arabian" probably refers to a tribesman. Flügel misplaces the word. At the end of the sentence, the Tonk MS has, "What I am like today."

[11] Al-Saffāḥ made al-Anbār his capital between A.D. 750 and 754, before Baghdād was built; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 367–68.

[12] Only the Flügel edition includes this sentence.

[13] A branch of the Taym; see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 124 top.

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Ibn Abī *Laylā*

He was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, the name of Abū Laylā being Bashshār.[14] He was a descendant of *Uḥayḥah* ibn al-Julāḥ, but it is said that his lineage was unsound. ʿ*Abd* Allāh ibn Shubramah said, in lampooning him:

> How can they expect you to give a judicial decision
> When you are not sure of judgment about yourself?
> You suppose that you are descended from Ibn al-Julāḥ,
> But far removed is your claim from your origin.

He administered justice for the Banū Umayyah and descendants of al-ʿAbbās [Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids]. Even before the time of Abū *Ḥanīfah* he gave legal interpretations (*fatwās*) according to [the method of] personal opinion. He died during the year one hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 765/66], while he was administering the judiciary for Abū Jaʿfar [al-*Manṣūr*]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*.

Account of Abū *Yūsuf*

His name was Yaʿqūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb ibn Saʿd ibn Ḥabtah, Saʿd being a *sayyid* of the Banū Ḥabtah.[15] Abū Yūsuf quoted al-*Aʿmash* and *Hishām* ibn ʿUrwah. He was a memorizer of the Ḥadīth,[16] and later became attached to Abū *Ḥanīfah*, [the method of the] personal opinion winning him over. He administered the judiciary of Baghdād, continuing to do so until he died, during the year one hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 798/99], during the caliphate of al-*Rashīd*.

He had a son named *Yūsuf* ibn Abī Yūsuf who was a judge during his father's lifetime. He died after him, during the year one hundred and ninety-two [A.D. 807/808].

[14] MS 1934 and the Tonk MS have Bashshār, whereas Flügel and Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, p. 248, give Yassār. Khallikān, II, 84, expresses doubt about the name, which is omitted in the Biog. Index.

[15] A *sayyid* is used either for a chief or for a descendant of the Prophet. The tribal name Ḥabtah cannot be identified and may not be properly written.

[16] In order to supplement the verses of the Qur'ān for a knowledge of the law, theology, and ritual, it was necessary to use the Ḥadīth, which contains the sayings and precedents of the Prophet. Thus a scholar could earn a living by memorizing the Ḥadīth, in order to teach it and offer it for reference.

The books of Abū Yūsuf about the sources and sayings:[17]

Prayer; The Poor Tax; Fasts; Shares of Inheritance; Sellers (Buyers); Ordinances; Trusteeship; Wills; The Hunt and Sacrificial Victims; Forcing and Abstinence.[18]

Abū Yūsuf gave dictation which was quoted by *Bishr* ibn al-Walīd al-Qāḍī, comprising thirty-six books from the material derived from Abū Yūsuf.

Disputes about Land Boundaries; Refutation of *Mālik* ibn Anas; his epistle about the land tax, to al-*Rashīd*; Collections, which he composed for *Yaḥyā* ibn Khālid and which included forty chapters mentioning men's disagreements and the personal opinion (al-ra'y) which he held.

Among Those who Quoted Abū *Yūsuf*

Mu'allā ibn Manṣūr al-Rāzī, surnamed Abū Yu'alā

He quoted his [Abū Yūsuf's] jurisprudence, sources [of the law], and books. He died at Baghdād during the year two hundred and eleven [A.D. 826/27].

Bishr ibn al-Walīd

He was Abū al-Walīd Bishr ibn al-Walīd al-Kindī, one of the important upholders of [the method of] personal opinion. He was advanced in age, of sure lineage, and self-restrained. He administered the judiciary for al-*Ma'mūn*. Abū Khālid al-Muhallabī[19] related:

Umar ibn 'Īsā al-Anīsī, the judge, said to us, "One day, when we were at the court of al-Ma'mūn, there passed by us *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ghiyāth, whose intimacy al-Ma'mūn had purchased, providing him with a judgeship. Then Bishr said, 'We have seen an adulterous judge, a judge used for sodomy, and a judge committing sodomy, but now behold us observing a judge who is hired [as a pimp]!'"

He died ———.

[17] In this sentence the word *al-uṣūl* ("sources") probably refers to the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, while *al-amālī* ("sayings") refers to notes and commentaries dictated by leading jurists.

[18] This probably refers to sexual intercourse, and abstinence during menstruation, after divorce, and during the daytime in the month of Ramaḍān.

[19] See *Yazīd* ibn Muḥammad al-Muhallabī in the Biog. Index.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan[20]

He was surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh and was a protégé of the Banū Shaybān.[21] He was born at Wāsiṭ and brought up at al-Kufah. He studied the Ḥadīth, hearing [the lectures of] *Mis'ar* ibn Kidām, *Mālik* ibn Mas'ūd, *'Umar* ibn Dharr, al-*Awzā'ī* and al-*Thawrī*. He attended the sessions (classes) of Abū *Ḥanīfah*, learning from him and being won over by [the method of] personal opinion. Then he moved to Baghdād, where he lived, and [pupils] heard about the Ḥadīth from him and from him also learned about [the method of] personal opinion.

He moved to al-Raqqah, where al-*Rashīd* appointed him to administer the judiciary, [but soon] dismissed him. When, however, al-Rashīd went to Khurāsān, he accompanied him. He died at al-Rayy during the year one hundred and eighty-nine [A.D. 804/805], which was the year in which al-*Kisā'ī* died. He was fifty-eight years old.

He lived at Bāb al-Shām on Darb Abū Ḥanīfah, attending his classes and reading his books to him.[22] Al-*Rāwandī*, who wrote the book *The Government*, was his neighbor on the same street. He used to gather together the Rāwandīyah, sons of the government,[23]

[20] The Tonk MS inserts, "May Allāh have compassion for him."

[21] For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 210.

[22] Bāb al-Shām was either the Syrian Gate of the Round City, or else a suburb west of Baghdād; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 17, 203, and map following p. 14. Darb Abū Ḥanīfah ("the Street of Abū Ḥanīfah") probably means the street on which Abū *Ḥanīfah* lived and which may have been known by his name. In the Arabic "attending his classes" is literally "sitting in his midst." Probably Muḥammad and other pupils used to take notes, so as to help their teacher incorporate them into books. On the other hand this reference may mean that Muḥammad served as a personal secretary for Abū Ḥanīfah.

[23] For the book *The Government*, see Chap. III, sect. 1, near n. 203. The Rāwandīyah were 600 tribesmen from Khurāsān, who in A.D. 758/59 went to al-'Irāq, declaring al-*Manṣūr* to be divine. See Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Part III, p. 129; Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 290; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 315–16; cf. Mas'ūdī, VI, 26, 54, 58. Evidently some of the Rāwandīyah settled in Baghdād. "Sons of the government" is given as *abnā' al-dawlah*, both by Flügel and MS 1934. The word *abnā'* may be badly copied, meant for a form of *abāna* ("he made clear") signifying that al-Rāwandī explained his book *The Government*. Both Muḥammad and the Rāwandīyah met for classes in the local mosque and, as the tribesmen were Shī'ī extremists and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan was orthodox, they took delight in upsetting his lessons.

and he [al-Rāwandī] also planned that on the day when Muḥammad had his class he should come to sit in the mosque and to read it [the book *The Government*] to them. Then if one of the pupils of Muḥammad read from his books, they [the Rāwandīyah] shouted, silencing him. Muḥammad, therefore, stopped meeting at that mosque and went to the Mu'allaq Mosque, which is at Bāb Darb Asad, where it approaches the Sābāṭ Rūmī.[24] *Rūmī* was a transcriber. It was there, therefore, that the books were read to him.

The books of Muḥammad about the sources [of the law] were:[25] Prayer; The Poor Tax; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Rare Forms of (Unusual Anecdotes about) Prayer; Marriage; Divorce; Emancipation and Mothers of Children; Surrender and Sales; the large book, Selling on Commission (Al-Muḍārabah); the small book, Selling on Commission; the large book, Wages (Rentals); the small book, Wages (Rentals); Money Changing; Mortgage; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah); Menstruation; the large book, Plantations; the small book, Plantations;[26] Consultation, that is partnership; Trusteeship; Loaning (Borrowing).

Trusteeship; Transfer of a Debt; Security; Conditions; Claim and Proofs; Stratagems; large book, The Licensed (Permitted); small book, The Licensed; Division [of property in a will]; Ransom (Blood Money); Violating Agreements of al-Mudabbir and al-Mukātib;[27] Relationship (Al-Walā'); Nonalcoholic Drink; Stealing and Highway Robbery; The Hunt and the Sacrificial Victims; Emancipation in Illness; Selling

[24] Bāb Darb Asad was very likely the gateway of a street in the bazaar, which was locked at night to keep out thieves. Sābāṭ Rūmī ("Alley of Rūmī") was perhaps the passage leading to where al-Rūmī lived. As there were no textbooks and writing material was scarce, a scholar like Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan would often dictate to his pupils, largely from memory. They would make their own textbooks by taking dictation. Then they would read back to their master what they had written and, if it was correct, he would have a scribe rewrite the material in the form of a composed book. Rūmī was very likely employed to form a book from the notes of the pupils.

[25] Compare with the list in Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, 289.

[26] Flügel and the Tonk MS have *al-kabīr* ("large") and *al-saghīr* ("small"), whereas MS 1934 has *al-kabīrah* and *al-saghīrah*. The first forms would refer to the sizes of the books and the second to the sizes of the plantations.

[27] *Khiyanāt* is "violating agreements." MS 1934 does not have consonant signs. Flügel gives *jinayāt* ("iniquities"). *Al-mudabbir* is one who makes a declaration of freedom for a slave, effective at the time of the master's death. *Al-mukātib* is a slave who ransoms himself.

on Credit and Debt;[28] Denial and Testimony; Pious Endowments and Alms; Oppression (Violation); Houses; The Gift and Alms; Oaths, Vows, and Expiations; Wills.

Calculation of Wills; The Sound; The Hermaphrodite and the Impotent (al-Mafqūd);[29] Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion; Aversion;[30] Approval; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); The Thing Found and Held in Trust; The Fugitive;[31] the small Compilation; Sources of the Law; there was also a book by Muḥammad known as The Pilgrimage, which included many chapters;[32] The large Compilation; lectures of Muḥammad on the law, which were Al-Kaysānīyāt;[33] Increases; Increases of Increases; Choice; Fortresses (Refuges); Peculiarities;[34] Refutation of the People of al-Madīnah; Unusual Anecdotes about Muḥammad, a quotation of Ibn *Rustam*.

Al-Lu'lu'ī

He was al-*Ḥasan* ibn Ziyād al-Lu'lu'ī, surnamed Abū 'Alī,[35] one of the pupils of Abū *Ḥanīfah*, who studied under him and listened to him [lecture]. He was a superior man, learned in the doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah in connection with [the method of] personal opinion. *Yaḥyā* ibn Ādam said, "I have never seen a jurist greater than al-Ḥasan ibn Ziyād." He died during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20]. Al-Ṭaḥāwī[36] said that his books were:

His quoting of "The Unique" (Al-Mujarrad) of Abū Ḥanīfah;[37] The Training of a Judge; Peculiarities (Customs); Meaning of the Faith; Expenses; The Land Tax; The Ordinances; Wills.

[28] The first word of the title may be *al-'ayan* or *al-'ayn*, meaning among other things "selling on credit," "ready money," "debt," "high interest." The word translated "debt" is *al-dayn*.

[29] The Tonk and 1934 MSS give *The Sound* as a separate title. Flügel makes it part of the title which follows.

[30] This is probably about forcing against the will in marriage.

[31] This title probably refers to a slave.

[32] MS 1934 omits "many chapters." The Tonk MS places this title and descriptive phrase close to the end of the list.

[33] See Ḥajjī Khalīfah, V, 268. These were lectures dictated by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan to Sulaymān ibn Sā'īd al-Kaysānī.

[34] After this title the title of the large book *Wages* (*Rentals*) is repeated.

[35] MS 1934 leaves a blank for this surname.

[36] Probably *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah.

[37] As a pupil, he probably took down this book from dictation and issued it as a completed book edited by himself.

Hilāl ibn Yaḥyā

He was surnamed Abū Bakr and known as Hilāl al-Ra'y. He upheld the legal system of the people of al-'Irāq, and lived at al-Baṣrah, where he died during the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859/60]. Among his books there were:

Pleading (Arraigning) at Court;[38] Explanation of the Conditions; Ordinances.

'*Īsā* ibn Abān

Abū Mūsā 'Īsā ibn Abān ibn Ṣadaqah was a jurist, rapid in making decisions. It is said that he drew upon *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī] only to a small extent. It is also said that he did not meet with Abū *Yūsuf* and that the new ideas in connection with which he refuted al-*Shāfi'ī* he took from a book of *Sufyān* ibn Saḥbān. 'Īsā was a virtuous shaykh. He administered justice for ten years, and died during al-Muḥarram [the first Muslim month] in the year two hundred and twenty [A.D. 835]. There prayed for him [at the funeral] *Qutham* ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaymān.

I have read, written in the handwriting of al-*Ḥijāzī*:

'Īsā ibn Abān ibn Ṣadaqah ibn 'Addī ibn Mardānshāh came from among the people of Fasā.[39] Ṣadaqah was responsible for the currency inspection and tax collection departments during the days of al-*Manṣūr*, and it was he who gave counsel to al-Manṣūr, blaming him for the leniency of his chamberlains and saying, "Employ men who are tough!" Then al-Manṣūr asked, "Who may they be?" He replied, "Buy a number from al-Yamāmah,[40] where they bring up foundlings." So he bought them, making them his chamberlains. Among them there was al-*Rabī'* al-Ḥājib.

The books of 'Īsā ibn Abān were:

The Proofs;[41] Information about the One; The Compilation; Confirmation of Analogy; Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion.

[38] The texts give *al-muḥāfirah*, but the word is almost certainly meant for *al-muḥādarah*, which means pleading or arraigning at court.

[39] For this town in Persia, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 891.

[40] The well-known region of eastern Arabia.

[41] Flügel gives the singular form.

Sufyān ibn Saḥbān

He was one of the upholders of [the method of] personal opinion, a jurist, and a theologian of the Murji'ah. Among his books there were: ———.

Qadīd ibn Ja'far

He was a jurist and one of the upholders of [the method of] personal opinion. He learned from Abū *Ḥanīfah* and was also a Murji'ī. I have never seen any books of his about the law, but [his books] on theology were: ———.

Ibn Samā'ah

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Samā'ah al-Tamīmī. He learned from *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan and was a jurist, with written books and [material about] sources of the law. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48], having administered the judiciary on the West Side of Baghdād. Among his books there were:

The Training of a Judge; Documents and Judicial Records.

He also quoted the books of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, which we have already mentioned.

Al-*Jūzajānī*

He was Abū Sulaymān al-Jūzajānī, who learned from *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]. He was pious and devout, an authority on the law and the Ḥadīth. He lived on Darb Asad and studied the books of Muḥammad with him.

I read written in the handwriting of al-*Ḥijāzī*:

At the time of the rebellion against al-*Amīn*,[42] he [al-Jūzajānī] saw a man who passed by rapidly, while a man waving (showing) his sword was running after him, shouting "Seize him!" So they held the fugitive for the pursuer, who overtook him and killed him.[43] Then Abū Sulaymān said to them, "Do you know the men?" They replied, "We don't know

[42] This was when the army of al-Ma'mūn attacked al-Amīn, A.D. 815.

[43] Literally, "they took for him he who hastened by and the other overtook him and killed him."

either of them." So he [al-Jūzajānī] said, "Do you seize a man in order to let him be killed?" Then he swore that he would not live with them and moved to Ṭāqāt al-'Akkī,[44] where Ibn al-Balkhī heard his books [read or dictated]. By the time that the rebellion became quiet, he was established in the quarter. But he went [back] to Darb Asad and bought a house saying, "Today I have become a Baghdādī, for a man who has not lived in a city and acquired a house is not one of its people." Then he said, "'*Alī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, may Allāh be well pleased with him,[45] was a native of al-Kūfah, and '*Abd* Allāh ibn 'Abbās of Ṭā'if, because they acquired houses in those places."

Abū Sulaymān lived in this quarter until he died, during the year ———. There was nothing which he composed, but he transmitted the books of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan.[46]

'*Alī* al-Rāzī

He was surnamed ———. He upheld the legal system of the people of al-'Irāq, being one of their learned men. Among his books there were:

The large book, Questions; the small book, Questions; The Compilation.

Al-*Khaṣṣāf*

His name was Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Muhayr al-Shaybānī al-Khaṣṣāf, surnamed Abū Bakr. He was a jurist and an expert for division and calculation [of inheritance], and acquainted with the legal systems of his associates. He held a high position under al-*Muhtadī*, so that the people said that he would revive the regime of Ibn Abī Duwād.[47]

He was chief of the sect of the Jahmīyah and it was also al-Khaṣṣāf who wrote a book about the land tax for al-Muhtadī.

[44] The first arcade built in Baghdād, north of the Round City; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 130; Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 489. The name which follows, Ibn al-Balkhī, cannot be identified.

[45] This pious epithet only appears in the Flügel edition.

[46] As a pupil he probably took down from dictation or else transcribed the books of his teacher. The text does not indicate when the quotation from al-Ḥijāzī ends.

[47] He was the judge who persuaded the Caliph al-*Ma'mūn* to enforce acceptance of the dogma that the Qur'ān was created; see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 429.

When al-Muhtadī was assassinated, [the home of] al-Khaṣṣāf was pillaged and it is recorded that some of his books disappeared.[48]

Among his books there was one which he wrote about rites of the pilgrimage which was not given out to the public. He died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

Stratagems;[49] Wills; large book, Conditions; small book, Conditions; Presenting a Wet Nurse (al-Riḍā') (*or* the Suckling [al-Raḍḍā']); Documents and Judicial Records; The Training of the Judge; The Land Tax, for al-*Muhtadī*; Expenditures; Acknowledgment of Inheritors by Mutual Agreement; Al-'Aṣīr,[50] Its Legal Determinations and Calculations; Expenditures for Close Relations; Judicial Decisions Related to Pious Endowments; Measurement of the Ka'bah, the Mosque, and the Tomb.[51]

Ibn al-Thaljī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Shujā' al-Thaljī, a man outstanding among his contemporary associates. He was a jurist, pious and loyal to his convictions, and it was he who analyzed the legal system of Abū *Ḥanīfah*, arguing on his behalf and showing his pretexts, while supporting him with the Ḥadīth and making him loved in men's hearts. He was, moreover, one of those who based [judicial decisions] on the Qur'ān, although he upheld the doctrine of the People of Justice and Oneness [the Mu'tazilah].

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have read written in the handwriting of al-*Ḥijāzī*:[52]

Muḥammad ibn Shujā' said, "*Isḥāq* ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mus'abī, a friend of mine, related to me [as follows]: 'The Commander of the Faithful summoned me and said to me, "Choose for me among the jurists a man who has written about the Ḥadīth, using it for judicial decisions with

[48] Al-Muhtadī was assassinated A.D. 870, when Sāmarrā was plundered by the Turkish guards.

[49] *Al-ḥiyal* ("stratagems") is probably correct. It refers to illegal methods or frauds.

[50] This word probably refers to the juice pressed from grapes which was used for distilling and also for making a kind of molasses called *dibs*.

[51] The Ka'bah was the shrine at Makkah, while "the Mosque and the Tomb" evidently refers to the mosque where the Prophet was buried at al-Madīnah.

[52] The 1934 and Tonk MSS give a different name, which cannot be identified, so that Flügel may be correct in giving al-Ḥijāzī.

personal opinion (*al-ra'y*). He must be tall of stature, of pleasant disposition, originating from Khurāsān, and reared in our regime, so that he may serve as advocate for our rule, until I bestow on him a judgeship." "He [Isḥāq] continued, 'I said, "I know of no one answering this description other than Muḥammad ibn Shujā', so shall I confer with him about the matter?" He [the Caliph] said, "Do so and, if he consents, bring him to me." [When Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Shujā' was brought to the audience, it was said to him] "It is yours, oh, Abū 'Abd Allāh."[53] Then I [Muḥammad ibn Shujā'] replied, "Oh, Emir, I have no need for this, for a judgeship is advantageous for three reasons only: for a person to gain wealth, or honor, or fame. As for me, my wealth is plentiful, for I am rich. Even if the Emir should offer me money to distribute,[54] and even if I needed something from him, I would not accept it. As for fame, there has already come to me enough of it from the scholars and jurists!"'"

He died during the year two hundred and fifty-seven, or some say six [A.D. 869/70], on Tuesday the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month]. Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhir prayed for him [at the funeral] in the house of Ṭāhirah,[55] the daughter of *'Abd* Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. He was buried in the house in which he had lived. Among his books there were:

The large book, Confirmation of the Traces (al-Āthār); Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Selling on Commission (Al-Muḍārabah).

Qutaybah ibn Ziyād al-Qāḍī

He was one of the great authorities of his time for the legal systems of the people of al-'Irāq, being skillful in connection with statements and conditions. It was he who wrote the authorization

[53] The Arabic does not include the words in brackets, but this seems to give the meaning of the passage. As a follower of Abū Ḥanīfah, Muḥammad ibn Shujā' accepted the doctrine of personal opinion. He also based his legal judgments on the Qur'ānic legal passages and the Ḥadīth, even though as a Mu'tazilī he believed that the Qur'ān was created.

[54] At the beginning of this passage the 1934 and Tonk MSS omit "judgeship," which is included by Flügel. The word translated "distribute" is in the manuscripts but garbled by Flügel.

[55] *Muḥammad* ibn Ṭāhir was probably the great-grandson of *Ṭāhir* ibn al-Ḥusayn, founder of the autonomous dynasty in Khurāsān, and Ṭāhirah was probably his aunt; she is not listed in the Biog. Index. As Muḥammad ibn Shujā' came from Khurāsān, it was appropriate for these members of the family of Ṭāhir to help with the funeral.

for the pious foundation which *Aḥmad* ibn al-Junayd established, giving him a share in the foundation. Among his books there were: The Conditions, which I saw in its completed form; Documents and Judicial Records, Compacts and Covenants, a large book.

Al-Ṭaḥāwī

He was Abū Ja'far *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Salamah ibn Salāmah ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Azdī al-Ṭaḥāwī, from one of the villages of Egypt called Ṭaḥā.[56] He reached the age of eighty, but his beard was more black than white. He was a jurist employing the legal systems of the people of al-'Irāq. During his time he was unique for his learning and asceticism.[57] It is said that he worked over a book for *Aḥmad* ibn Ṭūlūn about the marriage of the lawfully owned, in which he made lawful for him marriage of slaves, but Allāh knows the truth about it. He died during the year three hundred and twenty-two [A.D. 934]. Among his books there were: Disagreements among the Jurists—it was a large book, which he did not finish, but he did produce nearly eighty chapters arranged systematically, like books on relationship (al-walā'), so that it is not necessary for us to mention them. In addition to this there were among his books: the large book about Conditions; the small book about Conditions; The Small Abridgment; The Large Abridgment; Commentary on the "Large Compilation" of Muḥammad;[58] Commentary on the "Small Compilation"; Documents and Judicial Records; Wills; Shares of Inheritance; Explanation of the Confusion in the Ḥadīth of the Apostle of Allāh, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace, about one thousand leaves [in length]; Refutation of the Book "The Untrustworthy," against al-*Karābīsī*;[59] Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Explanation of the Meaning of Traces (al-Āthār); The Dogma; a small book, Adjustment between Our Young and Our More Experienced.

'*Alī* ibn Mūsā al-Qummī

He was one of the famous 'Irāqī jurists and excellent scholars who were authors. He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He dealt with the books of al-*Shāfi'ī*, refuting them. Among his books there were:

[56] For this town and his true birthplace, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 516.

[57] The Tonk MS adds "and as an authority for the law and the Ḥadīth."

[58] This was almost certainly *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī.

[59] The translation follows the Tonk and 1934 MSS, as Flügel gives *Refutation* as one title the *The Untrustworthy* as a separate following title. For this book, see Chap. V, sect. 3, near n. 21.

A large book, Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Some Matters on Which al-Shāfi'ī Disagreed with the People of al-'Irāq, concerning the Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Confirmation of Analogy, Legal Interpretation, and Knowledge of the One [Allāh].[60]

Abū Ḥāzim al-Qāḍī

He was *'Abd* al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, a man of great ability, who derived his learning from the shaykhs of al-Baṣrah. He administered the judiciary at Damascus, al-Kūfah, and al-Karkh. Al-Ṭaḥāwī and al-Dabbās studied under him[61] and Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Karkhī* became acquainted with him. Among his books there were:

Documents and Judicial Records; Shares of Inheritance; The Training of the Judge.

Ibn *Mawṣil*

He was ———, [a jurist] employing the legal systems of the people of al-'Irāq. Among his books there were:

The large book, Conditions; Compacts and Judicial Records.

Abū Zayd *Aḥmad* ibn Zayd al-Shurūṭī

He was one of the people of al-'Irāq, among whose books there were:

Compacts; the large book, Conditions; the small book, Conditions.

Yaḥyā ibn Bakīr

He was from al-'Irāq, and among his books there was *Conditions.*

Al-Bardha'ī

His name was *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was an 'Irāqī jurist with whom Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Karkhī* studied. He died during the uprising of the Qarāmaṭah,[62] while he was on the pilgrimage. Among his books there were: ———.

[60] MS 1934 repeats the name *'Alī* al-Rāzī, but it is evidently an error.

[61] Al-Ṭaḥāwī was probably *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah. As al-Dabbās cannot be identified, the name is not in the Biog. Index. The form in MS 1934 is badly written and may be meant for a different name.

[62] For the Qarāmaṭah, see the Glossary. *Aḥmad* ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bardha'ī probably died about A.D. 930, when these rebels attacked Makkah.

Al-*Karkhī*

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Karkhī, the ʿIrāqī jurist, was a man whose counsel was sought and from whom learning was acquired. The most prominent legal authorities of the period studied under him and he was unique in his time because he was not obliged to defend himself, and was not involved in disputes. His birth was during the year ——— and he died in the year three hundred and forty [A.D. 951/52] during Shāʿban [eighth Muslim month]. Among his books there were:

Abridgment in the Law; an investigation of drinks and making date wine legal.

Al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn ʿAlī ———

He died on Sunday, the seventh of the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month], during the year three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81]. Among his books there were:

Commentary on the "Abridgment" of al-Ṭaḥāwī [*Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad]; Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Commentary on the "Large Compilation" of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan, the first manuscript; the delightful book, Rites of the Pilgrimage; Commentary on the "Large Compilation," the second manuscript.

[Al-*Ḥusayn* ibn ʿAlī] Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī

Mention of him has already been made in the chapter about theologians. The [books which] he composed about the law were:

Commentary on the "Abridgment" of Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Karkhī*; Drinks and Making Legal Date Wine; Prohibition of Temporary Marriage; Legality of Prayer in the Persian Language.

Ibn al-*Ushnānī*

He was an ʿIrāqī, among whose books there was *Conditions*.

Al-*Farḥī*

He was an ʿIrāqī, among whose books there was *Conditions*.

Al-Shāfi'ī and His Adherents

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, with an account of al-*Shāfi'ī *and his adherents.*[1]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Nadīm*: I read written in the handwriting of Abū al-Qāsim al-*Ḥijāzī* in the book *Penetrating (Inside) Information in History* that he was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs, a descendant of *Shāfi'ī* ibn al-Sā'ib ibn 'Ubayd ibn 'Abd Yazīd ibn Hāshim ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn 'Abd Manāf. I also read in his handwriting that he said:

There appeared a man of the Banū Abī Lahab,[2] of the region of North Africa, who came to Hārūn al-*Rashīd* accompanied by al-Shāfi'ī. Then al-Rashīd said to the Lahabī, "Do you brand yourself with this name [that of Abū *Lahab*]?" He went on, "Which of the two was the more important and influential, my ancestor or yours? You do not know the story of your own ancestor and what his position was." Then he made him hear about all sorts of disagreeable things with which he might have to deal and it was said that he ordered his imprisonment.[3] He then turned

[1] In MS 1934, the phrase "Al-Shāfi'ī and His Adherents" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. *Aṣḥāb*, translated "adherents," almost certainly refers to pupils and also to later followers. The account of al-Shāfi'ī should be compared with Khallikān, II, 569; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI(6), 367; "al-Shāfi'ī", *Enc. Islam*, IV, 252.

[2] See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 60.

[3] The word for "with which he might have to deal" might be translated in other ways, but this seems to give the meaning. The point of this story is that Abū *Lahab* was the principal opponent of the Prophet, whereas both the Caliph al-*Rashīd* and al-*Shāfi'ī* were descended from *Hāshim*, the Prophet's grandfather, by ancestors loyal to Islām.

to al-Shāfiʿī saying, "What has caused you to go along with him?" He [al-Shāfiʿī] replied, "I am a man who has had hard luck, and therefore I set forth to travel through the country seeking favor, so that is why I accompanied him." Then he [the Caliph] asked al-*Faḍl* ibn al-Rabīʿ [the chamberlain] to give him [al-Shāfiʿī] a present, which he did bestow [on him]. Then he [al-Shāfiʿī] lived in the City of Peace [Baghdād].

Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ al-Thaljī said to us, "He used to pass us by, clad like a singer, riding a donkey, wearing a coarse mantle and with his hair curled." He went on to say:

He was attached to *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan for a year, so as to write down his books. They related to us what al-*Rabīʿ* ibn Sulaymān quoted from al-Shāfiʿī, who said, "I wrote down for Muḥammad a camel's load of books."[4]

Al-Shāfiʿī was firm in upholding the Shīʿī tenets. One day after a man had asked him a question and he had replied, the man said, "You have misquoted *ʿAlī* ibn Abī Ṭālib, with whom may Allāh be well pleased."[5] Then he [al-Shāfiʿī] said to him, "Prove this about ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and I'll put my cheek on the ground and confess I went astray, so as to change my version to what he really said." That same day when there was a gathering of some of the descendants of Abū *Ṭālib*, he [al-Shāfiʿī] said, "I am not going to speak in a meeting where a single one of them [a single descendant of Abū Ṭālib] is present, because they are the most accurate speakers, having priority and excellence."[6]

He [*Muḥammad* ibn Shujāʿ] went on to say, "He went to Egypt during the year two hundred [A.D. 815/16] and dwelt there. Al-*Rabīʿ* ibn Sulaymān al-Miṣrī learned from him. Al-Shāfiʿī used to recite poetry." Abū al-*Fatḥ* ibn al-Naḥwī said that Abū al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Ṣābūnī al-Miṣrī related, "I saw the tomb of Abū ʿAbd Allāh

[4] *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī was the well-known jurist. He was older than al-Shāfiʿī and evidently employed him either to take dictation or else to edit students' notes as an aid in compiling them into books.

[5] Although al-Shāfiʿī may have been sympathetic with the Shīʿah, he had a legal code different from theirs and did not become involved in their politics.

[6] The descendants of Abū *Ṭālib* were members of the Shīʿah, who believed that the only persons with the right to be caliphs were the lineal descendants of ʿAlī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. Al-Shāfiʿī felt that these descendants had more accurate traditions about their ancestors than anyone else.

al-Shāfi'ī in Egypt between Bayṭar Bilāl and al-Birkatayn. Over it there was a clearly visible board upon which there was written:

> I have accomplished my time and some are pleased
> Who are foolish with heedlessness and sleep,
> As though my day [of death] was decreed for me,
> But there was no [suitable] day for those rejoicing
> in the affliction of others."[7]

He [al-Shāfi'ī] died during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20] in Egypt. Among his books there were:

Al-Mabsūṭ, about the law. Al-*Rabī'* ibn Sulaymān and al-*Za'frānī* quoted it from him. This book includes:[8] Ritual Purification; Prayer; The Poor Tax; Fasts; The Pilgrimage; Religious Self-Restraint (Seclusion); ———, thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I read written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sayf[9] that this was not his manuscript; The Epistle;[10] Ritual Purification; The Imamate; Facing al-Qiblah; Friday [Prayer]; Prayer of Fear; The Two Feasts [al-Aḍḥā and al-Fiṭr].

Prayer of the Eclipse of the Moon; Petition for Rain; Prayer of Voluntary Obedience; the small book, The Apostate; the large book, The Apostate; The Poor Tax; Fixing the Rate of the Poor Tax; Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Sellers (Buyers); Disagreements of *Mālik* and al-*Shāfi'ī*; Intentional Wounds; the large book, Mortgages; the small book, Mortgages; Disagreements in the Ḥadīth; Disagreements of the 'Irāqīs [scholars of al-'Irāq]; Oath with a

[7] It is not clear where the quotation from *Muḥammad* ibn Shujā' ends. The tomb of al-*Shāfi'ī* is still one of the famous monuments of modern Cairo. It was on the edge of the cemetery of the ancient city. The two landmarks were evidently known as the Blacksmith's Shop (Bayṭar) of Bilāl and the Two Tanks (al-Birkatayn). The translation of the poem is taken from MS 1934, which varies in several details from the Flügel version.

[8] The collection of the dictations and compositions of al-Shāfi'ī, which al-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān compiled in book form, was entitled *Al-Mabsūṭ*, which means "spread out," giving the connotation of making clear in an ample way. Somewhat later the material was revised as *Kitāb al-Umm*. For a modern edition, see Bibliography. For a summary of the contents in English, see Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 97. See also "al-Shāfi'ī," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 253. Most of the titles which follow are chapters rather than separate books. In *Kitāb al-Umm* numerous subjects are discussed in more than one chapter, causing repetition.

[9] Ibn Abī Sayf was probably the disciple of the jurist; see Biog. Index, *Aḥmad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayf. Flügel, however, suggests Ibn Abī *Yūsuf*.

[10] For this important work, *Al-Risālah*, see al-Shāfi'ī in the Bibliography.

Witness; Slaying the Idolaters; Fighting the Tyrants; Oppression; Captives and the Shackled; Marriage with Betrothal;[11] Sexual Abstinence and Menstruation.

Washing the Dead; Funerals; Racing and Throwing the Javelin; Custodianship and Reaching Maturity;[12] Ordinance and Hire of Animals; Suckling [an Infant]; Food and Drink; Al-Baḥīrah and al-Sā'ibah;[13] Plantations; Al-'Umrā and al-Ruqbā [a bequest and a piece of property given for life, to be returned at time of death]; Drinks; The Virtues of the Quraysh; Al-Shi'ār;[14] Marital Aversion and Divorce; The Problem of the Hermaphrodite; Religious Self-Restraint (Seclusion) for Religious Exercises; Renting a Palm Grove for Part of the Product; The Hunt; The Feast; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah); Lending (Borrowing).

The Ordinance of Allāh; Wages (Rates of Hire), Persons Responsible for Payment, and the Man Who Hires Out a Beast of Burden; Reviving the Dead (Wasteland); Conditions; Al-Ẓihār;[15] Al-Īla;[16] Disagreement Between Man and Wife; Sacrificial Victims; Disagreement about Inheritance; Emancipation of the Mothers of Children; The Thing Found and Held in Trust; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); Reaching the Age of Discretion (Maturity); small abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; The Question of Semen; Licensing Divorce; Fasts; The Manager; *Al-Mukātib* [slave who ransoms himself]; Al-Walā wa-al-Ḥilf;[17] Wages (Rentals).

[11] The translation is based on the supposition that the Arabic original is *al-ta'rīs bi-al-khiṭbah*, although *ta'rīs* can also mean "stopping" and the other word might be *khuṭbah* ("sermon").

[12] The word translated "custodianship" usually refers to establishment of a pious endowment, but here it may have a different significance. In the title which follows, Flügel gives *al-riqāb* ("slaves") instead of *al-dawābb* ("animals"), which is in MS 1934 and is probably correct.

[13] These are the tenth colt of a camel, allowed to wander freely, and the female camel freed because of bearing the colt or to fulfill some vow.

[14] This is probably equally divided property, but may be a military symbol, the rites of the pilgrimage, or something else, as the word has many meanings.

[15] This is the pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back."

[16] *Al-īla* (*i'la*) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 221.

[17] *Al-walā* can mean "friendship" or "authority" and *al-ḥilf* means "compact" or "good faith." Flügel gives *al-walā'*, for which see Glossary, "relationship." Cf. Chap. VI, sect. 4, n. 16.

Consensus of Opinion; The Marriage Dowry; Witnesses; How the People of al-'Irāq opposed *'Alī* and 'Abd Allāh;[18] Curses; the large abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; Division of Booty; Drawing Lots (The Wager); The Poll Tax; Wills; Claim and Proofs; Prohibition of Fermented Liquor; Al-Raj'ah;[19] Training of the Judge; The Number of Women [probably about marriage]; Highway Robbery and Stealing; Oath and Vows; Hunting and Sacrificial Victims; Money Changing; Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]; Distress of Women [in Childbirth].

The Life of al-*Wāqidī*; The Life of al-*Awzā'ī*; Judgment of the Sorcerer and Sorceress; Trust (Trusteeship) and Judicial Decisions; The Will of a Pregnant Woman; The Testimony of One Accusing of Adultery; Charity of the Living on Behalf of the Dead (Dying); The Man Who Places Goods with Another Man; The Loan; Inheritance; Judgment with Evidence; Repeal of Approval.

The Names of Those Who Quoted al-Shāfi'ī and Learned from Him[20]

Al-*Rabī'* ibn Sulaymān al-Murādī

He was one of the Murād, a tribe.[21] He was surnamed Abū Sulaymān. He was in Egypt, where he gave the call to prayer and derived a living from the Sultan for his prayer calling. His origin was in Egypt. He quoted the sources of the law of al-*Shāfi'ī*,[22] entitling what he quoted *Al-Mabsūṭ*. He died in Egypt during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84].

Al-Rabī' was quoted by: Ibn Sayf, who was Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayf ibn Sa'īd; Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥamdān al-Ṭarā'ifī; Al-*Aṣamm* al-Naysābūrī; *'Abd* Allāh ibn Sufyān al-Mawṣilī.

[18] 'Abd Allāh was probably the Prophet's cousin, who was governor of al-Baṣrah when Alī was the caliph; see Ibn *'Abbās* Abū al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh. See Khallikān, I, 89, n.3; " 'Abd Allāh," *Enc. Islam*, I, 19.

[19] *Al-raj'ah* is the receiving back of a divorced wife. Another possibility is *al-rij'ah*, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

[20] The Tonk MS has a pious epithet after al-Shāfi'ī's name. The names which follow were almost certainly those of men who attended the lectures of al-Shāfi'ī or served as disciples, helping him to compile his books.

[21] See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, pp. 52, 53.

[22] Al-Shāfi'ī designated the following as the authoritative sources (*uṣūl*) for legal decisions: (1) the Qur'ān; (2) the Ḥadīth; (3) *al-ijmā'*, or consensus of opinion; (4) *al-qiyās*, or analogy.

Al-*Za'farānī*, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ

He quoted *Al-Mabsūṭ* from al-*Shāfi'ī* in the form that al-*Rabī'* quoted it. As he made a few variations, the people did not like it or study it [with him]. As jurists work in accordance with what al-Rabī' transmitted, it is not necessary for us to name the books quoted by al-Za'farānī, which became scarce, most of them being effaced, disappearing and never again being copied. He died during the year two hundred and sixty [A.D. 873/74].

Abū *Thawr*

He was Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid ibn al-Yamān, the jurist, from the Banū Kalb.[23] He studied with al-*Shāfi'ī* and quoted him. As he disagreed with him about some points, he adopted a legal system of his own, which he kept distinct from the system of al-Shāfi'ī, but he wrote a *Mabsūṭ* which followed the arrangement of the book of al-Shāfi'ī. Most of the people of Ādharbayjān and Armenia conduct their legal affairs according to his legal system. He died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 854/55].

Naming of the Books of Abū *Thawr*

Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasts; Rites of the Pilgrimage.

Those Who Learned from Abū *Thawr*

Ibn al-*Junayd*

His name was ———. He was one of the most illustrious of his pupils and among their leaders.

'*Ubayd* ibn Khalaf al-Bazzāz

He was also one of the most eminent among his pupils.

Al-'*Iyālī*

He followed the code of Abū Thawr. He was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-'Iyālī. Among his books there was *Refuges and Indemnities for Murder.*

[23] See "Kalb B. Wabara," *Enc. Islam*, II, 688.

Manṣūr ibn Ismā'īl ——— al-Miṣrī

He died ———. Among his books there was *Food for the Traveler in the Law.*

Among Those Who Learned from al-*Shāfi'ī*[24]

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam

He quoted al-Shāfi'ī, in contrast to his two brothers, who followed Mālik. He died ———. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, according to the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī.

Ḥarmalah ibn Yaḥyā al-Miṣrī

He learned from al-Shāfi'ī.

Yaḥyā ibn Naṣr al-Ḥawlānī

He was one of the people of Egypt[25] who quoted al-Shāfi'ī. [His book:] *Al-Shāfi'ī*, refuting Ibn *'Ulayyah.*

Al-*Buwayṭī*

His name was Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā, surnamed Abū Yūsuf, and he quoted al-Shāfi'ī. Al-*Rabī'* [ibn Sulaymān] said, "Al-Buwayṭī wrote to me from prison, commending me to the members of my circle[26] and saying, 'Be patient with them, for I heard al-Shāfi'ī say: "For their sake I humble my spirit that they may honor it, as a spirit which one does not humble is not honored."'"

Among the books of al-Buwayṭī there were:

The Large Abridgment; The Small Abridgment; The Ordinances.

Al-*Rabi'* ibn Sulaymān and Abū Ismā'īl al-*Tirmidhī* quoted al-Buwaytī.

Al-*Muzanī*

He was Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī from the Muzaynah,[27] one of the tribes of al-Yaman. He learned from al-*Shāfi'ī*

[24] The men included in this list followed the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī. Some of them lived too late to be his pupils and the others were probably not regular students of his, although they may have attended some of his lectures. The order follows that of MS 1934.

[25] MS 1934 omits "of Egypt."

[26] This was probably a class which met in a mosque or in the home of al-Rabī'.

[27] See Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 111; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36.

and was an ascetic, as well as a jurist according to the legal system of al-Shāfiʿī. Among the adherents of al-Shāfiʿī there was no jurist more learned than al-Muzanī and no man more virtuous than al-*Buwayṭī*.

He died in Egypt on Wednesday and was buried on Thursday, at the end of the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year two hundred and sixty-four [A.D. 877/78]. Al-*Rabīʿ* ibn Sulaymān, who was a prayer caller and a friend of al-Shāfiʿī, prayed for him [at the funeral]. Among his books there were:

The Small Abridgment, which is in the hands of the people and upon which the followers of al-Shāfiʿī depend—they read and expound upon it, there being diverse ways of quoting it, most of which have been transmitted by al-Naysābūrī al-*Aṣamm*, whose name was ———, and Ibn al-Ikfānī *ʿAbd* Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ, and the brother of *Ḥarūrī* al-Jawharī, whose name was *Aḥmad* ibn Mūsā; The Large Abridgment, which has been abandoned; Compacts.

Al-*Marwazī*

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Marwazī was a friend (pupil) of al-*Muzanī*. Among his books there were:

Exposition of the "Abridgment" of al-Muzanī, the first and the second; Divisions, about knowing the sources [of the law]; Conditions and Compacts; Wills and Evaluation of Houses; The Particular and the Universal.

Al-Zubayrī

Among the adherents of al-Shāfiʿī was al-Zubayrī, whose name was al-*Zubayr* ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿĀṣim ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām. He died after three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. Among his books there were:

An abridgment of the law known as The Sufficiency (Al-Kāfī); Compilation of the Law; Shares of Inheritance.

Another al-*Marwazī*

His name was Aḥmad ibn Naṣr. Among his books there were:

The large book, Disagreements among the Jurists; the small book, Disagreements among the Jurists.

Ibn *Surayj*

Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Surayj was one of the illustrious Shāfi'ī jurists and theologians. There were debates between him and *Muḥammad* ibn Dā'ūd in the presence of Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn 'Īsā [the vizier]. He died during the year three hundred and five [A.D. 917/18]. Among his books there were:

Refutation of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]; Refutation of *'Īsā* ibn Abān; Similarity between al-*Muzanī* and al-*Shāfi'ī*; Answer of (for) al-*Qāshānī*; Abridgment of the Law.

Al-*Sājī*

Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyā' ibn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sājī derived his knowledge from al-*Muzanī* and al-*Rabī'* [ibn Sulaymān] and also from the Egyptians. Among his books there was *Disagreement about the Law.*

Al-*Qāshānī*

He was Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, surnamed Abū Bakr, from Qāshān.[28] At first he followed the legal system of *Dā'ūd* [ibn 'Alī], but later he changed to the legal system of al-*Shāfi'ī*, becoming a leader and one of the chiefs in connection with it. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Dā'ūd in Connection with the Uselessness of Analogy;[29] Confirming Analogy;[30] large book, Judicial Interpretation; The Beginning of the Book on Judicial Interpretations;[31] The Sources of Judicial Interpretation.

Al-*Iṣṭakhrī*

He was Abū Sa'īd, a chief among the Shāfi'ī jurists and an authority for the Ḥadīth. He was trustworthy and virtuous, a

[28] See Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 15.

[29] Analogy was one of the four sources of the law recognized by al-*Shāfi'ī*, but *Dā'ūd* did not recognize it.

[30] After this title there is *li-al-Qāshānī*, which may simply mean that al-*Qāshānī* wrote the book, or may mean "confirming of analogy for al-Qāshānī" who at the start followed Dā'ūd and repudiated analogy.

[31] The Arabic word translated "beginning" is *al-sadr*, which might mean the main part of the book.

jurist and a leader. He died during the year twenty-eight [A.H. 328: A.D. 939/40], on Friday the fourteenth night of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [sixth Muslim month], being buried in the Cemetery of the Dayr.[32] Among his books there were:

The large book, Shares of Inheritance; Conditions, Compacts, Documents, and Judicial Records.

Ibn al-*Ṣayrafī*

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī al-Shāfiʿī. He was attached to Abū al-Ḥasan *ʿAlī* ibn ʿĪsā [the vizier], being a friend of his, as well as one of the illustrious Shāfiʿī jurists and theologians. He was born ——— and died on Friday, the twelfth night of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Indications of the Signs for the Sources of Judicial Decisions; Explanation of the "Epistle" of al-*Shāfiʿī*; Evaluation of Houses; Refutation of *ʿUbayd* Allāh ibn Ṭālib al-Kātib's Book on the "Epistle" of al-Shāfiʿī; Divisions of Inheritance.

Abū *ʿAbd* al-Raḥmān

He was a Shāfiʿī [jurist] whose name was ———. Among his books there were:

Consensus of Opinion and Disagreement; Treatise, about the sources of the law, all but the first treatise.

Al-Ṭabarī, Abū ʿAlī al-*Ḥasan* ibn al-Qāsim

He was one of the followers of al-*Shāfiʿī*. Among his books there was *Abridgment of the Questions of Disagreement in Theology and Intellectual Examination.*

[32] Maqbarat Bāb al-Dayr was a cemetery by an old monastery, between the river and the Baṣrah Gate at Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 98, and map with p. 15, item 21.

Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah[33]

Abū al-Ḥasan

He was *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad[34] ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Kātib, one of the illustrious men among the followers of al-*Shāfi'ī*. He was born during the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 894/95] at al-Ḥasanīyah.[35] He wrote books based on the Shī'ī legal system and the following books based on the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī:

Faculties of Understanding;[36] Testing (Proving, Exerting); The Agreeable; Refutation of al-*Karkhī*; The Beneficial in the Ḥadīth.

If Allāh so wills, we shall mention his books based on the Shī'ī code in the proper place.[37]

Ibn *Sayf* al-Fāriḍ

His name was ———. Among his books there were: ———.

Ibn al-Ashyab Abū 'Amrān *Mūsā* ibn al-Ashyab

He was a jurist following the legal system of al-*Shāfi'ī*, and also a theologian. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-*Ṭayyib* ibn Salamah

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī. He died ———. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-*Ṭayyib* al-Mulqī

Among his books there were: ———.

[33] In the Arabic texts this name is given here and also after three other names have been cited. There may be a repetition due to careless copying, or the same name may designate two different persons. The Tonk MS notes, "Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah, one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī, an ascetic and devotee, no book of whose is known."

[34] The insertion of the name "ibn Aḥmad" is probably an error, as he was known as Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm.

[35] Al-Ḥasanīyah may be the town listed by Yāqūt, *Geog.*, II, 270.

[36] The Tonk MS has *al-naẓā'ir* ("venerable and revered men"), whereas the other versions have *al-baṣā'ir* ("faculties of understanding or mental insight").

[37] Evidently this passage was written before the author listed the books about the Shī'ah in the preceding passage; see Chap. V, sect. 5, near n. 202.

Al-Ahwāzī, Ibn al-*Junayd*, Abū al-Ḥasan ——— al-Qāḍī

Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Ḥāmid al-Baṣrī al-Qāḍī

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi'ī. He died ———. He was *Aḥmad* ibn Bishr ibn 'Āmir al-'Āmirī. Among his books there were:

The Large Compilation, a thousand leaves [in length]; Looking Over (Gaining an Understanding of) the Sources of the Law; The Small Compilation.

Al-Ajurrī

He was Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ajurrī, the jurist, one of those who were righteous and consecrated. He wrote many books about this [piety]. We have mentioned them in their proper place.[38] He lived at Makkah and died recently. He followed the legal system of al-Shāfi'ī. Among his books there were:

Abridgment of the Law; Judicial Decisions concerning Women; Advice, which included a number of chapters about the law.

Ibn *Shaqrā'* al-Khaffāf

He was a Shāfi'ī [jurist], and was a resident of Makkah. His name was ———. Among his books there was *Conditions*.

Ibn *Rajā'* Abū al-'Abbās of al-Baṣrah

He was a Shāfi'ī and was the successor of the judge of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Causes (Defects) of Conditions; the large book, Conditions, which I notice the followers of al-*Shāfi'ī* praise and regard as excellent.[39]

Ibn *Dīnār* al-Hamdānī

Among his books there was the large book, *Conditions*, which is superlatively excellent and about one thousand leaves [in length].

[38] It has not been possible to find any mention of his books. Perhaps some passage containing the titles of these works has been lost.

[39] The Tonk MS adds the title *Against Dā'ūd in Connection with the Futility of Analogy*.

Abū al-*Ḥasan*, al-Nasawī

His name was ———. Among his books there was *Questions, Causes (Defects), and Differences.*

Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Naysabūrī

He was a Shāfi'ī jurist and one of the principal leaders. Among his books there were:

Questions, about the law; Corroborations of Analogy.

Al-Farajī, Abū al-'Abbās *Aḥmad* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad al-Farajī

He was an expert on the shares of inheritance, among whose books there was the large book, *Explanation of the Judicial Decisions concerning the Shares of Inheritance.*

Ibn Abī *Hurayrah* Abū 'Alī

He died ———. Among his books there were:

Questions; Marginal Note, to the law and the questions.

Al-Qaffāl, Abū *Bakr*

Among his books there was *The Sources.*

Abū al-*Ḥasan* [ibn Aḥmad] ibn Khayrān

Among his books there were:

The Delightful (Al-Laṭīf); Introductions.

Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fourth Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, with an account of Dā'ūd and his adherents.*[1]

Abū Sulaymān *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd ibn Khalaf al-Iṣbahānī was the first to use *al-qawl al-ẓāhir*, depending upon the Book and the Sunnah and eliminating everything else connected with [the method of] personal opinion and analogy.[2] He was virtuous, sincere, and pious. He, Dā'ūd, died during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84]. Among his books there were:

The Explanation; The Clear Explanation; the large book, Summons and Evidences; The Sources [of the Law]; Menstruation.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I once read in an old handwriting something written just about the time of Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī, giving the names of Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī's books, which I have listed according to the sequence which I found.[3]

[1] In MS 1934 the name Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī is written on a page by itself preceding the title. In the title itself the words "with an account of Dā'ūd and his adherents" are in large letters. It would be more literal to translate *fī akhbār* as "about traditions" instead of "with an account." "Adherents" includes pupils and later followers. Most of the authorities call him Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Khalaf. Before the beginning of the account, the Tonk MS adds the words "Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq."

[2] Here *al-qawl al-ẓāhir* ("the evident speech") refers to revelation, specifically that of the Prophet, made evident in the Qur'ān. For the legal school of this authority, see "Dā'ūd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 928, and "al-Ẓāhirīya," IV, 1192.

[3] The five titles given first were very likely separate books, whereas the list given below is probably for chapters in a large legal work.

Ritual Purification; Menstruation; Prayer; The Call to Prayer; Al-Qiblah; The Times [for religious rites]; Neglect, four hundred leaves; Prayer for Rain; Beginning of Prayer; What Corrupts Prayer; Friday [Prayers]; Prayer of Fear; Prayer for the Eclipse of the Moon; Prayer for the Two Feasts [al-Aḍḥā and al-Fiṭr].

The Imamate; Judgment for the Person Neglecting Prayer; Funerals; Washing the Dead; The Poor Tax, three hundred leaves; Charity for al-Fiṭr;[4] Voluntary Fasts; Ordained Fasts, six hundred leaves; Sexual Withdrawal for Religious Purposes; Rites of the Pilgrimage; abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; Marriage, one thousand leaves; The Dower [husband's dowry]; Suckling [an Infant]; Aversion Between Husband and Wife; Divorce with Wife's Agreement; Explanation of Who Has the Right to Bear Witness against One; Sexual Abstinence until after Menstruation and Purification; Al-Raj'ah;[5] A Question of Booty;[6] Al-Īla.[7]

Al-Ẓihār;[8] Curses; The Destitute (Lost); Divorce; Divorce of the Sunnah; Oaths in Divorce; Divorce before Consumation; Divorce of the Intoxicated and the Drunkard; *Al-'Idad*;[9] Sellers (Buyers); Money Changing; License for Trade; Partnership; Loaning (Borrowing);[10] The Trust (Trusteeship); The Loan [without Security]; Transfer of Credit and Surety; Mortgages; Wages (Rentals); Giving Out Land for Planting; Renting a Palm Grove for Part of the Products; Dug-Outs and Refuges; Nonalcoholic Drink; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shuf'ah).

Offering One's Life as Surety; Trusteeship; Judicial Decisions about Fugitive Slaves; Ordinances; Robbery; Prohibition of Intoxicating

[4] 'Īd al-Fiṭr, the feast at the end of Ramaḍān, when it is the custom to give alms to the poor.

[5] *Al-raj'ah* is receiving back a divorced wife. Another possibility is *al-rij'ah*, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

[6] This might also be "A Question about (*fī*) ———," the title following *fī* being omitted. "Booty" is *fāy'*.

[7] *Al-īla* (*i'la*) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. See Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 221.

[8] Pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back."

[9] *Al-'iddah*, pl. *al-'idad*, refers to the number of days of menstruation which must pass before a divorced or widowed woman can remarry. The purpose of this procedure is to determine the true father of the woman's next child. See " 'Idda," *Enc. Islam*, II, 445.

[10] The Tonk MS has *al-farā'iḍ* ("shares").

Liquor; Drinks; The Sorcerer;[11] Unintentional Murder; Intentional Murder; Truce (Oath);[12] The Embryo; Oaths and Expiations; Vows; Emancipation; Al-Mukātib [the slave who ransoms himself]; *Al-Mudabbir*;[13] Initiation of a Wager; Hunting; Sacrificial Victims of the Muslims; Sacrificial Victims; New Birth (*or* The Sheep Slaughtered for a Newborn Child); Foods.

Clothing; Medicine; The Holy War; The March (*or* Biographies); Division of Booty; Share of the Relatives [of the Prophet]; Division of Charity Funds; The Land Tax; ——— and the Mine (Minerals); The Poll Tax; Division; The Foot Soldiers (Making War); The Course of Equity;[14] The Apostate;[15] Things Found and Lost; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); Shares of Inheritance; Blood Relatives; Wills; Wills, about Evaluation.

Houses; Succession and Posterity;[16] Hermaphrodites; The Times [for religious rites]; Gift and Charity; Judgment; The Training of a Judge; Judgment of an Absent Person (Foreigner); Documents; Compacts, three thousand leaves [in length]; Judicial Records; Judgment among Ahl al-Dhimmah; Summons and Witnesses, one thousand leaves; Acknowledgment of a Debt; Renunciation of Testimonies; Prohibition; Proclamation of Bankruptcy; Oppression; Reconciliation; Combat; What Gain Is Right; Defense of Statutes, Judgments, and Traditions, one thousand leaves; Refutation of Liars; The Ambiguous (Difficult to Solve).

The Morning Star and the Dawn, to al-Sā'ī;[17] Description of the Disposition of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;

[11] MS 1934 gives a different form, probably an error.

[12] Instead of *al-qasāmah* ("truce," "oath"), the Arabic might be *al-qusāmah* ("alms"). In the title which follows, the Tonk and 1934 MSS have *al-ḥayḍ* ("menstruation"), but a correction in MS 1934 and the Flügel edition gives *al-janīn* ("embryo").

[13] This refers to one who makes a declaration of freedom for a slave, effective at the time of the master's death.

[14] In Arabic this is *Sayr al-ʿĀdilah*. It may have a more technical meaning, or a simple meaning such as *The Course of Justice*.

[15] The Tonk MS gives consonant signs, making this title *Al-Murtad* ("The Apostate"), whereas Flügel gives *Al-Murīd* (" The Seeker after Knowledge or God"). MS 1934 might be either of these forms.

[16] This title is *Al-Walā' wa-al-Khalf*. If the second word is *al-Khulf*, it would mean "breach of promise," changing the meaning. Another possible translation for the title might be *Kinship and Succession*.

[17] This title might also be translated as *The Apparent and the Manifest*. The words which follow it, *li-al-Sā'ī*, may mean "to the deceiver," but more likely mean that the book is addressed to a man called al-Sā'ī. Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Part VI, p. 463, mentions 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Sā'ī, but this reference is too uncertain to place the name in the Biog. Index.

Flags of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace;[18] Knowledge; Invocation; The Future and the Past; Consensus of Opinion; Rendering Imitation Futile; Rendering Analogy Futile; Information about the One [Allāh]; Knowledge of What Is Necessary for Learning; The Proof; The Particular and the Universal; What Is Explained and Established; Ceasing to Make (Call) a Person an Unbeliever; The Epistle of al-*Rabī'* ibn Sulaymān; The Epistle of Abū al-*Walīd*; The Epistle of al-*Qaṭṭān*; The Epistle of *Hārūn* [ibn 'Abd Allāh] al-Shārī; Giving Counsel, five hundred leaves; Clear Explanation, four thousand leaves; Temporary Marriage.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I have transcribed these [preceding] book titles from an old piece [of manuscript] in the handwriting of *Maḥmūd* al-Marwazī. I suppose that this man upheld the legal system of *Dā'ūd*, but he is unknown.

Dā'ūd had questions sent to him from various regions and places, among which there were:[19]

Questions of Iṣbahān; Questions about Secret Matters; Questions of al-Baṣrah;[20] Questions of al-Khwārizm; The Sufficient, about the statement of al-Muṭṭalibī, meaning al-*Shāfi'ī*;[21] Two Questions, in connection with which al-Shāfi'ī is contradictory; the first books include a volume called The March (*or* Biographies).

Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd

He was surnamed Abū Bakr and was a jurist upholding his father's legal system, and was an excellent man, pious and cultured. He was a poet and historical traditionalist, as well as one of the interesting and honest writers. I have mentioned the books of poetry and literature which he wrote in their proper place, in the chapter on the historical traditionalists, genealogists, and men of letters.[22]

[18] Instead of "flags" (*a'lām*) the word may be *i'lām* ("distinguished courage"). The pious epithets in this and the preceding title are not in MS 1934.

[19] It is probable that these books were answers to questions addressed to him.

[20] Instead of al-Baṣrah the Tonk MS has al-Naṣraniyāt. Khwārizim, in the following title, is the modern Khīvā; see "Khwārizm," *Enc. Islam*, II, 908.

[21] As al-*Shāfi'ī* was descended from the Prophet's grandfather, '*Abd* al-Muṭṭalib, he was called al-Muṭṭalibī.

[22] The only previous mention seems to be in connection with the jurists; see the account of Ibn Surayj in Chap. VI, sect. 3, after n. 27.

His birth was during the year ——— and he died in the year ———. Among his books on the law there were:

Admonitions; Apologies (Excuses); Means of Knowing the Sources of the Law; Abridgment (Al-Ījāz) (*or* Fulfilling a Promise [Al-Injāz]); Refutation of Ibn *Sharshīr*; Refutation of Abū *'Īsā* al-Ḍarīr; Obtaining Justice from Abū Ja'far al-*Ṭabarī*.

Ibn *Jābir*

He was Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ——— ibn Jābir, one of the followers of Dā'ūd. He was one of their scholars and important men. Among his books there was *Differences*. No one ever wrote a longer book, and his associates regarded it as excellent.

Ibn al-Mughallas

He was Abū al-Ḥasan *'Abd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mughallas. Leadership among the followers of *Dā'ūd* culminated with him during his time and no equal of his appeared afterwards. He was superior, learned, gifted, truthful, reliable, and preeminent among the people as a whole. His home was at Baghdād on the River Mahdī,[23] where people from surrounding regions sought him out. He died on the fourth of Jumādā al-Ākhirah [sixth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 935/36]. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Answers of the Book of al-*Muzanī*;[24] Good Fortune (Judgment); The Manifest; Judgments of the Qur'ān; Divorce; Relationship (Al-Walā').

Al-*Manṣūrī*

He was Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ, who upheld the legal system of *Dā'ūd* and was one of the most illustrious followers of Dā'ūd. His books were splendid and excellent, large in size. Among them there were:

The large book, The Lamp; The Guide; The Shining.

[23] A canal in the west part of the Shammasīyah Quarter of East Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 47 (map), 175, 206.

[24] The translation follows MS 1934. The other versions give instead two titles, *The Explanation* and *The Book of al-Muzanī*.

Al-*Raqqī*

He was Abū Sa'īd ———, one of the scholars among those who followed the legal system of *Dā'ūd*.[25] Among his books there were:

The Sources, which comprised one hundred chapters similar to the chapters of Dā'ūd, so that we are not obliged to record them. He also wrote the Commentary on "The Clear."[26]

Al-Nahrabānī

His name was al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Ubayd, Abū Sa'īd. Among his books there was *Rendering Futile Analogy*.

Ibn al-*Khallāl*

He was surnamed Abū al-Ṭayyib ———. Among his books there were:

Rendering Futile Analogy; Rendering Futile Witty Remarks;[27] Qualification of Wisdom about the sources of the law and comprising a number of chapters.

Al-Rabā'ī

His name was *Ibrāhīm* ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, surnamed Abū Isḥāq. He was one of the scholars who followed the legal system of Dā'ūd and lived near to our own time. He went from Baghdād to Egypt, where he died during the year ———. Among his books there was *Consideration of the Rendering Futile of Analogy*.

Ḥaydarah

He was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan ———. He was one of the superior men and legal authorities, employing the legal system of his associates. I used to see him, for he was a friend of mine. He died ———. Among his books there was *Refutation of Those Who Uphold Analogy*.[28]

[25] The Tonk MS adds, "He was religious, ascetic, virtuous, and one who memorized the Ḥadīth."

[26] "The clear" is in Arabic *al-mawḍiḥ* or *al-muḍiḥ*, and is probably a book title.

[27] MS 1934 omits *iḅṭāl* ("rendering futile") but the other versions give it.

[28] Only the Tonk MS gives this title. It also states "He was one of the historical traditionalists, ascetics, and jurists."

The Judge al-Kharazī, May Allāh Strengthen Him[29]

He is Abū al-Ḥasan *'Abd* al-'Azīz ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī al-Kharazī, one of the scholars among the followers of *Dā'ūd* during our own time, and one of the capable members of their legal school. He is also one of the superior persons among his associates and the authors among them. He was born ———. *'Aḍud* al-Dawlah has placed him over the judicial administration of the lower quarter on the East Side of the City of Peace [Baghdād], until our own time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987/88]. Among his books there is *Questions and Disagreement.*

[29] The Flügel edition gives al-Ḥuzrī, which is a mistake. The pious epithet is in MS 1934. He was evidently a friend of al-*Nadīm.*

The Jurists of the Shī'ah; Their Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Scholars

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the jurists of the Shī'ah, with the names of the books which they composed.*[1]

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: Among the friends of the Commander of the Faithful, for whom may there be peace,[2] there was *Sulaym* ibn Qays al-Hilālī. As a fugitive from al-*Ḥajjāj* [ibn Yūsuf], who sought to kill him, he took refuge with *Abān* ibn Abī Ayyāsh, who gave him shelter. When death drew near to him he said to Abān, "I am indebted to you and now death is present with me. Oh, son of my brother, by order of the Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, it is thus [as described in my book]." Then he gave him a book, which was the well-known book of Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī, from which Abān ibn Abī Ayyāsh quoted, but which was not quoted by anyone else.

Abān said in his narrative, "*Qays* was a shaykh with an [inner] light which uplifted him. The first book to appear about the Shī'ah was the book of Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilālī." Abān ibn Abī Ayyāsh quoted it, but it was not quoted by anybody else.

[1] In MS 1934, the phrase "The Jurists of the Shī'ah, Their Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Scholars" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. The Arabic word *al-muḥaddithūn* is translated "authorities on the Ḥadīth."

[2] Here the Commander of the Faithful may refer to *'Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan and called Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Although 'Alī was never recognized as caliph by the majority, the Shī'ah, including al-Nadīm, did recognize him as such. He lived at the time when al-*Ḥajjāj*, who was governor of al-'Irāq A.D. 694–714, was trying to crush Shī'ī opposition to the Umayyad caliphate.

The Books Composed about the Sources of the Law (Uṣūl al-Fiqh) with the Names of Those Who Compiled Them

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-*Nadīm*]: I am mentioning the shaykhs of the Shī'ah who transmitted the law from their imams, without any special order.[3] Among them there were:

Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī al-Aswad; *'Alī* ibn Ghurāb; Abū Yaḥyā *Layth* al-Muṛādī; *Ruzayq* ibn al-Zubayr; Abū al-*Salamah* al-Baṣrī; *Ismā'īl* ibn Ziyād; Abū Aḥmad *'Umar* ibn al-Raḍī'; *Dā'ūd* ibn Farqad; *'Alī* ibn Ra'āb; *'Alī* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Mu'allā; *Hishām* ibn Sālim; *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār; *'Abd* al-Mu'min ibn al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī; *Sayf* ibn 'Amrah al-Nakhā'ī; *Ibrāhīm* ibn 'Umar al-Ṣana'ānī; *'Abd* Allāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ; Al-*Rabī'* ibn Abī Mudrik; *'Umar* ibn Abī Ziyād al-Ibzārī; *Zakār* ibn Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī; Abū *Khālid* ibn 'Amr ibn Khālid al-Wāsiṭī; *Ḥarīz* ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī al-Sijistānī; *'Ubayd* Allāh [ibn 'Alī] al-Ḥalabī; *Zakarīyā'* al-Mu'min; *Thābit* al-Ḍarīr; *Muthannā* ibn Asad al-Khayyāṭ; *'Umar* ibn Udhaynah; *'Ammār* ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Duhnī al-'Abdī al-Kūfī; *Mu'āwiyah* ibn 'Ammār al-Duhnī; and al-*Ḥasan* ibn Maḥbūb al-Sarrād, who was a guest among the associates of al-*Riḍā*, for whom may there be peace, and later of his son *Muḥammad* [al-Jawād].[4]

Abān ibn Taghlib

Among his books there were:

The delightful book, The Meaning of the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; From the Sources, about quotations according to the doctrines of the Shī'ah.

The Family of *Zurārah* ibn A'yan

Zurārah was a nickname. His real name was 'Abd Rabbah. His brother was *Ḥumrān* ibn A'yan, a grammarian, whose sons were *Ḥamzah* ibn Ḥumrān and *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥumrān.

There were also *Bukayr* ibn A'yan and his son *'Abd* Allāh ibn Bukayr, *'Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn A'yan, and *'Abd* al-Malik ibn A'yan,

[3] For the imams of the Shī'ah, see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442. Before each of the names in the list which follows is the word *kitāb* ("the book of").

[4] The words translated "a guest among the associates" are, in the Arabic text, *al-wārid min aṣḥāb*. Al-Riḍā and his son were the 8th and 9th Shī'ī imams. Someone who disliked the Shī'ah crossed out the pious epithets in this section of the Tonk MS and inserted the word "erroneous "in numerous places.

with his son *Ḍurays* ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, one of the adherents of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī [al-*Bāqir*], for whom may there be peace.

Aʿyan ibn Sunsun (Sunbus) was a Byzantine slave belonging to a man of the Banū Shaybān.[5] After he had learned the Qur'ān, he [the master] emancipated him and offered to adopt him as one of his family. Aʿyan, however, refused saying, "Settle me with my own people." Sunsun was a priest in the Byzantine country.[6]

Bukayr was surnamed Abū al-Jahm and Zurārah, Abū ʿAlī. This Zurārah was the leading Shīʿī scholar of the law, the Ḥadīth, the knowledge of theology, and the Shīʿī system. Among his sons there were al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Zurārah and al-*Ḥasan* ibn Zurārah, who were among the associates of *Jaʿfar* ibn Muḥammad [al-Ṣādiq].[7] *ʿUbayd* ibn Zurārah, who was squint-eyed, quoted [his father] Zurarah ibn Aʿyan.

Yūnus ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

He was one of the associates of *Mūsā* ibn Jaʿfar, for whom may there be peace, and one of the protégés of the family of *Yaqṭīn*. He was the scholar of his period, a prolific compiler and author according to the doctrines of the Shīʿah. Among his books there were:

Causes (Defects) of al-Aḥādīth (the Traditions); Prayer; Fasts; The Poor Tax; Wills and Shares of Inheritance; Compilation of Traces (*al-Athār*); The Beginning.

Al-Bazanṭī

He was one of the scholars of the Shīʿah, *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bazanṭī, an associate of *Mūsā* [ibn Jaʿfar], for whom may there be peace. Among his books there were:

[5] For this tribe, see Durayd, *Geneal.*, pp. 144, 155, 210.

[6] MS 1934 has what appears to be Sunbus, whereas Ṭūsī, p. 141, has Sunsun. This man was said to be a *rāhib* ("monk"), but as he had children, he must have been a priest, rather than a monk. In the Eastern Church, the priest must marry, whereas the monk is celibate. His son Aʿyan became a slave. But after he had learned the Qur'ān, his master set him free and offered to adopt him. He preferred, however, to return to his own kindred, perhaps referring to his brother and children.

[7] *Jaʿfar* ibn Muḥammad was the 6th Shīʿī imam; His son *Mūsā* ibn Jaʿfar, mentioned in the following paragraph, was the 7th imam, called al-Kāẓim. See Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 442, for list of the imams.

What he quoted from al-*Riḍā*, for whom may there be peace; The Compilation; Questions.

Al-Barqī

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Khālid al-Barqī al-Qummī. He was an associate of al-*Riḍā* and later an associate also of his son Abū Jaʿfar [*Muḥammad* al-Jawād]. It is said that he was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. Among his books there were:

The Obscure; Causing Perception; Good Qualities; The Men, in which he mentioned the persons who quoted the Commander of the Faithful, May Allāh Be Well Pleased with Him.[8]

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Maḥbūb

He was al-Sarrād, which is al-Zarrād,[9] and one of the associates of our master al-*Riḍā* and of his son, *Muḥammad* [al-Jawād], for both of whom may there be peace. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; Marriage; Shares of Inheritance, Ordinances, and Indemnities for Murder.

I Read Written in the Handwriting of Abū *ʿAlī* ibn Hammām

He said that the book *Good Qualities* (*Kitāb al-Maḥāsin*) of [*Muḥammad* ibn Khālid] al-Barqī included more than seventy chapters, it is even said eighty chapters. These chapters were with Abū *ʿAlī* ibn Hammām.[10]

The Beloved; The Abhorred; Generations (Categories) of Men; The Virtues of Actions (Works); The Most Special of Actions; The Warning; Intimidation; The Frightening; Life and Purity (What is Best); Reasons (Defects) of the Ḥadīth; Meaning of the Ḥadīth and [Textual] Alterations;[11] The Distinct (Meeting of the Ways); Pretexts; The Delightful Book; Advantages (Things Giving Benefit); Interpretation of Dreams; The Fast for Days; Heaven.

[8] This almost certainly refers to *ʿAlī*, the Prophet's son-in-law.

[9] Both these terms mean "a maker of chain armor." Al-Riḍā was ʿAlī ibn Mūsā, the 8th Shīʿī imam, and his son was Muḥammad al-Jawād, the 9th imam.

[10] This list seems to give the names of the principal parts composing *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin* of al-Barqī. It is probable that each of these titles had subtitles, bringing the total to over seventy. Cf. Ṭūsī, pp. 37–40, sect. 74.

[11] For "taḥrīf," the word translated "alterations," see "Taḥrīf," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 618.

The Earths (Lands); The Towns (Regions); Mention of the Ka'bah; Animals and Species;[12] Tales of the Jinn and of Men; Excellencies of the Qur'ān; Flowers; Commands and Prohibitions; With What Allāh Addressed His Creation;[13] The Prophets and Apostles; [The Battle of] the Camel;[14] The Increasing of Wisdom;[15] Forms (Varieties); Female Companions; Increasing;[16] Training; The Forefathers (First Things); History; Reasons; Memorable Deeds; The Pure (*al-Aṣfīyah*); The Reasons (Forms, Misfortunes); Quotation; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes).

His Son, *Aḥmad* ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī

Among his books there were:

Pretexts; Travel; The Towns (Regions); which was longer than the book of his father.

Al-*Ḥasan* [ibn Sa'īd] al-Ahwāzī and al-*Ḥusayn* al-Ahwāzī, the Two Sons of Sa'īd

They were from among the people of al-Kūfah, protégés of *'Alī* ibn al-Ḥusayn [Zayn al-'Ābidīn] and among the associates of al-*Riḍā*, for whom may there be peace. They were the greatest scholars of their time for the law, the traces (*al-athār*), memorable deeds, and other things connected with the Shī'ī sciences.

They were al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the two sons of *Sa'īd* ibn Ḥammād ibn Sa'īd. They were associates, also, of Abū Ja'far ibn al-Riḍā [*Muḥammad* al-Jawād]. Among the books of al-Ḥusayn there were:

The Commentary; Piety; The Oath and the Vow; Ritual Ablution; Prayer; Fasts; Marriage; Divorce; Drinks; Refutation of the Ghālīyah; The Invocation (Summons); Al-'Itq wa-al-Tadbīr.[17]

[12] Flügel gives *al-ajnās* ("species"), the Tonk MS has *al-aḥbās* ("religious endowments"), while MS 1934 lacks consonant signs.

[13] See Qur'ān 2:117.

[14] See Ṭūsī, p. 39, sect. 74 l. 15.

[15] This may be *judūl al-ḥikmah* ("increasing of wisdom"), or *jadwal al-ḥikmah* ("rule of wisdom").

[16] MS 1934 has what might be *al-tazāyad* ("increasing"); the Tonk MS has *al-sarā'ir* ("secrets"), while Flügel is uncertain.

[17] Emancipation and the proclamation of freedom of a slave, to become effective at the death of the owner.

Zaydān ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'īd

Among his books there was *Pleadings.*

Al-Ash'arī

He was Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Amrān al-Ash'arī. He was one of the scholars of the Shī'ah and one of those who quoted [other authorities], and also one of the jurists. Among his books there were:

The Compilation, which included one thousand and seventy sections about the law and morals;[18] Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); What Was Revealed in the Qur'ān about al-*Ḥusayn* ibn 'Alī, for both of whom [father and son] may there be peace—it was quoted by Abū *'Alī* ibn Hammām al-Iskāfī.

'Alī ibn Hāshim

He was *'Alī* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim, one of the scholars among the jurists. Among his books there were:

Memorable Deeds; Choice of the Qur'ān; Nearness of the Quoter of a Tradition to Its Source.

Ḥarīz ibn 'Abd Allāh

Among his books there were:

The Poor Tax; Prayer; Fasts; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes).

Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā

Among his books there were:

Buying and Selling; Commercial Transactions, Other than the First Ones; Love and Positions; Shares of Inheritance; Wills; Morals; Glad Tidings of the Believer.

'Īsā ibn Mihrān

Among his books there were:

The Difference between the Nation and the Family; Authorities on the Ḥadīth; The Laws Having Numerous Significations (The Laws Shared Together, Al-Sunan al-Mushtarakah); Death; Research (Discovery); Memorable Deeds; Embellishment (Al-Dībāj).

[18] Only the Tonk MS gives the number "one thousand and seventy." The other versions leave a blank. Compare these titles with the different order in Ṭūsī, p. 274 top, sect. 598.

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Muḥammad ibn Samā'ah

He was one of the associates of ———. Among his books there were:

Al-Qiblah; Prayer; Fasts.

Ibn Bilāl

He was Abū al-Ḥasan *'Alī* ibn Bilāl ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī. Among his books there was *Guidance and Explanation.*

From among the People of Qumm

[There was] al-Qummī, Abū Ja'far *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā, among whose books there were:

The large book, Medicine; the small book, Medicine; Earnings.

Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī

Among his books there was *Showing Preference for Ranks* (*Taṣdīr al-Darajāt*).

Ibn *Mu'ammar*

He was Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Mu'ammar al-Kūfī, among whose books there was *Nearness of the Quoter of a Tradition to Its Source.*

Ibn Faḍḍāl

He was Abū 'Alī al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl al-Taymulī from the Rabī'ah ibn Bakr and a protégé of the Taym Allāh ibn Tha'labah.[19] He was one of the intimate companions of Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Riḍā*,[20] for whom may there be peace. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Beginning and the Subject;[21] Medicine.

Ibn Jamhūr al-'Ammī

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Jamhūr al-'Ammī al-Baṣrī. He was numbered among the intimate companions of al-*Riḍā*, for whom may there be peace. Among his books there was *The Unique* (*Al-Wāḥidah*), about historical traditions, virtues and vices, which he divided into eight sections.

[19] For these tribes, see "Bakr," *Enc. Islam*, I, 604; Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 48.

[20] The 8th Shī'ī imam, who died A.D. 818.

[21] MS 1934 is garbled, but Flügel and a correction in the Tonk MS give *Al-Ibtidā' wa-al-Mubtadā'*. This form of the title is confirmed by Ṭūsī, p. 94 top, sect. 191.

Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā ibn ʿUbayd ibn Yaqṭīn

He was one of the people of Baghdād, and an associate of *ʿAlī* ibn Muḥammad and al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAlī, for both of whom may there be peace.[22] Among his books there was *Desire and Hope*. Abū *ʿAlī* ibn Hammām said, "The contents of this book were derived from *Muḥammad* [ibn al-Ḥusayn] ibn Jamhūr al-ʿAmmī. Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Muḥammad ibn Jamhūr told me that his father said, 'In this book there are mentioned the things which the Shīʿah hope for in connection with their preferences and ranks.'" The book resembled *Glad Tidings*.[23]

Ismāʿīl ibn Mihrān

He was the brother of *ʿĪsā* ibn Mihrān. Among his books there was *The Combats*.

Abū Jaʿfar *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Walīd al-Qummī

Among his books there were:

Compilation of the Law; Commentary on the Qur'ān.

Abū al-Qāsim *ʿAbd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿĀmir ibn Sulaymān al-Ṭāʾī

Among his books there was *Judgments and Judicial Decisions*.

Al-Ādamī al-Rāzī

He was Abū Saʿīd *Sahl* ibn Ziyād al-Rāzī, one of the friends of Abū Muḥammad al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAlī [al-ʿAskarī], for whom may there be peace. Among his books there was *Invoking Aid*.[24]

Al-Thaqafī, Abū Isḥāq *Ibrāhīm* ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī

He was one of those who were trustworthy, scholarly, and writers of books. Among his books there was *Account of al-*Ḥasan *ibn ʿAlī, for Whom May There Be Peace*.

[22] These were the 10th and 11th Shīʿī imams, ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad called al-Hādī, who died A.D. 868, and al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, who died A.D. 874.

[23] See the book *Glad Tidings of the Believer* by *Ṣafwān* ibn Yaḥyā, after n. 18.

[24] This title, *Al-Istinṣār*, is only given in the Tonk MS.

Mūsā ibn Sa'dān

Among his books there was *Sects* (*Parties*).

Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣā'igh

He was one of the Imāmīyah [sect] of al-Shī'ah. Among his books there was *Preachings*.

Bundār ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, the Jurist

He was a leader of the Imāmīyah. Among his books there were:

Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasts; The Pilgrimage; The Poor Tax. He also [composed] books based on the sequence of the sources [of the law], and in addition: The Imamate from the Point of View of the Free;[25] Temporary Marriage; The Minor Pilgrimage.

The Family of Yaqṭīn, Appended, Its Proper Place Being at the Beginning[26]

Yaqṭīn was one of the leading propagandists [for the Shī'ī beliefs], so that [the Caliph] *Marwān*[27] sought [to arrest him] and he took to flight. His son, *'Alī* ibn Yaqṭīn, was born at al-Kūfah during the year one hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 741/42], but the mother fled with 'Alī and his brother, *'Ubayd*, to al-Madīnah.

Then when the Hāshimīyah regime began,[28] Yaqṭīn came out in the open, while the mother of 'Alī returned home with both 'Alī and 'Ubayd. Yaqṭīn remained in the service of Abū al-'Abbās [al-*Ṣaffāḥ*] and Abū Ja'far [al-*Manṣūr*], although at the same time he upheld the cause of the members of the family of Abū *Ṭālib*, calling for their imamate. His son did likewise. He brought money and benevolences to *Ja'far* ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī.[29] Although

[25] "The free" (*al-ḥurr*) is taken from MS 1934 Flügel has instead *al-khubr* ("news," "report"). The Tonk MS gives the title as simply *The Imamate*.

[26] As the members of this family lived earlier than the other scholars mentioned in this section, they should have been included nearer the beginning of the section.

[27] As *Yaqṭīn* was plotting to establish a descendant of *'Alī* as caliph, *Marwān* tried to arrest him, so that he hid.

[28] Although he was a Shī'ī, he served the early 'Abbāsid caliphs because they were related to the Prophet, even though they were not descendants of *'Alī*.

[29] This was al-Ṣādiq, the 6th Shī'ī imam, who died A.D. 765. The caliphs feared that he might revolt and therefore mistrusted anyone who befriended him.

reports about him reached al-*Manṣūr* and al-*Mahdī*, Allāh saved him from their strategems.[30]

'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn died at the City of Peace [Baghdād] during the year one hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 798/99] when he was fifty-seven years old. *Muḥammad* ibn al-Rashīd, the crown prince, prayed over [his body]. His father, Yaqṭīn, died after he did, during the year one hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 801]. [Among the books of] 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn there were:

What al-Ṣādiq asked him concerning the matter of conflicts; about his controversy with the doubter in the presence of *Ja'far* [ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq].[31]

[30] These were the second and third 'Abbāsid caliphs, who ruled A.D. 754–775 and 775–785.

[31] The phrase "with the doubter" is unclear. These book titles should be compared with Ṭūsī, p. 234, sect. 506, ll. 17, 18.

Jurists among the Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Adherents of the Ḥadīth

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Sixth Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the jurists who were adherents of the Ḥadīth.*[1]

Account of Sufyān al-Thawrī

Sufyān ibn Sa'īd ibn Masrūq al-Thawrī was from [the tribe of] Thawr ibn 'Abd Manāh ibn Udd ibn Ṭābikhah ibn al-Yās ibn Muḍr ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān.[2] It was said that among the descendants of Thawr there were thirty men, none of whom were less distinguished than al-*Rabī'* ibn Khuthaym.[3] They were at al-Kūfah, not one of them at al-Baṣrah. Sufyān al-Thawrī, however, died at al-Baṣrah while fleeing from the Sultan, and was buried at night.[4] This was during the year one hundred and sixty-one [A.D. 777/78] when he was sixty-four years old, for he was born during the year ninety-seven [A.D. 716/17]. He bequeathed his books to *'Ammār* ibn Sayf, who effaced them and burned them.

[1] In MS 1934, the phrase "Jurists among the Authorities on the Ḥadīth and Adherents of the Ḥadīth" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. "Authorities on the Ḥadīth" is *al-muḥaddithūn*. "Adherents of the Ḥadīth" (*aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*) refers to jurists who based their decisions on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth rather than on consensus of opinion, analogy, and personal opinion.

[2] See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 36 l. 5.

[3] He is probably mentioned because he was an ascetic like Sufyān and from the same ancestry.

[4] When the caliph ordered him to serve as a judge, he refused and disobeyed, fleeing first to Arabia and then to al-Baṣrah where he died. Pious Muslims disliked serving as judges, as they feared that they might be obliged to settle cases according to some command from a ruling official, rather than according to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

Sufyān had no descendants, as his son died earlier than he did himself. So he assigned whatever he had to his sister and her children. He bequeathed nothing to al-*Mubārak* ibn Sa'īd [his brother]. Among his books there were:

The Large Compilation, which traced the course of the Ḥadīth and was quoted by a group [of scholars], among whom there were *Yazīd* ibn Abī Ḥakīm, '*Abd* Allāh ibn al-Walīd al-'Adanī, *Ibrāhīm* ibn Khālid al-Ṣan'ānī, '*Abd* al-Malik [ibn Ibrāhīm] al-Juddī, and, from a place other than al-Yaman, al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Ḥafṣ al-Iṣbahānī.[5]

The Small Compilation, which was quoted by a group [of scholars], among whom there were al-*Ashja'ī*, *Ghassān* ibn 'Ubayd, al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Ḥafṣ al-Iṣbahānī, al-*Mu'āfā'* ibn 'Imrān al-Mawṣilī, '*Abd* al-'Azīz ibn Abān, '*Abd* al-Ṣamad ibn Ḥassān, *Zayd* ibn Abī al-Zarqā', and al-*Qāsim* ibn Yazīd al-Jarmī.

Shares of Inheritance; Epistle to '*Abbād* ibn 'Abbād al-Arsūfī; Epistle.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mughīrah ibn Abī Dhi'b

He was from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Lu'ay.[6] He was a jurist and authority on the Ḥadīth, as well as a judge. He died during the year one hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 775/76]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*, which included chapters on the law, [about subjects] such as prayer, ritual purification, fasts, the poor tax, rites of the pilgrimage, and other things.

'*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam

He was [descended] from the protégés of '*Umar* ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He died at the beginning of the caliphate of Hārūn al-*Rashīd*. Among his books there were:

The Abrogating and the Abrogated; The Commentary.

'*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-Zannād

The name of Abū al-Zannād was '*Abd* Allāh ibn Dhakwān. He ['Abd al-Raḥmān] was one of the jurists who were also authorities

[5] Al-Ṣan'ānī was very likely the man listed in the Biog. Index as Abu *Thawr* Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid ibn al-Yamān. The context makes it clear that 'Abd al-Malik al-Juddī also came from al-Yaman.

[6] For this tribe, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 33.

on the Ḥadīth. He died at Baghdād during the year one hundred and seventy-four [A.D. 790/91]. Among his books there were:

Shares of Inheritance; The Opinion of the Seven Jurists from among the People of al-Madīnah, with the Ways in Which They Differed.[7]

'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī

He died during the year one hundred and seventy-six [A.D. 792/93] at Baghdād, where he was a judge under Hārūn [al-*Rashīd*]. Among his books there was *The Raids*.

'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Jurayj

He was a protégé of the family of Usayd ibn Abī al-'Īṣ ibn Umayyah.[8] He was surnamed Abū al-Walīd and died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767/68]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, which included what books about the ordinances ordinarily comprise, such as ritual purification, prayer, fasts, the poor tax, and other things.

Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah al-Hilālī

He was a protégé ———. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-eight [A.D. 813/14]. He was a jurist and reciter of the Qur'ān. No book of his is known, but they used to hear him [lecture] and they do know of his commentary.[9]

Mughīrah ibn Miqsam al-Dabbī

He was a protégé of theirs[10] and was surnamed Abū Hishām. He died during the year one hundred and thirty-six [A.D. 752/53]. Among his books there was *Shares of Inheritance*.

[7] For the seven judges of al-Madīnah, see Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 243. Cf. also Maḥmaṣānī, *Falsafat*, pp. 24–26.

[8] For this clan, see Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 35; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 45.

[9] A page in MS 1934 has been lost. It evidently began with the account of *Sufyān* ibn 'Uyaynah and ended just before the list of book titles in the account of *Ismā'īl* ibn 'Ulayyah; see n. 20.

[10] "Theirs" refers to the Ḍabbah Tribe; see "Ḍabba," *Enc. Islam*, I, 884; Durayd, *Geneal.*, p. 117.

Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah al-Thaqafī

He was one of their number [one of the adherents of the Ḥadīth]. He was surnamed Abū al-Ṣalt. He died in the Byzantine Empire during the raid of al-*Ḥasan* ibn 'Aṭīyah, during the year sixty-one or sixty [A.D. 776/78].[11] Among his books there were:

The Ordinances, which included what has been mentioned as being contained by books about the ordinances; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Commentary; Asceticism; Memorable Deeds.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān *Muḥammad* ibn Fuḍayl ibn Ghazwān al-Ḍabbī

He was a protégé of theirs [the Ḍabbah Tribe] and was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 810/11].[12] Among his books there were:

Ritual Purification; Prayer; Rites of the Pilgrimage; The Poor Tax, arranged to the end like the books of the jurists and also known as the Book of Ordinances;[13] The Commentary; Asceticism; Fasts; The Invocation.[14]

Ibn Abī Zā'idah

Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyā' ibn Abī Zā'idah, surnamed Abū Sa'īd, died at al-Madā'in, where he was a judge, during the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first [books on ordinances, already mentioned].

Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ ibn Malīḥ al-Ru'āsī

He was from the Banū 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah.[15] He was surnamed Abū Sufyān. He died when leaving on the pilgrimage at Fayd, during the year one hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 812/13], during al-Muḥarram [first Muslim month]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first.

[11] The Tonk MS suggests a different date, but it seems to be due to careless copying.

[12] Here again the Tonk MS has a variation, giving the date as A.H. 175 (A.D. 791/92).

[13] This was probably a compilation. For this type of book, see Chap. VI, sect. 3, n. 8, and the subjects dealt with in *Kitāb al-Umm*.

[14] The Tonk MS omits the three last titles.

[15] A name for certain tribes of the Hawāzin; see "'Āmir," *Enc. Islam*, I, 329. For Fayd, in the sentence which follows, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 927.

Abū Nu'aym al-*Faḍl* ibn Dukayn

He was a protégé by *Ṭalḥah* ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī. He died during the year two hundred and nineteen [A.D. 834]. Among his books there were:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Questions in the Law.

Yaḥyā ibn Ādam, surnamed Abū Zakarīyā'

He was a protégé of the family of *'Uqbah* ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ. He died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ[16] during the year two hundred and three [A.D. 818/19]. Among his books there were:

The large book, Shares of Inheritance;[17] The Land Tax; Gaining Possession.[18]

Ibn Abī *'Arūbah*

His name was Sa'īd and the name of Abū 'Arūbah was Mihrān. He was surnamed Abū al-Naḍr, and he died during the year one hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 773/74]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first.

Ḥammād ibn Salamah

He was a protégé of the Banū Tamīm.[19] He was surnamed Abū Salamah. He died during al-Muḥarram [first Muslim month] at al-Baṣrah, in the year one hundred and sixty-five [A.D. 781/82]. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, like the first.

Ismā'īl ibn 'Ulayyah

She ['Ulayyah] was his mother. He was the son of Ibrāhīm, a protégé of the Banū Asad, surnamed Abū Bishr. His birth was during the year one hundred and sixteen [A.D. 734/35] and he died at Baghdād during Dhū al-Qa'dah [eleventh Muslim month], in the

[16] A river north of Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, III, 917.

[17] The Tonk MS omits "large."

[18] This is probably *al-ziwāl* ("gaining possession," "seizing"), but it may be *al-zawāl* ("future," "change").

[19] See "Tamīm," *Enc. Islam*, IV, 643.

year one hundred and ninety-three [A.D. 808/809], when he was eighty-three years and a few months old. Among his books there were:[20]

The Commentary; Ritual Purification; Prayer; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Hunting; Slaughter [of Sacrificial Victims].

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl, surnamed Abū Isḥāq

He was born during the year one hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 769] and he died in the year two hundred and eighteen [A.D. 833]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*, like the first.[21]

Rawḥ ibn 'Ubādah al-Qaysī, surnamed Abū Muḥammad

He died after two hundred [A.D. 815/16]. Among his books there was *Ordinances*.

Makḥūl al-Shāmī

He was a protégé of a woman from the Hudhayl.[22] He died during the year one hundred and sixteen [A.D. 734/35]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law;[23] Questions in the Law.

Al-*Awzā'ī*

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr, Abū 'Umar from al-Awzā', a tribe.[24] He died during the year one hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 775/76]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; Questions in the Law.

[20] MS 1934 recommences at this point, after the loss of a page. This manuscript and Flügel do not include the two last titles, which are in the Tonk MS alone. For the Banū Asad, see "Asad," *Enc. Islam*, I, 474.

[21] The Tonk MS alone includes this title.

[22] For this tribe, see "Hudhail," *Enc. Islam*, II, 329.

[23] On this and following pages, this title, *Al-Sunan fī al-Fiqh*, is translated as *Ordinances in the Law*. It may be more correct to translate *fī* as "about" in this and other titles, making the translation "*The Ordinances*, about the law."

[24] See Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 249.

Al-*Walīd* ibn Muslim, surnamed Abū al-'Abbās

He was a protégé of the Quraysh [the Prophet's tribe]. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-four [A.D. 809/10] while returning from the pilgrimage. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Raids.

'*Abd* al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfi' al-Ṣan'ānī, surnamed Abū Bakr

He was a protégé of the Ḥimyar,[25] who died during the year two hundred and eleven [A.D. 826/27]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Raids.

Hushaym ibn Bashīr al-Sulamī, surnamed Abū Mu'āwiyah

He was a protégé of the Banū Sulaym.[26] He died at Baghdād during the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; [Qur'ānic] Readings.

Yazīd ibn Hārūn

He was a protégé of the Banū Sulaym, surnamed Abū Khālid. He died at Wāsiṭ during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his books there was *Shares of Inheritance.*

Isḥāq al-Azraq, surnamed Abū Muḥammad

He was the son of Yūsuf. He died at Wāsiṭ during the year one hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 810/11]. Among his books there were:

Rites of the Pilgrimage; Prayer; [Qur'ānic] Readings.

'*Abd* al-Wahhāb ibn 'Aṭā' al-'Ijlī al-Khaffāf

He was surnamed Abū Naṣr. He was one of the people of al-Baṣrah, but he died at Baghdād some time after two hundred [A.D. 815/16]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; The Abrogating and the Abrogated.

[25] For this tribal group of al-Yaman, see "Ḥimyar," *Enc. Islam,* II, 310.

[26] "Sulaim," *Enc. Islam,* IV, 518.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭahmān al-Hirrāwī[27]

Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; Memorable Deeds; The Two Feasts ['Īd al-Aḍḥā and 'Īd al-Fiṭr]; The Commentary.

Al-*Ḥasan* ibn Wāqid al-Marwazī

Among his books there were:

The Commentary; Aspects in the Qur'ān; Ordinances in the Law.[28]

'*Abd* Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān

He died at Hīt[29] when returning from a raid, during the year one hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 797/98]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; History; Asceticism; Piety and Charity.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī

His name was *Hammām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He was one of the authorities for the Ḥadīth. He was surnamed Abū Yazīd and died during the year two hundred and twenty-seven [A.D. 841/42]. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*, like the first.[30]

Al-*Fīryābī* al-Kabīr

He was an associate of *Sufyān* [ibn Sa'īd] and was one of the people of Caesarea.[31] He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Fīryābī. He learned from the scholars of al-Kūfah, and died ———. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasts; The Poor Tax; Rites of the Pilgrimage, continuing until he included all of the chapters about the law.

[27] This refers to his origin at Harāt in Afghanistān. The spelling might be al-Harawī, but Ziriklī, Part 9, p. 74, gives al-Hirrāwī.

[28] This title is only in the Tonk MS.

[29] See "Hīt," *Enc. Islam*, II, 322.

[30] The Tonk MS alone has this title. On the margin of MS 1934 there is noted, "*bi-Shām*," probably indicating that he died at Damascus.

[31] He was probably a pupil of Sufyān ibn Sa'īd al-Thawrī and was from Caesarea (Qaysarīyah) in Palestine; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 214.

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah

He was an authority for the Ḥadīth and a compiler. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50]. Among his books there were:[32]

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; History; Seditions; [The Battle of] Ṣiffīn; [The Battle of] the Camel; The Invasions; Al-Musnad, about the Ḥadith.[33]

'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah

He was an authority on the Ḥadīth and a compiler, who died during the year two hundred and thirty-seven [A.D. 851/52]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; Seditions;[34] Al-Musnad.

Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah[35]

He died during the year two hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 909/10]. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.[36] Among his books there were:

Reasons; The Commentary; The Abrogating and Abrogated; Asceticism; Questions; Virtues; Shares of Inheritance; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Faith (Oath); Drinks;[37] Obedience of (for) the Prophet; Refutation of the Jahmīyah; Al-Musnad,[38] comprising more than forty thousand Ḥadīth.

[32] The Tonk MS is unique in adding two titles: *Booty* and *The Khawārij at Nahrawān*.

[33] *Al-musnad* means "attributed to authority." The title was made famous by the great collection of the Ḥadīth compiled by *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal.

[34] Instead of "seditions" the Flügel edition has *al-'ayn*, which might be "the eye," "the spring," or the letter *'ayn* of the alphabet, but is probably a mistake.

[35] The Tonk MS inserts, before the name, Abū Ja'far ibn Ḥāfiz.

[36] In MS 1934 there is a vacant space before the list of books is given, evidently with the hopes that biographical data could be filled in.

[37] In MS 1934 the four last titles have been inserted in a handwriting different from that of the other passages.

[38] For this famous book, see Bibliography under Ḥanbal. The title means "Attributed to Authority." This great compendium of the Ḥadīth contained a huge collection of traditions, with the authorities who were said to have originated them.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal had a son named *'Abd* Allāh, who was a reliable man from whom they heard [lectures about] the Ḥadīth.

There were also *Ṣāliḥ* ibn Aḥmad and his son *Zuhayr* ibn Ṣāliḥ, who died during the year three hundred and three [A.D. 915/16].

Al-Athram

He was one of the adherents of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. His name was *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Hānī, surnamed Abū Bakr. He was one of the Iskāf Banū Junayd,[39] and he died ———. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law, in accordance with the doctrines of Aḥmad and his evidences from the Ḥadīth; History; Reasons; The Abrogating and the Abrogated in the Ḥadīth.[40]

Al-*Marwazī*, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj

He adhered to the doctrines of *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal. He died ———. Among his books there was *The Ordinances with Testimonies from the Ḥadīth.*

Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh

The name of Rāhwayh was Ibrāhīm ibn ——— Marwazī. He was one of the most distinguished of the pupils of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; *Al-Musnad*; The Commentary.

Abū Khaythamah and His Sons

Abū Khaythamah *Zuhayr* ibn Ḥarb died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/49]. Among his books there were:

Al-Musnad; Science.[41]

[39] These were the chiefs of the district of al-Nahrawān between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 252.

[40] A good example of abrogating in al-Ḥadīth is in connection with the direction for prayer, which was first to Jerusalem, then to Makkah, and finally to "whichever way you turn you face Allāh." See quotation from al-Ṭabarī translated in Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 45.

[41] The Tonk MS adds the title *Reasons* (*Al-'Ilal*).

Ibn Abī Khaythamah, Abū Bakr *Aḥmad* ibn Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb

He was one of the historical traditionalists and a jurist. He died during the year two hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 892/93]. Among his books there were:

History; Ancestors (Kinsmen); Arab Nomads (Al-Aʿrāb) (*or* Inflection [Al-Iʿrāb]); Traditions of the Poets.

His Son, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb

He was of the same stock as his father. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Poor Tax and the Categories of Property, with Their Proofs from the Ḥadīth; History, which did not appear in its entire form—perhaps he never finished it.

Al-*Bukhārī*

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl ibn al-Mughīrah al-Bukhārī was one of the reliable authorities for the Ḥadīth.[42] Among his books there were:

The Large History; The Small History; Names and Surnames; The Feeble [referring to Ḥadīth quoted from doubtful sources]; Al-Ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound);[43] Ordinances in the Law; Training; The Medium-Size History; Creation of the Actions of Worshippers (Khalq Afʿāl al-ʿIbād); Reading behind the Imam.[44]

Al-Maʿmarī

His name was al-*Ḥasan* ibn ʿAlī ibn Shabīb. He was one of the authorities on the Ḥadīth and also one of the jurists. He died ———. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.

[42] The Tonk MS adds "virtuous and ascetic."

[43] This was perhaps the most important Muslim book after the Qur'ān. For the French translation, see Bibliography, Bukhārī, and for the table of contents in Arabic, see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. xi; for the contents in English, see Dodge, *Muslim Education*, p. 92.

[44] The last three titles are omitted by the Tonk MS and added to MS 1934 with a strange handwriting. For the last two titles, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, 265 top, which gives the last title as *Khayr al-Kalām fī al-Qirā' Khalf al-Imām*.

Abū ʿArūbah

His name was al-*Ḥusayn* [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Mawdūd al-Ḥarrānī and he compiled the Ḥadīth of the shaykhs. Except for this he did not write any book.

Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī

He was one of the authorities on the Ḥadīth learned both in the Ḥadīth and the law.[45] Among his books there were:

Al-Ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound); Names and Surnames.
The Unique Things (Al-Waḥād); The Single; History; Generations (Categories).

ʿ*Alī* ibn al-Madīnī

He should have been mentioned before this place. He was Ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar al-Madīnī. He was one of the authorities for the Ḥadīth, learned in the Ḥadīth. He died at Sāmarrā on Monday, three days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿdah [eleventh Muslim month], during the year two hundred and fifty-eight [A.D. 871/72], when he was seventy-two years old. Among his books there were:

Al-Musnad with its reasons; Those Who Tell Half Truths; The Feeble [referring to Ḥadīth quoted from doubtful sources]; Reasons; Names and Surnames; Drinks; The Gracious Revelation.[46]

Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn

He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48]. Among his books there was *History*, his pupils composed it from his [dictation], for he himself did not write it.

Surayj ibn Yūnus Abū al-Ḥārith al-Marwazī

He was one of the illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth, being among their reliable members, and he was also one of the jurists and [Qur'ānic] readers. He died ———. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Abrogating and the Abrogated; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Ordinances in the Law.

[45] The Tonk MS omits "al-Qushayrī" but adds "ascetic, pious, reliable." The collection *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* was almost as important as that of al-Bukhārī; see Bibliography.

[46] Flügel omits the word translated as "gracious" (*al-laṭīf*).

Ḥafṣ al-Ḍarīr

He was Abū 'Umar Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar, from among the people of al-Baṣrah. He was one of the illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Ordinances in the Law.

Al-Faḍl ibn *Shādhān* al-Rāzī and His Son al-'*Abbās* ibn al-Faḍl

He [al-Faḍl] mingled both with the elite and the ignorant. The Shī'ah claim him, so that a brief account about him is given in connection with them. The Ḥashwīyah also claim him, and his books pertaining to the Ḥashwīyah are:[47]

The Commentary; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Ordinances in the Law.

Among the books of his son al-'Abbās ibn al-Faḍl there are:

Ordinances in the Law; [Qur'ānic] Readings.[48]

Ibrāhīm al-Harbī

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Bashīr ibn 'Abd Allāh was one of the illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth. He was learned in the Ḥadīth, scholarly, ascetic and acquainted with language [study]. He was also one of those who held [the Ḥadīth] in their memories. 'Abd Allāh was the son of Daysam al-Marwazī.[49] Ibrāhīm died during the year two hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 898]. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms in the Ḥadīth, which included "Al-Musnad"[50] of Abū *Bakr*, of '*Umar*, of '*Uthmān*, of '*Alī*, of al-*Zubayr* [ibn al-'Awwām], of *Ṭalḥah*

[47] Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Part V, p. 72, says that al-*Nadīm* called all who were not Shī'ī "ignorant" (*al-'āmmah*) and referred to the Sunnites as "the Ḥashwīyah," a term as a rule applied to persons holding anthropomorphic ideas; see "Ḥashwīya," *Enc. Islam*, II, 287.

[48] These titles are in the Tonk MS alone; MS 1934 leaves a half page empty, meant to be filled in with titles.

[49] Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, Part VI, sect. 3059, p. 27, makes it clear that this relationship between 'Abd Allāh, the ancestor of Ibrāhīm, and Daysam al-Marwazī is correct. As these ancestors were not important persons, their names are not in the Biog. Index. The Tonk MS has al-Jawharī instead of al-Marwazī.

[50] This was evidently a compilation which quoted the Ḥadīth of the Prophet, based upon the original recollections of the important persons listed.

[ibn 'Ubayd Allāh], of *Sa'd* ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, of '*Abd* al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, of al-'*Abbās* [ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib], of *Shaybah* ibn 'Uthmān, of '*Abd* Allāh ibn Ja'far, of al-*Miswar* ibn Makhramah al-Zuhrī, of '*Abd* al-Muṭṭalib ibn Rabī'ah,[51] of al-*Sā'ib* al-Makhzūmī, of *Khālid* ibn al-Walīd, of Abū '*Ubaydah* ibn al-Jarrāḥ, of *Mu'āwiyah* and others in addition to him, of '*Amr* ibn al-'Āṣ, of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'*Abbās*,[52] of '*Abd* Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and of the mawālī,[53] which was the last that he included.

There were also other books:

Training; The Raids; Al-Tayammum [ritualistic ablution with sand instead of water].

Muṭayyin ibn Ayyūb

He was Abū Ja'far *Muḥammad* ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the reliable authorities for the Ḥadīth. His birth was ———. He died during the year two hundred and ninety-eight [A.D. 910/11]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; The Commentary; Al-Musnad; Commentary on "Al-Musnad";[54] Training.

Al-*Fīryābī* al-Saghīr[55]

Abū Bakr Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Fīryābī obtained his learning from shaykhs throughout the world, traveling over the earth. He died during the year three hundred [A.D. 913], the last day of the year. Among his books there was *The Ordinances*, which included many chapters, nearly fifty of them.

[51] This name and the one which follows are not clearly written in the manuscripts, but they must be correct.

[52] The Tonk MS adds a pious epithet.

[53] This probably means "lords," although it might mean "protégés."

[54] This may have been an explanation of his own book, or of the great collection of *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥanbal.

[55] He is called *al-Saghīr* and *al-Asghar* ("the Younger"), to distinguish him from the elder Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Fīryābī. In this and the following accounts there are variations in the Tonk MS, but they are not important enough to mention them in detail.

Shabīb al-'Uṣfurī

His name was *Khalīfah* ibn Khayyāṭ and he was one of the people of al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Generations (Categories); History; Generations (Categories) of [Qur'ānic] Readers; History of the Infirm in Old Age, the Lame, the Sick, and the Blind; Divisions of the Qur'ān—Its Tenths, Sevenths, and Verses.

Al-*Kajjī*

He was Abū Muslim ———. His father moved from ——— to al-Baṣrah, where he [al-Kajjī] built a house with mortar and baked bricks. He used to say to his workmen "Kajj, kajj," or "Use the mortar." Thus the name was connected with him and he was called al-Kajjī.[56]

Abū Muslim was one of the most illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth, as well as one of the most exalted authorities for the *īsnād*.[57] His birth was ——— and he died during the year ———. Among his books there were:

The Ordinances; Al-Musnad.

['*Abd* Allāh] Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī

The name [of Abū Dā'ūd] was *Sulaymān* ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Isḥāq ibn Bashīr ibn Shaddād al-Ṭabarī. He ['Abd Allāh] was Abū Bakr ——— ibn Sulaymān Abū Dā'ūd. He was one of the most illustrious authorities on the Ḥadīth and the law, a man worthy of confidence. His birth was ———. He died during the year three hundred and sixteen [A.D. 928/29]. Among his books there were:

The Commentary, which he composed at the same time that Abū Ja'far [Muḥammad ibn Jarīr] al-*Ṭabarī* wrote his book[58]—most of the book of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd was composed about the Ḥadīth; Lamps, about the Ḥadīth;

[56] For other versions of the origin of this name, see references in the Biog. Index.

[57] *Al-isnād* is the infinitive of *al-sanad* (pl., *al-asānīd*), which is the ascription of a tradition of the Prophet to its original source, as well as to the chain of authorities who passed on the Ḥadīth to later generations.

[58] This is the great *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī, listed in the Bibliography.

Manuscripts of the Qur'ān; Arrangement of the Qur'ān; Excellencies of the Qur'ān; The Sharī'ah in "The Commentary";[59] The Sharī'ah in al-Maqārī;[60] The Abrogating and the Abrogated; Rising from the Dead and the Resurrection.

Abū 'Abd Allāh *Muḥammad* ibn Makhlid ibn Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭār

He was a reliable authority on the Ḥadīth. His birth was during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/48] and he died in the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43]. Among his books there were:

Ordinances in the Law; Morals; the large Musnad.

Al-Maḥāmalī al-Qāḍī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī. He was a trustworthy scholar whose birth was during the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.D. 849/50]. He died during the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42], on Thursday, eight nights before the end of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [fourth Muslim month]. News about him was proclaimed in the streets of Baghdād. No one else in the world was such an authority on the Ḥadīth and so capable in determining the Ḥadīth with accuracy, reliability, and intelligence.[61] Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.

Ja'far al-Daqqāq

He was a man who held the Ḥadīth in his memory and was reckoned second to al-Maḥāmalī in trustworthiness, reliability, and intelligence. He died during the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42]. Among his books there was *Ordinances in the Law*.[62]

[59] This probably refers to the elements of the Sharī'ah law contained in the book *The Commentary*.

[60] This probably deals with the elements of the Sharī'ah law contained in a book perhaps entitled *Al-Maqārī*, but as the usual meanings of this word do not seem to fit the context, it is possible that it is meant for the common title *Al-Maghāzī* ("Raids").

[61] The Tonk MS adds several words which are not clearly written.

[62] This title occurs only in the Tonk MS.

Ibn Ṣā'id, Abū Muḥammad *Yaḥyā* ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣā'id

He was a protégé of al-Manṣūr.[63] His birth was ———, and he died during the year three hundred and eighteen [A.D. 930/31]. Among his books there were:

The Ordinances; Al-Musnad; [Qur'ānic] Readings.

Al-Baghawī

He was Abū al-Qāsim *'Abd* Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghawī, also known as Ibn bint Munī'. His birth was during the year two hundred and fourteen [A.D. 829/30] and he died in the year three hundred and seventeen [A.D. 929/30]. Among his books there were:

The Large Alphabetical Book; The Small Alphabetical Book;[64] Al-Musnad; The Ordinances According to the Legal Systems of the Jurists.

Al-*Tirmidhī*

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn Sawrah. Among his books there were:

History; Al-Ṣaḥīḥ (The Sound);[65] The Reasons.

Ibn Abī al-Thalj

He was Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Thalj al-Kātib. He had contacts with both the elite and the ignorant.[66] The Shī'ī doctrine won him over and he was also

[63] Taghrī-Birdī, Part III, p. 228, says that this was Abū Ja'far al-*Manṣūr*, who was the caliph A.D. 754–75. If that is true, the account must mean that an ancestor of Ibn Ṣā'id, rather than he himself, was accepted as a Muslim protégé at the time of the second 'Abbāsid caliph.

[64] *Mu'jam* ("alphabetical") may indicate either that the material was arranged alphabetically, or else marked with diacritical points to indicate the consonants. These two books were probably legal compilations.

[65] This was one of the six authoritative collections of the Ḥadīth; see Bibliography.

[66] See n. 47.

responsible for many quotations from among the things quoted by the ignorant, with compilations according to their interpretation. He was religious, virtuous, and ascetic. We have already mentioned him before this. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Ordinances and Morals according to the Doctrines of the Ignorant; Virtues, virtues of the Companions of the Prophet;[67] Selections from the Asānīd.

[67] This title is taken from MS 1934. Flügel gives simply *Virtues of the Companions.* For the following title, see n. 57.

Al-Ṭabarī and His Associates; the Shurāt and Their Jurists

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Seventh Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed.*[1]

Al-*Ṭabarī* and His Associates

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-*Nadīm*: Abū al-Faraj al-*Mu'āfā* ibn Zakarīyā' al-Nahrawānī stated, "He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Khālid al-Ṭabarī al-Āmulī, the sage of his time, the leader of his period, and the jurist of his age."[2]

He was born at Āmul[3] during the year two hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 838/39] and died during Shawwāl [tenth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and ten [A.D. 922/23] at the age of eighty-seven. He acquired knowledge of the Ḥadīth from eminent shaykhs like *Muḥammad* ibn Ḥumayd al-Rāzī; Ibn *Jurayj*;[4] Abū *Kurayb*; *Hannād* ibn Sarī; *'Abbād* ibn Ya'qūb; *'Ubayd* Allāh ibn Ismā'īl al-Habbārī; *Ismā'īl* ibn Mūsā; *'Imrān* ibn Mūsā al-Qazzāz; and *Bishr* ibn Mu'ādh al-'Uqdī. He studied the law under *Dā'ūd*[5] and

[1] In MS 1934 the phrase "Al-Ṭabarī and His Associates; the Shurāt and Their Jurists" is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section.

[2] The Flügel edition adds an extra word in this sentence, but it seems to be an error.

[3] For Āmul (or A'amul) and Ṭabaristān, from which two of his names are taken, see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, I, 68; III, 501.

[4] In the Arabic texts the name is given as Abū Jurayj, but perhaps it should be Ibn *Jurayj*, who was a better-known scholar.

[5] The Tonk MS adds al-Ẓāhirī; see Biog. Index, *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī.

learned the legal system of al-*Shāfi'ī* from al-*Rabī'* ibn Sulaymān in Egypt, and also from al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-*Za'farānī* at Baghdād. He learned the legal system of *Mālik* [ibn Anas] from *Yūnus* ibn 'Abd al-A'lā and the descendants of *'Abd* al-Ḥakam, who were *Muḥammad*, *'Abd* al-Raḥmān and *Sa'd*;[6] also from the sons of the brother of Wahb. He learned the legal system of the people of al-'Irāq from Abū *Muqātil* at al-Rayy and mastered the *asānīd*[7] in Egypt, Syria, al-'Irāq, and at al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and al-Rayy.

He was skilled in all of the sciences, having knowledge of the Qur'ān, grammar, poetry, language, and the law, and also having a good memory.[8] Abū *Isḥāq* ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq told me, "A trustworthy person related to me that he saw Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī in Egypt and studied with him a poem by either al-*Ṭirimmāḥ* or al-*Ḥuṭay'ah*. It is I who am uncertain which one it was."

I myself have seen many selections written in his handwriting [and copied] from books on language, grammar, poetry, and the tribes. He had a legal system which he selected for himself and about which he wrote a number of books, among which there are:[9]

Al-Laṭīf, about the law, which included a number of chapters like the chapters of the jurists in "Al-Mabsūṭ." The number of chapters in "Al-Laṭīf" was ———.

Al-Basīṭ, about the law, which he did not complete, but what it did include was:[10] the large chapter, Conditions; Documents and Judicial Records; Wills; Training of the Judge; Ritual Purification; Prayer; The Poor Tax.

Al-Laṭīf, about the law, which includes ———.[11]

[6] These were grandsons, their father being 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

[7] See Chap. VI, sect. 6, n. 57.

[8] At this point the Tonk MS inserts "Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, [al-*Nadīm*]." The word "sciences" refers to the Muslim sciences based upon the Qur'ān.

[9] For the books of al-Ṭabarī, see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI (6), 423 ff. It is almost impossible to give the exact meaning of some of these book titles. *Al-laṭīf* means "gracious" or "delightful," but perhaps has the significance of "interesting." *Al-mabsūṭ* means "stretched out," with the significance of making clear. *Al-basīṭ* means "simple," but here probably should be translated as "extended," with the idea of "inclusive." For some modern editions of these books, see the Bibliography. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, Supplement, I, 218, which helps to explain the meaning of the titles.

[10] The titles which follow in this paragraph are chapters in the book *Al-Basīṭ*.

[11] In MS 1934 a half page is left vacant, showing that the author of *Al-Fihrist* hoped to fill in subtitles.

The History (Al-Ta'rīkh),[12] to which certain sections were added. The last event included in it was during the year three hundred and two [A.D. 914/15], at which point he stopped. A group of persons abridged this book, eliminating the mention of the authorities [on the Ḥadīth]. One of them was a man known as *Muḥammad* ibn Sulaymān al-Hāshimī and there was also another writer known as ———, as well as, from among the people of al-Mawṣil, Abū al-Ḥasan al-*Shimshāṭī*, the teacher, and a man known as al-*Salīl* ibn Aḥmad. Then [another] group appended to it [The History], continuing from where it ended to our own time. This appendix, however, cannot be relied upon, for [the men who compiled it] were not occupied either with the government or with scholarship.

The Commentary (Al-Tafsīr), better than which has never been composed. A group abridged it. Among them there were Abū Bakr ibn al-*Ikhshīd* and others in addition to him.

[Qur'ānic] Readings; Al-Khafīf (The Easy), about the law, delightful; Seeking Guidance; Correction of Traces (al-Āthār), which he did not complete, but the part included is what I mention: ———; Disagreements of the Jurists—what it included: ———.

Among His Adherents Who Were Jurists Following His Legal System[13]

Alī ibn 'Abd Al-'Aziz ibn Muḥammad al-Dawlābī

Among his books there were:

Refutation of Ibn al-Mughallas ['*Abd* Allāh ibn Aḥmad]; about "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate"; [Qur'ānic] Readings; The Sources of Theology; Actions of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace; Second Sight; his epistle to *Naṣr* [al-Ḥājib] al-Qushūrī; his epistle to '*Alī* ibn 'Īsā; his epistle to *Barbar* al-Jarmī.

Book, The Problem of Loaning Female Slaves;[14] the large book, Sources, which is not extant; the small book, Sources; the medium-size book, Sources; Interpretation of a Dream; Confirmation of the Apostleship; the epistle, You Both Have Lied—this refers to the report which he quoted in (from) "Self-Discipline" (Adab al-Nufūs), about *Fāṭimah* and '*Alī*, for both of whom may there be peace, for when they complained

[12] This is the great history referred to in the footnotes as *Annales*, printed in Arabic and edited in Latin by M. J. de Goeje; see Bibliography.

[13] Most were either pupils or associates.

[14] The Tonk MS gives "diseases" instead of "loaning," evidently an error.

to the Prophet, for whom be peace, about rendering service, he said "You both have lied."

Among His Pupils Who Were Jurists Following His Legal System There Was Also Abū Bakr *Muḥammad* ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Thalj al-Kātib

Among his books there were:

The Oath; The Vow.[15]

Among His Pupils: Abū al-*Qāsim* ——— ibn al-ʿArād

Among his books there was *Research in the Law*. He also wrote a a few epistles, among which there were: ———.

Among His Pupils: Abū al-Ḥasan *Aḥmad* ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim

He was a theologian, mention of whom has already been made. Among his books there were:

Introduction to the Legal System of al-Ṭabarī and the Triumph of His Legal System; Consensus of Opinion in the Law, according to the legal system of Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī].

Among the Jurists Following His Code There Was Also Abū al-*Ḥasan* al-Daqīqī al-Ḥalwānī al-Ṭabarī

Among his books there were:

Conditions; Refutation of the Antagonists.

Among Them: Abū al-*Ḥusayn* ibn Yūnus

His name was ———. He was a student of theology, about which he wrote books. His [book] about the law was *Consensus of Opinion in the Law*, which included a number of chapters.[16]

Among Them: Abū Bakr ibn *Kāmil*

He has been mentioned in the First Chapter. Among his books about the legal system of al-Ṭabarī there were:

Compilation of the Law; Menstruation; Conditions; Founders of Pious Endowments.

[15] These book titles are only in the Tonk MS.

[16] The last phrase is added by the Tonk MS.

Among Them: Abū Isḥāq *Ibrāhīm* ibn Ḥabīb al-Saqṭī al-Ṭabarī

He was one of the people of al-Baṣrah and he wrote a history connected with the book of Abū Ja'far [al-*Ṭabarī*]. It contained a great deal from the accounts of Abū Ja'far and his adherents. Among his books there were [also]:

Apostleship; Compilation of the Law.

Among Them There Was a Man Known as Ibn Idhnūbī[17]

His name was ———. Among his books there was *The Comprehensive* (*Al-Ḥāwī*), about the law.

Among Them There Was a Man Known as Ibn al-*Ḥaddād*

His name was ———. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Faraj al-*Mu'āfā* said, "Abū Muslim al-*Kajjī* agreed with the ideas of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī about the law and was of the age of Abū Ja'far."

Al-*Mu'āfā* al-Nahrawānī al-Qāḍī

He belongs to our own period. His name is Abū al-Faraj al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakarīyā'. He is one of the people of Nahrawān and during his time is the leading adherent of the legal system of Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī],[18] whose books he has memorized. He is so skilled in many sciences in which he is knowledgeable that he is often consulted about these. He is extremely intelligent, with a good memory and ability for rapid repartee. He was born during the year ———. His books about the law and other subjects up to the present time are those which I record as follows:[19]

The Preservation and Settlement, about the sources of the law;[20] Definitions and Conditions, about the sources of the law; Guidance, about the

[17] Flügel suggests this form of the name, but it is uncertain, so that it is not included in the Biog. Index. The book title is only in the Tonk MS.

[18] The Tonk MS has "He is the chief of his time and the unique person of his period for learning, the law, language, culture, and piety, following the legal system of Abū Ja'far, whose books he has memorized." A few other variations follow, but they do not change the meaning.

[19] As al-Mu'āfā died A.D. 1000, the sixth chapter of *Al-Fihrist* was evidently written before that date.

[20] As the words in the manuscripts seem to differ from those in the Flügel version, but are not clearly given, the exact form of this title is not certain.

law; Explanation of the Book, "Guidance" [about the law]; Documents and Judicial Records; Explanation of the Book "Al-Khafīf" (The Easy) by al-Ṭabarī; Healing, by Wiping the Feet; Answering the "Large Compilation" of *Muḥammad* ibn al-Ḥasan;[21] Answering al-*Muzanī* about the Legal System of al-Ṭabarī; Conditions; Refutation of al-*Karkhī*, about questions; Refutation of Abū Yaḥyā al-*Balkhī*, about the loaning of female slaves; Refutation of *Dā'ūd* ibn 'Alī; his epistle to al-Anbārī[22] the judge about the question of wills; his book about the interpretation of the Qur'ān; [Qur'ānic] Readings; Discussion, about Arabic; epistle about the wāw (u) of 'Amr;[23] Explanation of the Book of al-Ḥarmī; epistle, 'Umar.

It has been told me that he has written more than fifty epistles about the law, theology, grammar,[24] and other things. Among the best of his books, other than those already mentioned, is the book *The Sitting Companion and the Pleasure Giver.* In it he mentions many virtues, amusing anecdotes, and other agreeable things.[25]

[21] This was evidently al-Shaybānī. The Tonk MS adds, "the associate of Abū *Ḥanīfah*." Flügel omits the next title and has a sequence different from that of the manuscripts.

[22] This may be al-*Qāsim* Abū Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī or his son, Ibn al-*Anbārī* Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim, or someone else called al-Anbārī.

[23] At the end of the name 'Amr there is a silent *u*. In the next title, the name is uncertain. Al-Ḥarmī is taken from MS 1934. Flügel has al-Ḥazmī and the Tonk MS has al-Jarmī.

[24] The Tonk MS adds "disputation."

[25] Flügel includes the last two sentences with the text, the Tonk MS omits them, and they are added on the margin of MS 1934, very likely by some scribe. "Sitting companion" must mean one with whom a person sits and converses.

With Allāh alone there is satisfaction

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Eighth Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, *with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed.*[1]

Jurists of the Shurāt

The books of these people are hidden, few and rarely happened upon, for the world detests them, pursuing them with hatred. They do, however, have compilations and compositions about the law and theology.

This sect is known in many localities,[2] among which there are 'Umān, Sijistān, the regions of Ādharbayjān, the districts of al-Sinn and al-Bawāzīj, Karkh Juddān, Tall 'Ukbarā, Ḥazzah and Shahrazūr. Among their leading jurists[3] there were:

Jubayr ibn Ghālib, nicknamed Abū Firās

He was a jurist, a poet, and an eloquent speaker. Among his books there were:

Ordinances and Judicial Decisions; Judicial Decisions of the Qur'ān; Abridgment of the Law; The Large Collection of the Law; epistle to *Malik* ibn Anas.

[1] In MS 1934 the words, "With Allāh alone there is satisfaction (prosperity)" are written on a separate page preceding the title.

[2] For the place names see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, as follows—'Umān in Arabia: III, 717; Sijistān: III, 41; Ādharbayjān: I, 171; al-Sinn: III, 169; al-Bawāzīj: I, 750; Karkh Juddān in northern 'Irāq: IV, 255; Tall 'Ukbarā near Baghdād: 1, 868; Ḥazzah, one of the two towns with that name in northern 'Irāq: II, 263; Shahrazūr in western Persia: III, 340.

[3] The Tonk MS adds, "who were theologians."

Al-*Qarṭalūsī*

He was Abū al-Faḍl and he came from the region of Tall ʿUkbarā. He wrote many books, among which there were:

Large Compilation of the Law, which included numerous chapters like those in the books of the jurists; Small Compilation, on which his disciples rely; Shares of Inheritance; Refutation of Abū *Ḥanīfah*, about personal opinion; Refutation of al-*Shāfiʿī*, about analogy.

Among Them: Abū Bakr al-Bardhaʿī

His name was *Muḥammad* ibn ʿAbd Allāh. When I saw him in the year three hundred and forty [A.D. 951/52] he was courteous to me, explaining the doctrine of the *iʿtizāl*.[4] He was a Khārijī, being one of their jurists. He told me that he had [written] a number of books about the law, mentioning some of them as follows:

Guidance in the Law; Refutation of Those Who Disagree about the Law; Mention of What Is Strange in the Law; Reflection for the Educated; Argument against Those Who Disagree; Compilation of the Sources of the Law; The Petition (Prayer, Al-Duʿā'); The Abrogating and the Abrogated, in the Qur'ān; Al-Adhkār wa-al-Taḥkīm;[5] The Ordinances and the Assembly; The Imamate; Refutation of the Book of Ibn al-*Rāwandī* about the Imamate; Prohibition of Intoxicating Liquor; Refutation of Whoever Upholds Temporary Marriage; Those Who Break Their Word; Oaths and Vows.

Abū al-*Qāsim* al-Ḥadīthī

When I saw him he was ascetic, outwardly humble, not appearing to be a member of his sect. He was, however, one of the important men among the Shurāt, as well as among their jurists. From his books there were:

Compilation of the Law; The Judgments of Allāh, Exalted and Magnified; The Imamate; The Promise and the Threat; Prohibition and Making Lawful; Leaving Judgment to Allāh, Magnified Be His Name.

[4] This was the doctrine of the Muʿtazilī theologians. See Chap. V of *Al-Fihrist*.

[5] *Al-adhkār* means mentioning the name of God. It might be instead *al-idhkār* ("remembering"). *Al-taḥkīm* means restraining from wrongdoing, and also assigning judgment to Allāh.

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